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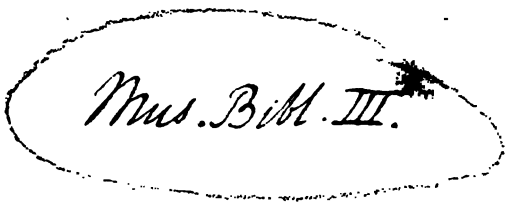

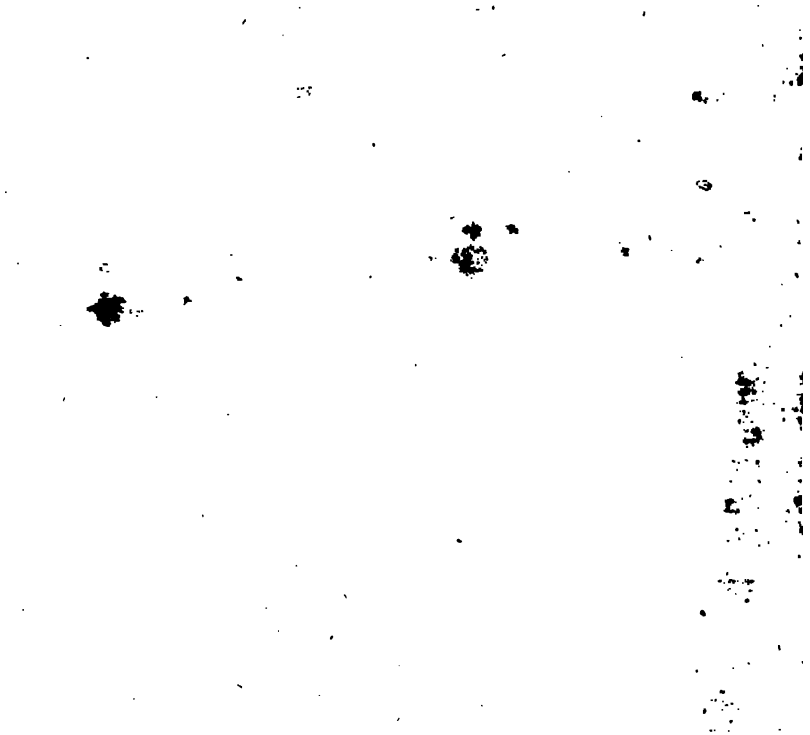

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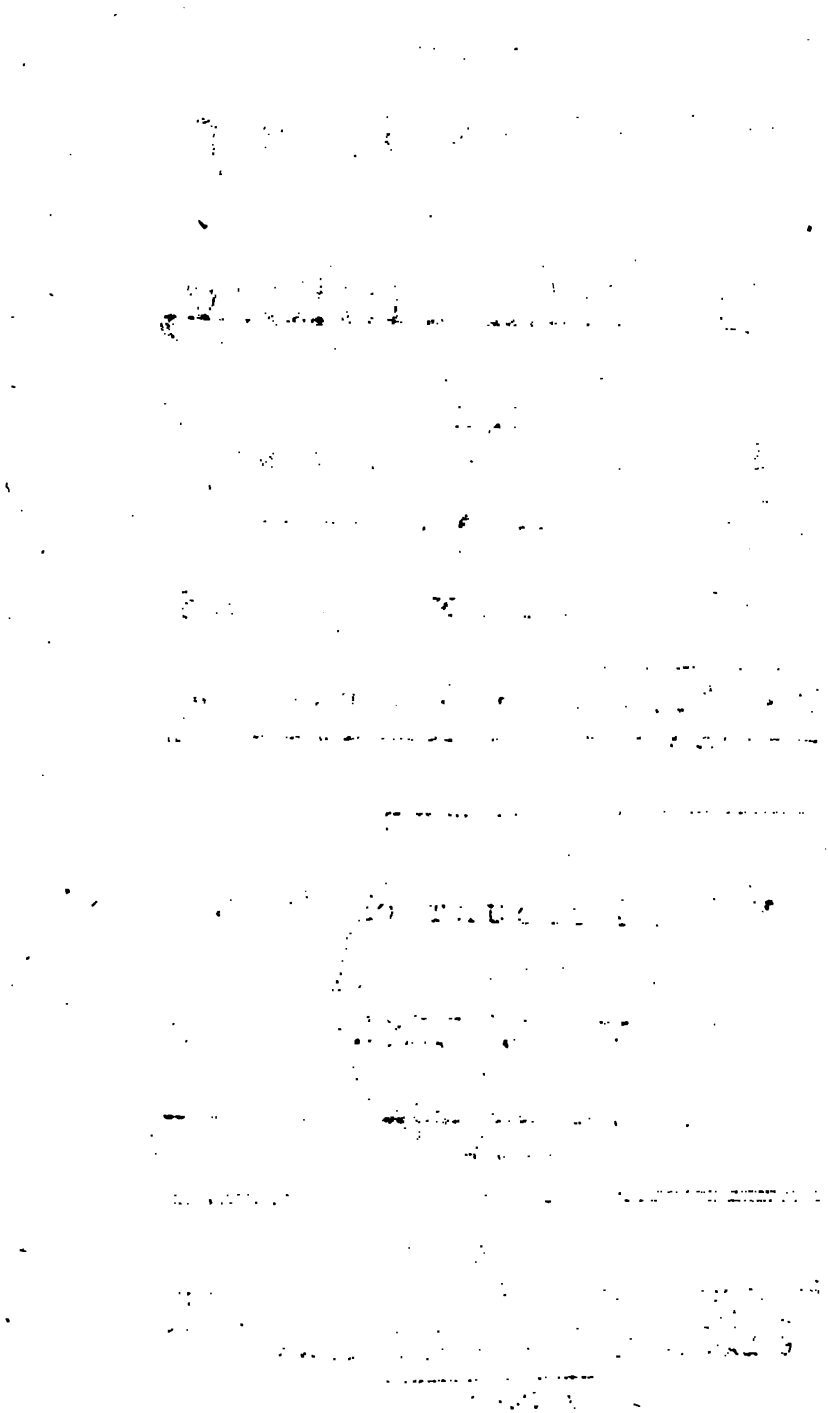

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By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

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Modern Hiſtory:

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BOOK XIX.

CHAP. V.

The Hiſtory of Italy.

UPON the death of pope *Benedict*, the college of cardinals was divided into two parties, the one endeavouring to chuſe a pope that would confirm the acts of *Boniface*, the other intent upon having one a friend to the king of *France* and the *Colonna* family. Each party perſevered ſo obſtinately in their purpoſe, that the papal ſee was vacant near the ſpace of ten months. At length they agreed that the one party ſhould name three *Frenchmen* that were not of the college, one of whom ſhould be choſen pope by the other party within forty days after. According to this agreement, the party averſe to the king of *France* named three *Frenchmen* who were known to be his enemies. *Philip*, being informed of the nomination, by his friends, immediately ſent for the archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, one of the candidates, to *France*, who, upon his arrival, offered to agree to the terms propoſed by the king, on condition of his procuring A. D. 1305.

curing for him the pontificate. *Philip* then propoſed that he ſhould give a fuller pardon of the violence committed againſt *Boniface*, whoſe memory he ſhould condemn; that he ſhould grant him the tythes of his kingdom for five years, and reſtore the cardinals of the *Colonna* family to their former dignity; which articles the archbiſhop ſwearing to perform, a meſſenger was diſpatched to the cardinals at *Perugia*, who immediately declared the archbiſhop pope, and ſent the decree of his election into *France*, intreating him to haſten his return into *Italy*. Upon receiving the decree of the college, he aſſumed the name of *Clement* V.; and, ſending for the cardinals to *Lyons*, he was conſecrated in that city on the 14th of *November*, in the preſence of the king of *France*, the dukes of *Britany*, *Burgundy*, and *Lorrain*, and many other princes (A). *Clement*, immediately after his conſecration, reconciled the king of *France* to the church in the fulleſt manner; and, in the *Advent* following, reſtored the cardinals of the *Colonna* family, and made a promotion of ten others, all of whom, except one, were *Frenchmen*[1].

The archbiſhop of Bourdeaux *is elected pope, and takes the name of* Clement *the fifth.*

He revokes the bulls of Boniface *againſt the king of* France.

THE following year he revoked the bulls of *Boniface* to the prejudice of the king of *France*, and granted him the tythes of his kingdom for five years. About the ſame time we find that he granted the tythes for two years to the king of *England*, for an expedition into the *Holy Land*; and afterwards he made the ſame conceſſion in favour of other Chriſtian princes, to aſſiſt them againſt the *Moors* and *Turks*, and, in general, all the enemies of the church. Having likewiſe created the biſhop of *Durham* patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, he ordered him to go to the emperor, and the kings of *Hungary*, *Cyprus*, and *Armenia*, to implore their aſſiſtance in recovering *Paleſtine*; and, as he thought it would be of ſervice to the affairs of *Syria* that *Conſtantinople* were recovered from the *Greeks*, he deſired the count of *Valois* to invade that empire, and not only aſſiſted him with ſome ſupplies of money, but likewiſe prevailed with the *Venetians* to enter

A. D. 1306.

[1] Vit. Clement. ap. MURATOR. SPOND. Annal. PLATINA.

(A) The court of the pope being thus tranſlated to *France*, continued in that kingdom for more than 70 years, to the great detriment of *Italy* and *Rome*, in which city many of the churches fell to ruins by the abſence and neglect of the prieſts. The *Italians* give the name of the *Babyloniſh Captivity* to this reſidence of the pope's court in *France* (1).

(1) *Platina.*

into

into an alliance with him, and to promise him the assistance of their fleet.

CLEMENT, being likewise desirous of quieting the troubles of *Italy*, which kingdom, during the vacancy of the pontificate, had been harrassed by the party of the *Guelphs*, he sent two nuncios to the *Florentines* and *Lucceſe*, who, under the command of *Robert*, eldest son to the king of *Naples*, were besieging the *Gibelines* in *Pistoria*. The nuncios, in the name of the pope, ordered the *Guelphs* to desist from the siege, but their remonstrances had no effect upon the troops of *Florence* and *Lucca*; only *Robert* left the command of the army, and went to congratulate the pope. *Clement*, being informed of the obstinacy of *Lucca* and *Florence*, appointed cardinal *Neapoleo Ursini*, a *Roman* of great reputation, as his legate over all *Italy* and the adjacent islands, with a most ample commission. But as *Neapoleo* seemed inclined to favour the *Gibelines*, and the *Albi* or *Whites*, the *Florentines* refused to admit him into their city; and he was expelled from *Bologna* with the hazard of his life, and the loss of all his furniture and baggage; on which account he not only laid that city under a sentence of excommunication and interdict, but also deprived it of the privilege of teaching, whereupon the greatest part of the professors went and fixed their residence at *Padua*[m]. *Sends a legate into Italy, to quiet the troubles in that kingdom.*

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, *Clement* went with his court to *Bourdeaux*, where he suspended the archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was accused by the king of raising disturbances in *England*, while he himself was absent in *Flanders*. After residing several months at *Bourdeaux*, the pope went to *Poictiers*, to reconcile the kings of *France* and *England*; and as *Charles* of *Valois* and the *Venetians* were now prepared for attacking the empire of *Constantinople*, he excommunicated the emperor *Andronicus*, as the encourager of the *Greek* schism and heresy. Being likewise very earnest to recover the *Holy Land*, he published a severe edict, prohibiting the Christians from furnishing the *Saracens* with arms or military stores. About the same time frier *Haythonius*, a relation of the king of *Armenia*, coming to *Poictiers*, *Clement* received him with great affection; and, desiring him to declare his opinion of an expedition into *Syria*, he dictated a treatise of the affairs of *Armenia*, which was wrote by *Nicolas Salco*, and in which he proved that then was the most proper time for attacking the *Saracens*, because the A. D. 1307. *He excommunicates the* Greek *emperor.*

[m] VILLAN. l. viii. c. 82. & 85. ANTON. tit. 20. c. 9. §. 2. & tit. 21. c. 1.

Christian princes were not involved in war, and the *Saracens* were then engaged in civil wars, being likewise greatly weakened by the king of the *Tartars*, who still professed Christianity, and offered all the assistance in his power against the infidels [n].

He creates bishops in Great Tartary; and

NOTWITHSTANDING the arguments of *Haythonius*, and the intreaties of the pope, the princes of *Europe* could not be prevailed upon to engage in a new crusade. *Clement*, nevertheless, being informed of the great success of frier *John de Monte Corvino*, who eighteen years before had been sent by *Nicolas* IV. as legate into *Ethiopia*, *India*, and *Tartary*, he ordered seven *Franciscans* to be consecrated bishops, and sent into *Tartary*, that they might consecrate the legate archbishop of *Cambalu*, in the kingdom of *Kathay*, and continue themselves in that kingdom as his suffragans. He likewise wrote to the great Khân, exhorting him to embrace the Christian faith, and thanking him for his kindness to the proselytes of that religion [o]. About the same time he received a visit from the king of *France*, who intreated him, according to his oath, to condemn the memory of *Boniface* the eighth, and to order his bones to be thrown into the fire, as those of a heretic. *Clement* had no intention of fulfilling this part of his oath; but, that he might not give offence to the king, he declared to him, that *Boniface* could not be condemned without at the same time annulling the promotion of all those cardinals that had been made by him. Besides that, except in a general council, a pope could not be lawfully accused or convicted, he therefore would summon one for that purpose [p].

Suppresses the order of the Templars.

THE king, resting satisfied with this answer, transacted another affair with the pope, which at that time made a great noise in *Europe*. This was the extirpation of the knights templars, who were accused of horrid impieties, the discovery of which was owing to one of their order, who was imprisoned at *Paris* for some capital offence. He, in hopes of saving his life, informed the king of the wickedness authorized and practised by the order to which he belonged; and *Philip*, at this conference, acquainting the pope with the discovery made by the criminal, obtained leave from his holiness to seize upon all the templars in his kingdom, who were accordingly apprehended on the 10th of *October*, orders having been sent to the magistrates of all the cities to be ready

[n] HAYTHON. c. 55. SANUT. l. iii. par. 15. [o] WADDING. Annal. minor. t. 3. an. 1305, & 1307. [p] VILLAN. l. viii. c. 91. ANTON. tit. 21. c. 1. sect. 2.

with a body of troops to execute, the following night, an order contained in another letter, then only to be opened. *Clement* in the mean time wrote to all the biſhops of Chriſtendom, ordering them to make inquiſition into the crimes of which the templars were accuſed, informing them in his letters, that, having received repeated accuſations of that order, he had ſent for a knight of eminent nobility and authority, who had ſecretly confeſſed upon his oath, that, upon receiving any one into their order, they obliged the initiated perſon to ſpit upon the croſs, and to deny Chriſt, and that many other horrid crimes were allowed of, and generally practiſed, by the order. Upwards of ſeventy other knights having made the ſame voluntary confeſſion, *Clement* ordered the poſſeſſions of all the templars to be confiſcated, publiſhed a bull for the ſuppreſſion of the order, and wrote to the ordinaries and inquiſitors of the different provinces to impriſon the templars, and to make inquiſition into their crimes. He likewiſe ſent two cardinals to *Paris*, who, publiſhing the bull againſt the order, condemned thoſe templars, who had made the voluntary confeſſion, to be burnt by a ſlow fire. The criminals recanted their former confeſſions; but acknowleged themſelves worthy of death, becauſe they had unjuſtly accuſed the order of crimes of which they were innocent. Several authors of thoſe times wrote in defence of the order; and *Boccace* alleges, that its extirpation was owing to the avarice of the king of *France*, who coveted the rich poſſeſſions the templars then enjoyed in *France*. But as their extirpation extended to all Chriſtendom, and their poſſeſſions were not ſeculariſed, there is no ground for this ſuſpicion: nor is it probable that the pope would have conſented to the ſuppreſſion of an order which his predeceſſors had honoured with ſo many privileges, unleſs the evidence of their crimes had been very explicit [q] (B). About the ſame time *Clement* ſent

[q] P. PUTEANUS, GAGUIN. l. vii. Hiſt. Franc. Contin. Bell. Sacr. l. v. c. 13. VILLAN. l. viii. c. 92. ANTON. ut ſupra. BLOND. D. ii. l. ix. SPOND. Annal. BOCCAC. de caſibus vir. illuſtr.

(B) The crimes of which they were accuſed were ſaid to have been firſt introduced among them about forty years before their extirpation, by one of their maſters, who, having been taken priſoner by the ſoltan, could not obtain his liberty on any other condition. But the corruption of the order may be juſtly attributed to the immenſe wealth of which it was poſſeſſed,

ſent a legate with an army againſt one *Dulcinus*, a leader of a ſect of heretics, whoſe chief tenets were, that all things were common; that the pope and the biſhops were not true paſtors, becauſe they did not live an evangelical life; that whatever action was done from charity was free from ſin. After purſuing the heretics in the *Alps*, the legate at laſt diſperſed them, and ſeized *Dulcinus* and ſome others, who were burnt at *Vercelli*.

A. D. 1308. *He is ſolicited to tranſfer the empire to* France.

THE following year the emperor *Albert* being murdered by his nephew, *Clement* was informed that the king of *France* intended to ſolicit him to tranſfer the imperial dignity to *France*, or to procure it for his brother *Charles*, according to the intention of *Boniface*. The pope, to free himſelf from the embarraſſment of either diſobliging the king of *France*, or offending the *Germans*, by the advice of one of his cardinals ſecretly informed the electors of the intentions of *Philip*, and adviſed them to proceed to an election without delay, before he ſhould have time to negotiate the affair. The electors followed his advice; and, according to his recommendation, on the 27th of *November*, choſe *Henry* duke of *Luxemburgh* for emperor, while the king of *France* was on the road to *Poictiers*, to ſolicit the intereſt of the pope[r]. *Clement* in the mean time propoſing to remove his court to *Avignon*, a city in *Provence*, under the dominion of the king of *Sicily*, he allowed his attendants then to diſperſe, but ordered them to aſſemble at *Avignon* about the middle of *January*, in the following year. Soon after his arrival at that city, being informed that the *Venetians* had taken poſſeſſion of *Ferrara*, a city belonging to the church, he excommunicated them in a grand proceſſion, deprived them of all commerce with other ſtates, and granted all their dominions to any one who was able and willing to ſeize upon them[s]. He received likewiſe an embaſſy from the emperor, deſiring the confirmation of his election, and ſwearing fidelity to the apoſtolic ſee. He granted the requeſt of the embaſſadors, on

[r] VILLAN. l. viii. c. 101. ANTON. See the Hiſtory of the Empire of France. [s] Vita Clem. ap. MURATOR. Bzov. hoc anno.

which gave an opportunity to its members to indulge in all manner of luxury and vice; for, inſtead of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, as at their firſt inſtitution, by their military exploits, they were then only remarkable for their arrogance and intemperance, ſo that it became a proverbial reproach againſt any one who waſted his time in gluttony and drunkenneſs, to ſay, that *he drank like a templar*.

condition

condition that the emperor ſhould come to *Rome* within two years, to receive the imperial crown; and as a mark of his reſpect for *Henry*, he ſent two cardinals into *Germany*, to accompany him in that journey. The *Venetians*, notwithſtanding their excommunication, ſtill keeping poſſeſſion of *Ferrara*, he ſent his relation *Arnald de Pelagria*, a cardinal deacon againſt them, with an army of *French* cruſaders, who, having entered into an alliance with *Bologna*, *Florence*, and the cities of *Lombardy*, defeated the *Venetians* near the *Po*, and recovered the city of *Ferrara*. In conſideration of the aſſiſtance which the cities of *Florence* and *Bologna* gave to his legate, *Clement* abſolved them from the ſentence of excommunication and interdict which had been denounced againſt them by *Neapoleo Urſini*.

He confirms the election of the duke of Luxemburgh. A. D. 1309.

About the ſame time *Charles* king of *Naples* dying, *Clement*, upon receiving the homage of *Robert*, the king's eldeſt ſurviving ſon, crowned him king of both *Sicilies* at *Avignon*, on the 8th of *September*, ſetting aſide *Charabert*, the king of *Hungary*, who pretended to the crown of *Sicily* in right of his father *Charles Martel*, *Robert*'s elder brother. *Robert*, upon receiving the inveſtiture of his father's dominions, declaring his deſire to undertake a ſacred expedition, the pope created him general vicar of the patrimony of the church in *Italy*, and count of *Romaniola*; he likewiſe remitted the debt which his father had contracted to the apoſtolic ſee during his war againſt the *Sicilians*; but he renewed the obligation to pay the annual tribute of 8000 ounces of gold, as an acknowlegement of his fief [t].

Gives the inveſtiture of Sicily *to* Robert, *the ſon of king* Charles;

Soon after, at the inſtance of the king of *France*, he publiſhed, in the conſiſtory, that all perſons, who had any thing to propoſe for or againſt the late pope *Boniface*, ſhould appear at *Avignon* before the middle of *Lent*, after which time no accuſation would be heard. This citation being paſted up in public places, *William Nogaret*, who had ſeized the pope, and *William Pleſſianus*, the author of the appeal to a general council, renewed their accuſations againſt *Boniface*, whoſe character was defended by one of the cardinals with great warmth. The accuſation of *Boniface* gave offence to ſeveral Chriſtian princes, particularly to the kings of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, who ſent embaſſadors to the pope, deſiring him to put a ſtop to the proceedings againſt the memory of *Boniface*. Beſides, as both parties appeared at the conſiſtory with numerous attendants, ſome tumult was apprehended. *Clement*, therefore, prevailed with the king of *France* not

and annuls all the acts of Boniface *againſt the king of* France. A. D. 1310.

[t] Villan. vit. Clem. ut ſupra.

to inſiſt upon the preſent trial, but to refer the determination of the whole affair to the pope and his council of cardinals; and, having received a letter from *Philip*, ſignifying his conſent, he publiſhed a bull, nullifying and declaring void all that had been tranſacted betwixt *Boniface* and the king of *France* ſince the beginning of the century, commanding all writings on that ſubject to be eraſed from the regiſters of the *Roman* ſee, and to be expunged from all books and tablets, prohibiting any one, under pain of excommunication, from retaining or concealing any originals or copies of the writings on that ſubject [u]. From the general pardon granted to all perſons concerned in the late diſpute, *Clement* excepted *William Nogaret*, *Sciarra Colonna*, the citizens of *Anagni*, and thoſe who were concerned in plundering the treaſure of the church. He likewiſe declared *Boniface* a catholic, free from all hereſy, and a true pope. Soon after, upon the penitent ſubmiſſion of *Nogaret*, he abſolved him from all cenſures that he had incurred, on condition that he ſhould tranſport himſelf for life with arms and horſes into the *Holy Land*, at the firſt general expedition thither; and in the mean time ſhould undertake a pilgrimage to *St. James* of *Compoſtella*, and ſeveral other ſacred places. About the ſame time he received an embaſſy from the *Venetians*, begging an abſolution of the eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and offering to make reparation for the damages they had done to the territories of the church. *Clement* delayed granting their requeſt; and, being reſolved to put off the meeting of the general council, which, according to the citation, was to aſſemble in *October*, he publiſhed letters addreſſed to all the prelates, ordering them to aſſemble the following year at *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*, on the 1ſt of *October* [w]. Mean while the knights hoſpitallers, who, upon the loſs of *Paleſtine*, had retired to *Cyprus*, having for two years attacked the *Turks* in the iſland of *Rhodes*, at length expelled the infidels, and made themſelves maſters of the iſland, which had before been granted to them by *Andronicus*, the emperor of *Conſtantinople*.

Rhodes taken from the Turks by the knights hoſpitallers.

The emperor enters Italy with an army, and

About the ſame time the emperor *Henry*, according to his agreement with the pope, and at the intreaty of the *Ghibelines*, aſſembled a conſiderable army, and ſet out for *Italy*. Upon his arrival at *Lauſanne*, he ſent commiſſaries to the pope, who renewed the oath of fidelity, and confirmed, in the name of their maſter, the donations of former emperors to the *Roman* church. From *Lauſanne* he advanced, in the month of *November*, to *Turin*, where he was joined by the

[u] Spond. Annal. [w] Idem ibid.

militia

militia of several *Italian* cities, particularly of *Pavia*, *Vercelli*, and *Lodi*, the chief of the faction of the *Guelphs*, who were then greatly pleased with his conduct, as he refused to hearken to some accusation of the *Gibellines*, declaring that he had no party in *Lombardy*, but came to receive homage for the whole. The *Guelphs* likewise then advised him not to restore any of the exiles till after his coronation; but he followed the advice of the *Germans*, and restored the *Gibellines* at *Hiericuri*. At *Asti* having heard the dispute betwixt the marquis of *Saluzzo* and *Montferrat*, about the territory of *Montferrat*, he decided in favour of the latter, which sentence greatly offended the *Gibellines*. *Henry* soon after marched to *Milan*, where he kept his *Christmas*, and surprised the *Italians* with his moderation, as he allowed *Guido Turriceno*, the chief of the *Guelphs*, and his enemy, still to reside in the common palace. A few days after he concluded a peace between him and the family of the *Viconti*; and, on the 6th of *January*, receiving the iron crown from the hands of the archbishop, he afterwards restored many of the *Guelph* and *Gibelline* exiles in several cities of *Lombardy*. This calm was of very short continuance; for, a violent sedition arising in *Milan*, the emperor was in great hazard of his life, and, with great difficulty and much bloodshed, quelled the tumult. Upon the news of this sedition, the faction of the *Guelphs* openly revolted from the emperor, and expelled his vicars from their cities, and entered into an alliance with *Robert* king of *Sicily*, to prevent his journey to *Rome* [x].

is crowned at Milan. A. D. 1311.

CLEMENT in the mean time wrote to the cities of *Italy*, to receive the emperor with honour, and gave a commission to five cardinals to crown him at *Rome*, he himself being engaged to attend the general council at *Vienne*. He soon after went thither with the cardinals, and the patriarchs of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and opened the council, at which were present, according to *Villanius* and *Antoninus*, upwards of 300 archbishops and bishops, though others say only 114, and a great number of other prelates and abbots. The first session was held on the 16th of *October*, and it was then determined that a crusade should be preached all over Christendom. The king of *France* was present at the second session, which was held the following year in the month of *April*, and in which the council approved of the suppression of the order of templars, and agreed that all their possessions

The pope holds a general council at Vienne. 1312.

[x] Iter Italic. Hen. VII. apud MURATOR. l. ix. Hist. Luxemb. l. xlvi. BLOND. D. ii. l. ix.

should

ſhould be given to the knights hoſpitallers, now called the knights of *Rhodes*[y]. But their poſſeſſions in *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, *Portugal*, and *Majorca*, were given to other orders of knights in thoſe kingdoms, who were employed againſt the *Moors*. The king of *France* likewiſe obtained from the council the tythes of his kingdom for ſix years, having engaged to take the croſs within that time, and obliged his ſon, in caſe of his death, to fulfil his vow. At the third ſeſſion, which was held on the 7th of *May*, ſeveral canons were ordained againſt heretics, and for the reformation of manners; after which *Clement* diſmiſſed the council[z]. The pope likewiſe confirmed the decree of *Gregory* X. concerning the election of a biſhop of *Rome*, and, at the ſolicitation of *Raymund Lully*, who was preſent at the council, he ordained, that the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Chaldaic*, and *Greek* languages, ſhould be publickly taught at *Paris*, *Oxford*, *Bologna*, and *Salamanca*, and where-ever the pope ſhould keep his court; and that the books in thoſe languages ſhould be faithfully tranſlated into the *Latin* tongue.

The emperor is crowned at Rome.

MEAN while the emperor *Henry*, notwithſtanding the great oppoſition of the *Guelphs*, and *Robert* king of *Sicily* having marched with his army to *Rome*, took poſſeſſion of part of the city on the north ſide of the *Tiber*, the greateſt part being ſtill in poſſeſſion of the *Guelphs*, headed by the family of the *Urſini*, and ſupported by *John* prince of the *Morea*, brother of the king of *Sicily*. As the oppoſite faction were in poſſeſſion of *St. Peter*'s church, the emperor made ſeveral attempts to expel them, but, after ſkirmiſhing in vain for two months, a meſſenger was ſent to the pope, to obtain the conſent of his holineſs to the performing of the ceremony in the *Lateran* church. The time for the return of the meſſenger being elapſed, and the tumults ſtill increaſing in the city, the cardinals were prevailed upon, by the intreaties of the emperor, to perform the ceremony without waiting for the pope's conſent. Accordingly, on the 1ſt of *Auguſt* the three cardinals who ſurvived, having received a new oath of fidelity from *Henry*, conferred upon him the imperial crown. Immediately after his coronation, the emperor ſent embaſſadors to *Frederic*, king of *Trinacria* or *Sicily*, and entered into an alliance with him againſt *Robert*, king of *Naples*, whom he intended to have attacked, in return for the aſſiſtance that he had given to the faction of the *Guelphs* in *Rome* and in *Tuſcany*. But, the *Germans* inſiſting upon returning

[y] BOSIUS, Hiſtor. Hoſpital. t. ii. lib. i. Continuat. Nangii.
[z] SPOND. Annal.

into

into their own country, he marched with his army to *Tivoli*, from whence the duke of *Bavaria*, and ſeveral nobles, with their troops, ſet out in their return to *Germany*. After their departure, the meſſenger arrived from the pope, with the permiſſion to crown the emperor, at the ſame time ordering a new oath to be taken by him, and likewiſe commanding him to agree to a truce with the king of *Naples* for a year. *Henry* refuſed to take the oath, as he was already crowned; and, by the advice of his counſellors, he affirmed, that the pope, neither by the canon or civil law, had any power to command a truce betwixt the emperor and his vaſſal. However, from his regard to the pope, he promiſed not to attack the king of *Naples* for a twelvemonth; and, after a ſecond journey to *Rome*, to quell the diſturbances raiſed by the prince of *Morea*, he marched with his army towards *Perugia*, and from thence to *Florence*, the territories of which city he ravaged [a].

The pope grants indulgences to thoſe who would engage againſt the Turks.

WHILE the emperor was thus puniſhing the perfidy and ingratitude of the *Guelphs* in *Italy*, *Clement* wrote to *Frederic* king of *Trinacria*, and *Philip* prince of *Tarento*, deſiring them to aſſiſt the emperor *Andronicus* againſt the *Turks*, and, for that purpoſe, he granted them the tythes of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues in their dominions: to all thoſe likewiſe who would engage in that war, he granted the ſame indulgences as the cruſaders had formerly enjoyed. About the ſame time, being informed of the diſſenſions betwixt the king and the barons of *England*, he ſent two legates into that kingdom to reconcile the contending parties. But the barons refuſing to receive the pope's letter, or accept of their mediation, they were obliged to quit the kingdom. Soon after *Clement* received from the emperor a copy of his ſentence againſt the king of *Naples*; *Henry* had declared him an enemy of the empire, and guilty of treaſon, and therefore deprived him of all authority, and abſolved his ſubjects from their allegiance. This proceeding of the emperor was not agreeable to the pope; however, he did not then openly condemn it, but declared that he would conſider of the affair. Not long after, the great preparations of the emperor then at *Piſa*, and of *Frederic* of *Sicily*, equally alarming the kings of *Naples* and *France*, *Clement* was prevailed upon, by the ſolicitation of *Philip the Fair*, to publiſh a bull, prohibiting any one, under pain of excommunication, from attacking the kingdom of *Naples* by land or by ſea, under any pretext. However, *Henry*, being privately aſſured by the A. D. 1313.

[a] Iter Ital. ut ſupra.

pope that he would not be diſpleaſed at his conqueſt of *Naples*, he continued his preparations, and marched towards *Gaeta*, where he was to be joined by *Frederic*; but, being ſeized with a violent fever, he died on his road at *Boncon-vento*, and was buried at *Piſa*[b]. Upon the death of the emperor, *Clement*, conſidering that the intended expedition againſt *Naples* would not take effect, publiſhed a bull, condemning the ſentence of the emperor againſt the king of *Sicily*, becauſe that kingdom was a fief of the apoſtolic ſee, and *Robert* had been condemned in his abſence, without a fair trial[c]. He likewiſe created *Robert* vicar of the empire in *Italy*, and ſenator of *Rome*; and, being informed that *Frederic* had ſeized *Reggio*, he excommunicated all thoſe who ſhould attack the kingdom of *Puglia*. About the ſame time he ſent a legate to *Paris* about the affairs of the *Holy Land*, who gave the croſs to the kings of *France*, *England*, and *Navarre*, and to many other nobles then aſſembled in that city. Soon after, being ſeized with a dyſentery, and ſeveral other diſtempers, he propoſed to go for his health to his native air of *Bourdeaux*; but he died on the road the following year, on the 19th of *April*.

The emperor dies at Boncon-vento.

Clement *dies upon the road to* Bour-deaux.

A. D. 1314.

UPON the death of *Clement*, a diſſenſion aroſe among the cardinals about electing a ſucceſſor; thoſe of *Guienne*, or *Gaſcony*, deſiring one of their own country to be choſen pope, while the other *French* cardinals, together with the *Italians*, wanted to elect another. After the conteſt had continued ſeveral months, the *Gaſcons*, to oblige the other party to deſiſt from their oppoſition, ſet fire to the conclave; which had a greater effect than they intended, and burnt a great part of the city. This calamity obliging them to ſeparate, they diſperſed themſelves into different cities, and delayed aſſembling again for more than two years, notwithſtanding the intreaties of ſeveral princes and biſhops. Mean while hoſtilities ſtill continued between the two factions in *Italy*. The *Piſans*, being afraid of the reſentment of the *Guelphs*, on account of their attachment to the late emperor, took into their pay all the *Germans* that choſe to continue in *Tuſcany*, and, by their aſſiſtance, made themſelves maſters of the rich and populous city of *Lucca*, where they ſeized the treaſure of the *Roman* church, to the value of one million of florins of gold[d], which was depoſited there in a monaſtery,

A diſſenſion in the conclave.

[b] Iter Ital. ut ſupra, FERRET. VICENT. Hiſt. ap. Murator. t. ix. p. 1112, &c. [c] SPOND. Annal. [d] ALBERT. MUSSAT. de Geſt. Ital. ap. Murator. t. x. FERRET. VICENT. ut ſupra.

thoſe

theſe who had the charge of it being afraid to proceed to *Avignon*, on account of the depredations of both the factions. In *Lombardy* likewiſe, *Guido Turriano*, being aſſiſted by *Robert* king of *Sicily*, defeated the troops of the *Viconti*, which victory occaſioned *Guido*'s brother, the archbiſhop, to be expelled from *Milan* by *Mapheo Viconti*, who, tho' almoſt 70 years of age, deſpiſed the ſentence of excommunication denounced againſt him by the archbiſhop, and aſſumed the title of prince of *Milan*.

The ſect of Lollards appears in Germany. A. D. 1315.

ABOUT this period the ſect of *Lollards* began to appear in *Auſtria* and the neighbouring countries, taking their name from one *Walter Lolhard*, whoſe doctrines they followed, the chief of which are mentioned by *Spondanus*, namely, That maſs, baptiſm, and extreme unction, are uſeleſs ceremonies; that the virgin *Mary*, after ſhe was a mother, was not a virgin; that the real preſence in the ſacrament was a falſhood; that it was lawful to eat fleſh on any day; that the *Roman* church was not the church of Chriſt; that the merits and interceſſion of ſaints ought to be deſpiſed, and likewiſe the obſervation of holidays and canons of the church; that perjury was no ſin; that the devils would be re-admitted into heaven, and *Michael* and other angels thruſt down to hell; that God did not puniſh any crimes that were committed under the earth; from whence they are accuſed of committing all manner of wickedneſs in caverns underground. Theſe and ſeveral other ſuch tenets they are ſaid to have profeſſed with ſuch obſtinacy, as to have ſuffered death rather than forſake them [e].

The cardinals confined in Lyons. 1316.

THE cardinals ſtill continuing diſperſed in different places, and, notwithſtanding the ſolicitation of *Lewis* king of *France*, delaying to proceed to an election, that prince ſent his brother *Philip*, count of *Poictiers*, to *Lyons*, who prevailed with them ſingly to come to that city, under pretence of a negotiation, and, upon their arrival, ſhut them up, againſt their inclination, in a convent of the *Dominicans*, threatening them with confinement till they had finiſhed the election. After they had been ſhut up forty days, they at laſt came to an agreement to receive him as pope who ſhould be named by the biſhop of *Porto*. That cardinal, at the perſuaſion of *Neapolea Urſini*, named himſelf; and, his brethren giving their conſent, he aſſumed the name of *John*, by ſome reckoned the 20th, by others the 21ſt, but commonly called the *John XXII. choſen pope.*

[e] SPOND. Annal. Trithem. in Chron. hoc an. HOESEM. de Geſt. Pontif. Leodicus.

22d,

22d, of that name [f]. He was conſecrated in the cathedral church of that city, on the 9th of *September*, and immediately publiſhed the reſidence of his court to be at *Avignon* (C). The news of his election reaching *Germany*, he ſoon after received an embaſſy from *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria*, and *Frederic* duke of *Auſtria*, both competitors for the empire, and each demanding a confirmation of his election by the apoſtolic ſee. *John* delayed declaring in favour of either of them, under pretence of conſidering which of them had the preferable right. At the ſame time he annulled the election of *John*, the king of *Arragon*'s ſon, to the biſhoprick of *Tarragona*, but tranſlated thither the biſhop of *Saragoſſa*.

He receives an embaſſy from the competitors to the empire.

A. D. 1317. THE following year, taking the advantage of the civil diſſenſions in *Germany*, he reſolved effectually to cruſh the *Gibellines* in *Italy*, and to confirm the uſurpations of his predeceſſor *Clement* upon the rights of the empire. He therefore publiſhed the conſtitutions of *Clement*, and appointed ſchools where they ſhould be read and explained. Among theſe conſtitutions there were ſome that aſſerted, that the emperors were vaſſals of the holy ſee; and that the oath taken by them at their coronation was not only a promiſe of defending the church and the pope, but an oath of allegiance and homage; and that, during an interregnum, it belonged to the pope to diſpoſe abſolutely of all affairs of the empire, not only as ſuperior of the empire, but from the plenitude of his power which he poſſeſſed as ſucceſſor of St. *Peter*, and vicar of Chriſt [g]. To confirm theſe claims of his predeceſſor, on the 31ſt of *March* he publiſhed a bull, declaring, that, as the empire was vacant, the adminiſtration of it, both by right and cuſtom, belonged to the pope; he therefore prohibited, under pain of excommunication and interdict, any one, of what dignity ſoever, from aſſuming the title of vicar of the empire, without the leave of the apoſtolic ſee. At the ſame time he granted the vicariate of the

He claims the adminiſtration of the empire during the interregnum.

[f] Vita Joan. apud MURATOR. VILLAN. lib. ix. cap. 79.
[g] SPOND. Annal. ad an. 1313.

(C) *John* XXII. was formerly called *James de Oſſa*, and was born at *Cahors* in *France*. He was the ſon of a taylor, but, diſtinguiſhing himſelf in his youth in the ſervice of the archbiſhop of *Arles*, chancellor of the king of *Sicily* in *Provence*, by his aſſiſtance he found means to accompliſh his ſtudies, and procured the biſhoprick of *Frejuli*. He afterwards ſucceeded him as chancellor, was created biſhop of *Avignon*, then cardinal biſhop of *Porto*, and, when he was choſen pope, he was upwards of 70 years of age.

empire

empire in *Italy* to *Robert* king of *Naples*, till the coronation of the emperor, and cited the two competitors to juſtify their claims before the apoſtolic ſee. By this bull the pope hoped to ruin the power of *Mapheo Viconti* at *Milan*, *Canis Scaliger* at *Verona*, *Paſſerini Bonacoſſi* at *Mantua*, and other chiefs of the *Gibellines* in other places of *Italy*, who, in their ſeveral territories, aſſumed the title of vicars of the empire, and generally favoured the intereſt of *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria*. *John* likewiſe about the ſame time erected ſeveral new biſhopricks in *France*, by dividing ſeveral dioceſes; and, at the requeſt of the king of *Arragon*, he created a new order of knights, under the title of *St. Mary* and *St. George*, and conferred upon them the revenues of the knights templars in *Valentia*. This ſame year alſo he made inquiry into the accuſations of ſeveral perſons who were ſaid to have conſpired againſt his life, and thoſe of the whole cardinals. Among the conſpirators was found *Hugh* biſhop of *Cahors*, who, after his conviction and degradation, was delivered over to the ſecular magiſtrates, by whoſe ſentence he was firſt partly flayed, and afterwards burnt alive [h]. The pope then publiſhed ſeveral bulls againſt necromancy, and thoſe who practiſed magical arts. Being likewiſe informed of great diſturbances in *England*, he ſent two legates into that kingdom to compoſe the diſſenſions, and to receive the tax of St. *Peter*, and the oath of homage for the kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, which had been formerly given to *Innocent* III. The legates were alſo commiſſioned to ſettle the diſputes with *Scotland*; and carried letters from the pope to *Robert Bruce*, who was only ſtiled governor of *Scotland*. *Robert* at firſt refuſed to allow the legates to enter his kingdom; but afterwards, ſending for them, he declared, that he would neither treat of peace nor a truce with *England*, unleſs he had the title of king from the pope. Upon receiving this declaration from the king, the cardinals returned to *London*; and *Robert* ſtill refuſing to agree to a peace, they excommunicated him and all his adherents, and laid the kingdom under an interdict [i].

and ſends two legates into Britain.

SOON after the pope publiſhed a bull againſt a ſect of *Franciſcans*, who had propoſed to live up to the rigour of the rules compoſed by St. *Francis*, neglecting the diſpenſation of thoſe rules by the popes *Nicolas* III. and *Clement* V. They were not only accuſed of being ſchiſmatics, but alſo of being heretics; and were ſaid to have aſſerted, that there

He condemns a ſect of Franciſcans. A. D. 1318.

[h] Vita Joan. ut ſupra. [i] SPOND. Annal. ex Regeſt. Vatic.

were

were two churches, one carnal, abounding in wealth and wickedneſs, at the head of which was the pope and prelates; the other ſpiritual, adorned with poverty and ſanctity, in which they and their followers were included; that an oath at all times was unlawful; that the goſpel of Chriſt, till they appeared, lay hid, and was even loſt; with ſeveral other tenets. In conſequence of the pope's bull, theſe friers were perſecuted in *Sicily*, and four of them were burnt at *Marſeilles*. However, they were protected in ſome places of *Italy*, and eſpecially at *Milan*, by *Mapheo* or *Matthew Viconti*, who was himſelf accuſed of being a heretic, and believing erroneouſly of the reſurrection of the dead, and ſome other articles, of plundering monaſteries, violating the chaſtity of nuns, and ſtopping the office of the inquiſition, on which account the pope renewed the ſentence of excommunication pronounced againſt him and his followers by his archbiſhop. *Mapheo*, in reſentment for this proceeding of the pope, prevailed with *Canis Scaliger*, *Paſſerini*, and other chiefs of the *Gibellines*, to form a league againſt him and his party, and appointed *Canis* the general of the alliance, who attacked ſeveral cities of the *Guelphs*, while *Mapheo* ſent an army, commanded by his ſon, againſt *Genoa*. In conſequence of this league, hoſtilities were renewed in *Italy* with great fury; and *Genoa* and its territory, for ſeveral years, were ſo expoſed to the ravaging of both friends and foes, that, according to *Petrarch*, its ſhore, which was formerly covered with palaces, appeared a deſert [k]. In the mean time the pope, being informed that ſeveral cities in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, encouraged by the league of the *Gibellines*, had expelled the governors appointed by him, and had choſen others, he publiſhed a ſevere edict againſt them, and likewiſe excommunicated the family of *Eſte*, who had accepted the government of *Ferrara*.

A league formed againſt him by the Gibellines *in* Italy.

He ſends a legate into Italy.

A. D. 1319.

THE following year he ſent his nephew cardinal *Bertrand*, as legate, into *Lombardy*, to aſſiſt the *Guelphs* againſt the *Gibelline* faction; and being informed that the ſect of the *Waldenſes* began again to appear in *France*, he ordered thoſe convicted of that hereſy to be delivered to the ſecular magiſtrate. About the ſame time he renewed the edicts of his predeceſſors againſt the *Jews*, and ordered the books of their talmud to be ſought out and burnt. He likewiſe granted a power to ſome biſhops of *Denmark* of taking off the interdict which *Boniface* VIII. had laid upon that kingdom, on account of the impriſonment of the archbiſhop of *Lunden*.

[k] Verba Petrarch. ap. BLOND. D. ii. l. ix.

Mean

Mean while, finding that his ſpiritual arms had no effect upon the *Gibellines* in *Italy*, he ſent *Philip* of *Valois*, ſon of *Charles*, and couſin of the king of *France*, with a body of *French* troops into *Lombardy*, againſt *Mapheo*. *Philip*, upon his arrival at *Aſti*, was joined by the legate with ſome horſe, and marched from thence to relieve *Vercelli*; but, being oppoſed by a ſuperior army of the *Gibellines*, he was obliged to halt; and, having a conference with *Galeatius*, *Mapheo*'s eldeſt ſon, he was perſuaded by him to return to *France*, excuſing himſelf to his father and the king, by alleging the delay of the money and ſuccours promiſed him by the pope and the king of *Naples* [l]. *A body of French march to the relief of the Guelphs.* A D. 1320.

THE ſudden departure of *Philip* encouraging the *Gibelline* faction, *John* entered into a ſtricter alliance with the kings of *France* and *Naples*, and, to ſupply the expences of the war, aſſumed to himſelf the firſt-fruits of all vacant benefices for three years. At the ſame time he renewed his anathema againſt the rebels in *Italy*, and particularly excommunicated *Frederic* king of *Trinacria*, and laid his kingdom under an interdict, becauſe he had not obſerved the truce appointed by the pope betwixt him and the king of *Naples*, and, upon his return from his expedition againſt *Genoa*, had ſeized ſome of the eccleſiaſtical revenues in *Sicily* [m]. Soon after *John* returned an anſwer to the embaſſadors of *Poland*, and commiſſioned the archbiſhop of *Gneſna*, with two other prelates, to examine the complaints againſt the *Teutonic* knights, who were accuſed of unjuſtly ſeizing all *Pomerania*. The pope at the ſame time refuſed to grant the title of king to *Uladiſlaus*, leſt he ſhould offend the kings of *Bohemia* and *France*; but he declared ſecretly to the embaſſadors, that he would not hinder the *Poles* from uſing their own right. A few months after he condemned the doctrines of *John a Poliaco*, a *Pariſian* divine, who aſſerted, that thoſe who confeſſed their ſins to the monks were likewiſe bound to confeſs them over again to their pariſh-prieſt. Having publiſhed a bull againſt that doctrine, he commiſſioned other *Franciſcans* to go to *Tartary*, *Ethiopia*, *Armenia*, and other eaſtern nations, writing by them to *George* king of the *Georgians*, and to the princes of *Tartary*, exhorting them to return to the unity of the *Roman* church. He likewiſe reſtored the biſhop to *Kiovia* in *Ruſſia*, and created a *Dominican* biſhop of *Armenia*. Mean while the war ſtill continuing in *Italy*; and *Frederic* king of *Trinacria*, in reſentment for the ſentence of *The pope excommunicates the king of* Trinacria. 1321. *Sends miſſionaries into* Tartary, *&c.* 1322.

[l] VILLAN. l. ix. c. 108. CORIUS, Par. iii. [m] VILLAN. l. ix. c. 133. FAZEL. D. ii. l. ix.

excommunication denounced againſt him, granting freſh ſuccours to the *Gibelline* faction, *John* renewed his anathema againſt *Mapheo Viconti* and his adherents, and promiſed to confirm the election of *Frederic* duke of *Auſtria* to the empire, if he would ſend an army to the aſſiſtance of the *Guelphs* in *Italy*. *Frederic* willingly embraced the offer of the pope, and ſent his brother *Henry* into *Italy* with 2000 horſe; but *Mapheo* repreſented to him, that, if he aſpired to the empire, he was acting againſt his own intereſt, by endeavouring to ruin the *Gibellines*, who were only engaged in ſupporting the rights of the empire; and that, if their faction were extirpated, *Italy* would then become ſubject to the popes. Upon this repreſentation, *Frederic* wrote to his brother to quit *Italy*; and to appeaſe the pope, who was highly offended at that proceeding, he ſent commiſſaries into *Italy*, to procure a truce betwixt the contending parties, but without any effect, he himſelf being defeated and taken priſoner a few weeks after by his rival *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria* [n].

Condemns ſome doctrines of the Franciſcans.

JOHN in the mean time received an appeal of the *Franciſcans* from a ſentence of the inquiſitor at *Narbonne*, who had accuſed one of their order as a heretic, for aſſerting, that Chriſt and his apoſtles had no property either in common or in part, which opinion was juſtified by a decree of *Nicolas* III. The pope propoſed the affair to the univerſities and learned men in *Europe*; and, till he ſhould receive their deciſion, he ſuperſeded the decree of *Nicolas*. The *Franciſcans* ſoon after, holding a general chapter at *Perugia*, declared that they adhered to the decree of *Nicolas*; and that to renounce the propriety of all temporal goods was pious and meritorious, as it was following that perfection which was taught by Chriſt and his apoſtles, and confirmed by their example. The pope, being informed of this determination, publiſhed a bull, affirming, that the obſtinate aſſerting of the opinion, that Chriſt and his apoſtles had no property, was erroneous and heretical; and in another bull he prohibited the *Franciſcans* from aſking any thing for the future in the name of the *Roman* church [o]. As the *Franciſcans* were thus deprived of their uſual ſtile of begging, they were greatly offended with the pope, and ſeveral of them went over to the party of the *Gibellines*, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of that faction appeared then on the decline, owing in ſome meaſure to the death of *Mapheo Viconti*, which happened a few months before. The pope's general ſoon after

A. D. 1323.

[n] VILLAN. l. ix. c. 174. See alſo the Hiſtory of the Empire.

[o] SPOND. Ann. WADDING. Annal. minor. t. iii. hoc an.

defeated

defeated *Mark Viconti*, and in the month of *June* beſieged *Milan*. However, the *Gibellines* aſſembling under the command of count *Berthold*, whom, with other two counts, the emperor had ſent into *Italy*, and marching to the relief of the city, the *Guelphs* were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, which had continued near two months P.

He orders the emperor to abdicate his dignity.

THE pope, in reſentment for the aſſiſtance given to the *Gibellines* by the emperor, wrote a monitory to him, which he likewiſe ſent to be publiſhed in *Germany*, *Italy*, *France*, *England*, and in other kingdoms. In this writing the pope declared, that as *Lewis* of *Bavaria* had, without the approbation of the apoſtolic ſee, not only aſſumed the title of king of the *Romans*, but alſo uſurped the adminiſtration of the empire in *Germany* and *Italy*, to the manifeſt prejudice of the *Roman* church, to whom that right belonged during an interregnum; that as he had aſſiſted the *Viconti*, tho' condemned for hereſy, and had likewiſe aided the other rebels of the church, and done many other things to the detriment of Chriſtianity; he therefore warned him, under pain of excommunication, to deſiſt from all exerciſe of the functions of an emperor within three months, and not to reſume the ſame without the approbation of the apoſtolic ſee. He likewiſe prohibited any one, of what character or dignity ſoever, from aſſiſting him in any thing relating to the adminiſtration of the empire q. About the ſame time, being informed that the ſiege of *Genoa*, after continuing five years, was at laſt raiſed, he ſent for deputies from both the factions in that city, and in vain endeavoured to reconcile them. He ſent meſſengers alſo to the king of *Servia*, to exhort him to return to the unity of the *Roman* church; renewed the bulls of his predeceſſors againſt carrying arms or warlike ſtores to the *Saracens*; and entered into an alliance with the king of *France* and the *Venetians*, to oppoſe the progreſs of the *Turks* in *Syria*.

MEAN while the monitory being publiſhed in *Germany*, the emperor ſent three meſſengers to the pope, to know the reaſons of his proceeding, and to aſk ſome delay; and, in a diet at *Nuremberg*, drew up a proteſtation againſt the aſſertions contained in the monitory, appealing to the ſee of *Rome*, and a future general council; and declaring, that the pope himſelf was a favourer of hereſy, as he diſcouraged penitents to come to confeſſion, and endeavoured to aboliſh the ſovereignty of kings. The deputies, upon their arrival at *Avignon*, pre- A. D. 1324.

P VILLAN, l. ix. c. 195, 196. 211, 212. q Bzov. hoc ann.

tended to believe, that the monitory was a forgery; but being aſſured that it was real, they aſked a delay of two months, which was granted by the pope, to allow the emperor time to repent. The two months elapſing without any ſubmiſſion on the part of the emperor, *John* declared him fallen under the ſentence of excommunication; but granted him three months longer, within which time he ordered him, under pain of depoſition, to appear perſonally, or by his proxies, before the apoſtolic ſee. At the ſame time he declared all thoſe prelates and eccleſiaſtics, who had acted againſt the monitory, to have fallen under a ſentence of ſuſpenſion from their office and benefice. The emperor ſtill continuing to deſpiſe his fulminations, the pope at length, on the 20th of *July*, denounced a definitive ſentence againſt him, and declared him deprived of all ſovereignty which he might pretend to in right of his election, and ſummoned him to appear at *Avignon* before the 1ſt of *October*. Mean while the *Viconti* in *Italy* having defeated the troops of the church, and taken two of their generals priſoners, *John* renewed the cenſures againſt the *Gibellines*, and ordered a new cruſade to be preached againſt them. However, their arms ſtill continued ſucceſsful, and towards the end of the year they made themſelves maſters of *Monza*.

The emperor is excommunicated, and depoſed by the pope.

THE emperor, upon being informed of the ſentence of depoſition denounced againſt him by the pope, reſolved vigorouſly to defend his authority and character; and ſeveral of the *Franciſcans*, who, upon account of adhering to the primitive inſtitutions of their order, were reckoned ſchiſmatics, from their hatred to the pope, repairing to the emperor's court, *Lewis* made uſe of their pens in defending his cauſe; and a few months after publiſhed a long manifeſto, which is preſerved in *Aventine*[r], in which he accuſes the pope of ſowing diſcord and ſedition among all Chriſtians; of publicly boaſting, that, when the Chriſtian princes were at war, then the biſhop of *Rome* was truly pope; that he would bruiſe the brazen ſerpent, meaning the empire of the *Germans*, to duſt; and that he would not leave one in *Italy* who acknowleged the empire. He likewiſe aſſerted, that he was antichriſt, and had the ſpirit of ſatan, in allowing himſelf to be worſhipped, which even an angel would not accept of from St. *John*; that the temporal juriſdiction, which the pope poſſeſſed, was owing to the liberality, or rather weakneſs, of the emperors; that, if he was the ſervant of the ſervants of God, he ought not to be of all men the moſt

He publiſhes a manifeſto in his own defence.

[r] AVENT. l. vii. p. 610——613.

ambitious

ambitious of honours and wealth; that he was a heretic, by condemning the orthodox opinion of the poverty of Christ and his apostles; from him therefore he appealed to the sentence of a general council (D). The pope, to defend himself from the accusation of heresy, published another bull, explaining his former decrees against the *Franciscans*, many of whom, for adhering to the opinion of the council of *Perugia*, were then burnt as heretics in different parts of the world [a].

NOT finding likewise that ready submission from the pre- *The king*
lates of *Germany* that he expected, in publishing his moni- *of* France,
tory, he resolved to raise up a powerful competitor against *at the de-*
the emperor; he accordingly negotiated with *Leopold*, brother *sire of the*

[a] EYMER. Director. Inquis. Par. ii. qu. 11. ANTON. tit. xxi. c. 5.

(D) This manifesto was supposed to have been written by *John di Gandone* or *Ghent*, and *Marsibus de Menandrino* of *Padua*, the last of whom published a book this year concerning the imperial and pontifical jurisdiction, which he dedicated to the emperor, and intituled, *Defensor Pacis*, or, An advocate for peace. *John* also published a book concerning the ecclesiastical power. They both affirmed, that when Christ paid tribute to *Cæsar*, he paid it as a debt due to the emperor for his civil protection; therefore the temporal possessions of the church were subject to the emperor. 2dly, That Christ, at his ascension into heaven, left no visible head of his church, and appointed no vicar, nor had *Peter* any more authority than any other of the apostles. 3dly, That it belonged to the emperor to appoint or depose, and punish, the pope, since Christ, as a subject, was crucified by *Pilate*; and *Marsilius* added, that, during a vacancy of the apostolic see, the emperor might succeed the pope, and govern the church. 4thly, That all priests, whether the pope, archbishops, or simple priests, according to the institution of Christ, were equal as to authority and jurisdiction; and that one of them possessed more than another was owing intirely to the gift of the emperor. 5thly, That the whole church united could not inflict a coercive punishment upon any one, without the authority of the emperor. In answer to these books, others were likewise published that same year, particularly by the archbishop of *Ravenna*, concerning the jurisdiction of the empire, and the authority of the pope. *Pelagius Alvarus*, a *Spaniard*, and bishop of *Sylves*, published another work in justification of the pope; and *Peter de Palude*, a *Dominican*, wrote a treatise on the immediate origin of ecclesiastical power (1).

(1) *Possev. Appar. Sac. t.* i. *Bzov. an.* 1327. *Prateol. & Gualter. de Haeres. Alvar. de Planctu Eccles. l.* i. *c.* 68.

pope, solicits the empire.

of the duke of *Austria*, in favour of *Charles the Fair*, king of *France*; and it was stipulated, that *Charles* should compel *Lewis* of *Bavaria* to quit his pretensions to the empire; and, after his election, give 30,000 marks of silver to *Leopold*, on condition that his brother, *Frederic* of *Austria*, would likewise quit his claim to the empire. In consequence of this agreement, the pope exerted himself to procure the votes of the electors in *Germany*; and *Leopold*, having solicited the princes in the interest of his brother, and receiving a favourable answer from others that had hitherto embraced no party, wrote to the king of *France*, desiring him to repair to *Bar-sur-Aube*, on the confines of the empire, to have a conference with the *German* princes, who had promised to go thither. *Charles* accordingly went to that city with a splendid retinue, but, to his great disappointment, found only duke *Leopold* [t]. This affront greatly cooled the ardour of the king of *France*; and, notwithstanding the pope and *Leopold* assured him, that a little money would procure him the interest of a great many princes, who had but a weak attachment to *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, on account of his being excommunicated, yet *Charles* refused to concern himself any farther in the affair, and intirely dropt his pretensions. The pope was soon after greatly surprised with the news of an accommodation betwixt the emperor and his competitor *Frederic* of *Austria*; *Frederic*, in consideration of his renouncing all pretensions to the empire, being set at liberty, and not only allowed to retain the title of king of the *Romans*, but also appointed to govern *Germany* during the emperor's absence in *Italy*, whither he intended to march with an army to the assistance of the *Gibellines* [u]. As this agreement intirely broke the measures of the pope, he immediately declared it null and void, absolved *Frederic* from the obligation of his oath, and prevailed with several electors to deny their assent to the accommodation, asserting, that neither of the competitors had a right to resign in favour of the other. To support the expences of the war in *Italy*, he likewise solicited the payment of the penny of St. *Peter* in the kingdoms of *Scotland*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, *Portugal*, and *Sicily*; but in *Poland*, instead of the usual tax of three-pence a measure of oats for each house, he only exacted a penny, because the

Frederic of Austria *is reconciled to the emperor, and resigns in his favour.* A. D. 1325.

[t] Villan. l. ix. c. 207. ap. Murator, t. xiii. p. 561.
[u] Idem, c. 293. Hoesem, de Gest. Pont. Leodien. l. ii. c. 10. Chron. Aulæ Reg. c. 15. apud Scriptor. rer. Boem.

kingdom

kingdom was weakened by the revolt of *Silesia* to the king of *Bohemia* [w].

About this time he likewise condemned some propositions of *Peter John Olive*, a *Franciscan*, who, in his comments on St. *Matthew*'s gospel, the canonical epistles, and the revelations, had advanced some doctrines which were interpreted by the schismatic *Franciscans* to favour their opinion (E). The pope, to prevent the propagation of those doctrines into the distant provinces, published a bull, denouncing an anathema against the monks, of whatever order, who should dare to go beyond seas without letters patent from their superiors, charging the superiors not to grant those letters but to men of learning and experience. At the same time, at the request of the *Dominicans*, he granted a power to the general of their order to appoint a vicar over all the monks who were employed in preaching the gospel among the infidels, from whence is generally dated the original of the society of missionaries [x], tho' some refer it to the time of *Innocent* IV. 72 years before this period [y]. This year likewise, *John* being informed that the heretics, who

The establishment of the society of missionaries.

[w] Bzov. Pol. hoc ann.
[x] Spond. Annal. hoc anno.
[y] Wadding. t. iv. an. 1399.

(E) *Peter John Olive* was born in *France*, and died in 1297, in the 50th year of his age. In his youth he wrote a book in praise of the virgin *Mary*, which was condemned during the pontificate of *Nicolas* III. as containing some things too extravagant. He was afterwards frequently accused by the brothers of his order, whose resentment he had drawn upon himself by his severe reproofs of their luxury, and his endeavours to recall them to the poverty and rigour of their first institution. After his death his body was dug up, he was condemned as a heretic, and his writings were burnt, and remained prohibited till the time of *Sixtus* IV. who, having ordered them to be examined, declared they contained nothing expressly contrary to the catholic faith. The propositions condemned by *John* are mentioned by *Emmericus*, in his directory of the inquisition, under 22 heads; and the chief of them are, "That the pope was the "mystical antichrist; that St. "*Francis* was the angel in the "revelations, said to have the "mark of the living God, and "that his rule was the true gospel; that the perfect state of "the church began with St. "*Francis*, and that Christ and "his apostles had no property "either in common or in particular, but had only the usufruct of what they enjoyed" (z).

(z) *Direct. Inquis. Par.* ii. iv. ix. *Wadding. Annal. Claren. in* 5. *Tribul. ordin. Anton. tit.* xxiv. *c.* 9. *sect.* 11. & 13.

had been expelled from other provinces, had taken refuge in *Boſnia*, he wrote to *Charles* king of *Hungary*, and to *Stephen* prince of *Boſnia*, deſiring them to extirpate the heretics, and to give their aſſiſtance and protection to the *Franciſcans*.

The pope is invited to Rome. A. D. 1326.

THE following year, the *Romans*, having expelled their nobility, and appointed *Sciarra Colonna* as their governor, and ſettled likewiſe a council of 52 citizens, ſent embaſſadors to the pope, deſiring him, as his predeceſſors had done, to come and reſide in their city, otherwiſe they would conſult for themſelves as they thought proper. Whether they really deſired his preſence is uncertain; for about the ſame time they ſent deputies both to the emperor and the king of *Naples*, acknowleging their ſubmiſſion to each of thoſe princes. *John* replied, that he deſired greatly to comply with their requeſt; but excuſed himſelf on account of his great age, and the danger of the journey; but, to oppoſe the deſigns of the emperor in *Italy*, he again declared the king of *Naples* vicar of the empire in that kingdom; appointed cardinal *John d'Orſini*, a *Roman*, as legate in *Tuſcany*, *Campania*, and *Sardinia*; and created *James Sabellus* and *Stephen Colonna* as conſuls in *Rome*. The legate, upon his arrival at *Florence*, excommunicated *Caſtruccio Caſtracani*, commonly called tyrant of *Lucca*, and chief of the *Gibellines* in *Tuſcany*. The biſhop of *Arezzo*, who adhered to that party, was likewiſe excommunicated and depoſed [z].

The emperor enters Italy; 1327.

SOON after, the emperor arriving with a ſmall army at *Trent*, he was immediately joined by the chiefs of the *Gibelline* faction, and a great number of eccleſiaſtics of all degrees, particularly by the *Franciſcans*, who were greatly irritated againſt the pope. He there held a council, which drew up 16 articles againſt the pope; and, having condemned him as guilty of hereſy, excommunicated him and all his adherents [a]. From *Trent Lewis* proceeded to *Milan*, where he was crowned with the iron crown by the depoſed biſhop of *Arezzo*, together with the biſhops of *Reggio* and *Breſcia*; the archbiſhop of *Milan*, who was of the oppoſite party, being then a refugee at *Genoa*. Having taken the government of *Milan* from the *Viconti*, on a ſuſpicion of treaſon, he held a diet at *Orzi*, in the territory of *Breſcia*, where he created three new biſhops, and received a ſubſidy of 200,000 florins of gold. The emperor then advancing to *Piſa* and *Lucca*, the *Romans*, who had received a denial from the pope, invited him to their city, while the legate again re-

and is crowned at Milan.

[z] SPOND. Annal. l. ix. c. 348. l. x. c. 3. [a] Idem, c. 15.

newed

newed the ſentence of excommunication againſt him in the city of *Florence*. Though the emperor, in the diet held at *Trent*, had excommunicated the pope, yet, according to *Cuſpinianus* and *Trithemius*, he ſent to *Avignon*, and deſired *John* to confer upon him the imperial crown [b]. The embaſſadors were treated with ignominy by the pope, who, on the 20th of *October*, pronounced a definitive ſentence of excommunication and depoſition againſt the emperor, ordered the electors to proceed to a new election, and prohibited any one, of what dignity ſoever, from giving him any aſſiſtance [c]. About the ſame time he likewiſe excommunicated *Marſilius* of *Padua* and *John di Gandone*, and condemned the errors contained in their books [d]. His legate, in the mean time, with the prince of *Morea*, entered *Rome* by ſurprize, and took poſſeſſion of the *Leonine* part of the city; but the emperor's party ringing the alarum-bell of the capitol, the *Neapolitans* were next morning expelled with great loſs.

Soon after the emperor arrived with his army at *Rome*; and a few days after held an aſſembly in the capitol, in which he thanked the *Romans* for their kindneſs, and promiſed to defend and enlarge their privileges. They in return created him a ſenator and captain of the people for one year, and choſe four of the moſt noble of their citizens to aſſiſt at his coronation; which ceremony was performed in the church of *St. Peter*, on the 17th of *January*, with great magnificence, *Lewis* being conſecrated by two ſchiſmatic biſhops, and crowned by *Sciarra Colonna*. After his coronation, the emperor created a great many knights, and cauſed three imperial decrees to be read concerning the catholic faith, the honouring of the clergy, and the protection of widows and orphans. Upon the approach of the emperor to *Rome*, all the clergy, that adhered to the pope, retired from the city, which was then put under an interdict; and *John*, being ignorant that the emperor was already crowned at *Rome*, about the end of *January* publiſhed a bull for a cruſade againſt *Lewis* of *Bavaria* and his adherents. This fulmination was too late to have any effect; for the emperor, having now ſecured the affection of the *Romans*, was reſolved in his turn to depoſe his antagoniſt. Accordingly, about the middle of *April* he held a ſolemn aſſembly in *St. Peter*'s church; and ordered a crier to call out three times, if any perſon would undertake the defence of the prieſt *James* of *Cahors*, who called himſelf pope *John*. Nobody making

He receives the crown at Rome. A. D. 1328.

[b] Cuspin. de Cæſar. Trithem. in utroque Chron. [c] Villan. c. 68. [d] Spond. Annal.

anſwer,

anſwer, an abbot of *Germany* read a long ſentence againſt the pope, whom he accuſed of being a deſerter of his ſee, of unjuſtly claiming the diſpoſal of all eccleſiaſtical benefices, which he conferred by ſimony on unworthy perſons, of raiſing dangerous ſchiſms and wicked hereſies in the church of God, of oppreſſing the cardinals and other prelates, of confounding the temporal and ſpiritual power, and of deciding concerning the poverty of Chriſt and his apoſtles contrary to the catholic opinion; the emperor therefore pronounced a ſentence of depoſition againſt the ſaid *James*, whom he left to be puniſhed by the ſecular power; and condemned all his adherents, of what rank or quality ſoever, to the confiſcation of their effects, and the puniſhment of death[e]. A few days after the emperor publiſhed ſome laws about the future popes, ordaining that they ſhould not be abſent from *Rome* above three months in a year, nor go above two days journey from the city, without leave of the people; and if, after they were recalled three times, they refuſed to return, a new one was to be elected. He then, with the conſent of the *Romans*, created a *Franciſcan* antipope, by the name of *Nicolas* V. who, a few days after, made a promotion of ſeven cardinals, appointed governors in the cities of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and ſent legates into the different provinces of Chriſtendom. *Nicholas* likewiſe publiſhed a bull, confirming the depoſition of *John*, and declaring his adherents guilty of hereſy.

Depoſes the pope, and

creates an antipope.

LEWIS, after theſe proceedings at *Rome*, marched againſt the king of *Naples*; but being diſappointed in his ſuccours from the *Gibellines* and the king of *Sicily*, he returned ſoon after to the city, where his intereſt was ſo greatly fallen, that, in a mutiny againſt his troops, the party of the *Guelphs* had the advantage[f]. Finding that he could not with ſafety continue any longer at *Rome*, he left that city on the 4th of *Auguſt* with his antipope, and marched to *Viterbo*, and from thence to *Fodi*. Upon his departure from *Rome*, the pope's legate entered the city, and annulled all the acts of the emperor and *Peter di Corbaria* the antipope, the *Romans* teſtifying their conſent with great exclamations, and the boys even digging up the bodies of the *Germans*, and throwing them into the *Tyber*. *Lewis*, in the mean time, marching to *Piſa*, at the intreaty of *Michael Ceſena*, general of the *Franciſcans*, and *William Oakham*, an *Engliſhman*, publiſhed his ſentence againſt the pope, who again excommunicated the

[e] VILLAN. c. 68. [f] RAINALD, ad an. 1328. VILLAN. c. 76.

emperor

emperor and his adherents, particularly *Cesena* and *Oakham*; and was so exasperated against the *Franciscans*, that, according to *Antoninus*, he deliberated upon suppressing the whole order [g]. *The pope deliberates upon suppressing the order of Franciscans.*

THE interest of the emperor daily declining in *Italy*, the following year the march of *Ancona* and the whole patrimony of the church returned to the obedience of the see of *Rome*; the city of *Milan* likewise submitted to the pope; and *John Vicenti*, the brother of *Matthew*, resigned his dignity of cardinal, which he had received from the antipope, and was created bishop of *Novara*. The emperor, being in great distress for want of money, and finding himself deserted by the *Gibellines*, marched towards *Trent*, to hold a council with the chiefs of his party in *Italy*, and the nobles in *Germany*; but being informed of the death of the duke of *Austria*, he pretended this as a reason for his quitting *Italy*, and accordingly marched with his army into *Bavaria* [h]. In the mean time the pope again excommunicated *Cesena*, and appointed the bishop of *Tusculum* vicar of the order of *Franciscans*, till a new general should be elected. He likewise answered the libels of *Cesena*, which answers were examined by *Oakham*; and, in return, his objections were answered by frier *James Fornerius*, who had been lately promoted to the dignity of cardinal [i]. This same year *John* wrote to *Robert Bruce*, king of *Scotland*, allowing him and his successors to be crowned by the bishop of *St. Andrew's* or *Glasgow* [k]. He likewise offered great rewards for apprehending the antipope, by which means that unhappy person was discovered in the house of count *Boniface* at *Pisa*, where he had concealed himself for several months. Finding himself without resource from the emperor or his party, he resolved to throw himself on the clemency of the pope, and voluntarily surrendered to the archbishop of *Pisa* and the bishop of *Lucca*, who, having received a commission from the pope, absolved him upon his abjuring certain articles prescribed to him by his holiness [l]. *The emperor returns to Germany.* A. D. 1329. *The antipope is apprehended.* A. D. 1330.

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, the pope was greatly alarmed at *Avignon* by the approach of *William* count of *Hainault*, the emperor's father-in-law, with 1800 horse, who, in consequence of a vow, proposing to march into *Granada* against the *Moors*, was desirous of receiving the benediction of the pope. *John*, greatly suspicious that the count intended to do him an injury, sent for the nobles in

[g] ANTON. sect. 15. SPOND. Annal. [h] VILLAN. c. 146.
[i] EYMER. Direct. Inquis. Par. ii. qu. 15—17. [k] SPOND. ex Regest. Vatic. [l] RAINALD. an. 1330. WADDING. epl. an.

the

the neighbourhood, armed his retinue, and prohibited the count from entering *Provence*, under pain of excommunication, absolving him likewise from his vow, on condition that he returned home [m]. *John*, however, a few weeks after, received a visit from the king of *France*, with whom he had some secret conferences, relating, as it was afterwards known, to the wars in *Italy*, and to an expedition into the *Holy Land*, for which last purpose *Philip* obtained the tythes of all ecclesiastical revenues in his kingdom. About the same time *John* received an embassy from *Germany*, proposing a reconciliation between him and the emperor, who offered to abandon the antipope, to retract his appeal, annul all that had been done against the holy see, and acknowlege himself justly excommunicated, provided the pope would acknowlege him as emperor. *John* rejected these generous preliminaries with great disdain; and, in his letter to the king of *Bohemia*, ordered him and the other electors to proceed to a new election. About the same time the antipope arrived at *Avignon* from *Pisa*, and appeared in a public consistory with a rope about his neck, begging absolution from the pope. Having publicly made a long confession of his crimes, and a profession of faith agreeable to the tenets of the *Roman* church, *John* confirmed the absolution which he had received at *Pisa*, but confined him as an honourable prisoner in the palace, where he lived three years, and, at his death, was buried in the church of the *Franciscans* [n]. The pope likewise this year sent a form of the catholic doctrine to the emperor of the *Tartars*, wrote to the *Armenians* to continue in the unity of the *Roman* church, granted a great many privileges and indulgences to the *Dominicans* and *Franciscans*, who were preaching the gospel among the infidels, and ordered the inquisitors of the faith to proceed against those who practised magic, or other unlawful arts [o].

The king of France *obtains the tythes of all the ecclesiastical revenues in his kingdom.*

A. D. 1331. THE following *January* he again renewed his anathema against *Michael de Cesena*; and prohibited, under severe penalties, *Oakham*, *Bonagratia*, and *Thalheim* or *Chalheim*, from obeying him. This decree of the pope was published in all the houses of the order of the *Franciscans* by the general, who, in a general chapter of the order at *Perpignan*, confirmed the sentence against the schismatics, published two years before in the chapter at *Paris*; and condemned *Cesena*, *Thalheim*, *Francis de Esculo*, *Oakham*, and *Bonagratia*, to perpetual imprisonment, on account of their contumacy,

[m] VILLAN. c. 155. [n] Idem, c. 162. [o] SPOND. Annal.

and

and of the hereſies which they publicly taught p. Mean while the king of *Bohemia* having entered *Italy* with an army as vicar of the empire, and conquered the greateſt part of *Lombardy*, his great ſucceſſes equally alarmed the emperor and the faction of the *Guelphs*. *Lewis*, being informed that he had had a conference with the pope's legate, was apprehenſive leſt he ſhould be prevailed upon by the pope to aſpire to the empire; while the *Guelphs*, imagining that the pope had ſecretly invited the king into *Italy*, and connived at his conqueſts, entered into a league againſt him and the legate, in which they were joined by the *Gibellines*, who believed that the king did not act ſo much to ſerve the emperor, as to aggrandize his own family. The king of *Bohemia* having returned to *Germany*, to repel ſome enemies that had invaded *Bohemia* in his abſence, the emperor ſent two of his ſecretaries, as embaſſadors to the pope, to treat of a reconciliation with the holy ſee, but without any effect. Soon after, according to *Villani*, *John* received an embaſſy from the king of *France*, informing him, that he intended to undertake an expedition into the *Holy Land*, and deſiring, for that purpoſe, the tythes of all Chriſtendom for ſix years, the right of conferring all eccleſiaſtical benefices in his kingdom, the kingdom of *Italy* for his brother *Charles*, and the title of king of *Arles* and *Vienne* for his own ſon; which extravagant demands, if they were really propoſed, were made, as *Spondanus* obſerves, to excuſe the king from his vow q.

The king of Bohemia reduces Lombardy, and is ſolicited by the pope to deſert the emperor.

JOHN, ſtill intent upon oppoſing the emperor, wrote to the king of *Bohemia* and the duke of *Auſtria*, exhorting them to abandon his party. His ſolicitations at laſt prevailed with the duke of *Auſtria*, who not only deſerted the intereſt of the emperor, but acknowleged himſelf the vaſſal of the pope, and that he held his hereditary dominions of the holy ſee. But the king of *Bohemia*, hoping that the great confuſions in *Italy* would influence the pope to hearken to an accommodation, went to *Avignon*, and ſolicited him in behalf of the emperor. *John* remained inflexible to all the ſolicitations of the king, notwithſtanding *Lewis*, at the intreaty of the king of *France*, ſent another embaſſy to him to treat of peace. He even depoſed the biſhop of *Caſtello*, for reporting in *Germany*, that the emperor was reconciled to the holy ſee, and made an offer of the empire to the king of *Bohemia*, who rejected that propoſition, and ſoon after quitted *Avignon*.

A. D. 1332.

p BZOV. hoc an. xiii. p. 720. SPOND. Annal.

q VILLAN. c. 196. ap. Murator.

The pope is accused of professing an heretical doctrine.

THE following year *John* raised a new set of enemies against himself, by asserting, in a discourse at *Avignon*, that the souls of the happy or damned are not perfectly blessed or miserable till after the resurrection, when they shall have again received their bodies. Though this opinion seemed to have been embraced by *Justin*, *Irenæus*, *Origen*, and other antient fathers both *Greeks* and *Latins*, yet it raised a great many adversaries against the pope, not only among the cardinals and prelates, but among all ranks of men, especially the *Dominicans*, some of whom were so zealous in opposing it, as to draw punishments upon themselves. But many of the *Franciscans* declared for the opinion of the pope; and *Gerard*, general of the order, preached in favour of that doctrine at *Paris*. His discourses occasioned disturbances in that city; and the king, having received the opinion of the doctors, ordered him publicly to retract his doctrine, otherwise he would be burnt as a heretic. *Philip* likewise wrote to the pope, signifying to his holiness, that it did not become a pope to propose doubtful questions, but rather to decide those that were proposed by others. *John* excused himself, and declared, that he had not mentioned that opinion by way of assertion, but as a probability, and a subject of dispute, with an intention to have the opinion of the learned; and had therefore ordered the cardinals, prelates, and doctors, after diligent inquiry, to give their judgment of that doctrine[r]. The pope, by explaining his opinion, and declaring that he never intended to maintain a doctrine contrary to the catholic faith, stopped the clamour that was raised against him. However, the schismatic *Franciscans*, or *Fratricelli*, continued to exclaim against him as a heretic, not only on account of his opinion concerning the state of departed souls, but likewise for his decrees against their doctrine of the poverty of Christ and his apostles, which they founded on that declaration of our Saviour, *He that does not sell all that he has, and give to the poor, cannot be my disciple.*

A. D. 1333.

He explains his opinion in a catholic sense.

The king of Bohemia quits Italy.

MEAN while the king of *Bohemia*, having returned to *Italy*, joined his troops to those commanded by the legate; but, being defeated by the confederates near *Ferrara*, he thought proper to evacuate *Italy*, and to abandon all his conquests in *Lombardy*. The pope, being likewise soon after informed, that the emperor, fearing to die out of the communion of the church, had consented to resign his sceptre, and return to a private station, he wrote a letter to him, ex-

1334.

[r] VILLAN. c. 228. BZOV. an. 1331. WADDING. hoc an.

horting

horting him to put ſuch a laudable deſign in execution; and even ſent two legates to *Munich* to receive his abdication, ordering them, in caſe of his refuſal, to abſolve the princes and barons of the empire from their oath of allegiance to *Lewis*. The legates, upon their arrival at *Munich*, were not allowed to enter upon any negotiation; which ſo exaſperated the pope, that he wrote to the biſhops of *Bremen*, *Magdeburgh*, and *Cologne*, to publiſh new anathemas againſt the emperor and his adherents, and excited ſeveral princes to ravage his hereditary dominions[s]. About the ſame time he commiſſioned the archbiſhop of *Rouen* to give the croſs to the king of *France*, and to the kings of *Navarre* and *Bohemia*, and to many other nobles who were then at *Paris*[t]. The emperor, in the mean time, in order to oppoſe the deſigns of the pope, reſolved to conclude a peace with *Robert* king of *Naples*, and to call a general council, to proceed againſt *John* as a heretic; for which purpoſe he entered into a ſecret negotiation with cardinal *Neapoleo d'Orſini*, who was likewiſe offended with the pope, becauſe, contrary to his promiſe, he had reſided in *France*[u].

The emperor propoſes to call a general council to depoſe the pope.

BEFORE the emperor could execute his deſign, his adverſary was removed by death, which happened to him on the 4th of *December*, at *Avignon*. *John*, being ſenſible of the great ſcandal he had raiſed by his doctrine of the ſtate of departed ſouls, on the 3d of *December* ſent for the cardinals into his chamber, and, in their preſence, revoked his opinion of that doctrine; and ſubmitted all queſtions, upon which he had either diſcourſed or written, to the determination of the church and his ſucceſſors. Having confirmed this declaration by a bull, he died the next day, leaving behind him an immenſe treaſure; *Villani* affirming, upon the credit of his brother, who was merchant to the pope, and informed by the officers who aſſiſted at the weighing of it, that it amounted in money and jewels to 25 millions of florins of gold[w]. This ſum is greatly leſſened by other authors; but, whatever it was, according to *Villani*, he acquired it by reſerving to himſelf the conferring of benefices through all Chriſtendom, under pretence of preventing ſimony, though it appears that he himſelf did not beſtow them for nothing. He likewiſe reſerved the annates, or firſt year's revenues, of all new collated benefices, which were very numerous during his pontificate, as he generally ſupplied vacancies by tranſporting the

John *dies at Avignon.*

[s] PTOL. Lucceus, Hiſt. Eccleſ. Inſt. l. xxiv. c. 42. [t] MAT. VILLAN. l. vii. c. 2. [u] RAINALD. ad an. 1324. [w] WADDING. & BZOV. hoc an. VILLAN. l. xi. c. 20.

incumbents

incumbents from other benefices. He is also said to have instituted the tribunal of the twelve chaplains of the pope, called *Rota Auditores*, which was to determine appeals from all the parts of Christendom [x] (F).

Cardinal Fournier is elected pope, and takes the name of Benedict XII. A. D. 1335.

A FEW days after the death of *John*, the cardinals, to the number of 24, went into the conclave to chuse a successor. They divided, as usual, into parties; and cardinal *Colonna*, who was at the head of the weakest faction, proposed *John Raimund*, cardinal bishop of *Porta*, who was approved of by the other party, on condition that he would promise not to go to *Rome*. As he refused to agree to this condition, some of the conclave carelessly proposed *James Fournier*, a *Cistertian* monk, and the lowest of the order of cardinals, who was thereupon immediately elected, he himself being astonished at their choice, and calling out, *that they had chosen an ass*. He was consecrated on the 1st of *January*, and took the name of *Benedict* XII. bestowing upon the cardinals 100,000 florins of gold, and, according to *Nauclerus*, sending 50,000 to repair the churches of *Rome* [y]. He immediately sent letters to all the Christian princes, except the emperor and the king of *Sicily*, informing them of his elevation. He likewise denounced an anathema against the *Fratricelli*; revoked the benefices granted by his predecessor, if the incumbents were not in peaceable possession of them; and reserved to himself the bestowing of all the benefices that became vacant at his court, or within two days journey thereof. About the same time he also sent *Bertrand*, archbishop of *Yverdon*, to the *Romans*, who were persuaded by him to govern the city under the name of the pope. Being desirous likewise of extirpating heresies, he wrote to the

[x] POLYD. de rer. invent. lib. vi. c. 12. CIACON. in Joannem XXII. [y] NAUCLER. Gen. 25.

(F) *John* XXII. added a 3d crown to the pontifical tiara. The first crown worn by the popes was sent by *Clovis* king of *France* as a present to St. *John de Lateran*, and was placed by pope *Hormisdas*, about the year 515, upon his own head, above the cap which he usually wore. His successors, till *Boniface* VIII. used the single crown; but that pope, on the occasion of his disputes with *Philip the Fair*, king of *France*, assumed a double crown, to signify his claim to both the spiritual and temporal authority. At last *John* added a third crown to the tiara, in which form it has been worn by all his successors (1).

(1) *Hist. de Philip de Valois, l.* 1.

king

king of *Bohemia* and the biſhop of *Olmutz* to proceed againſt thoſe who publiſhed any doctrines contrary to the faith of the church of *Rome*. Mean while the wars betwixt the two factions ſtill continued to deſolate *Italy*; and, as the authority of the emperor was diſregarded, each powerful prince attacked his weaker neighbour, for the enlargement of his own territory. The emperor, to recover his authority in that kingdom, ſent an embaſſy to the pope, to treat of a reconciliation with the holy ſee; but, the pope inſiſting upon the emperor's abdication, nothing was effected. *Benedict*, however, not having the ſame animoſity to *Lewis* as his predeceſſor, was not active in raiſing enemies againſt him, but contented himſelf with the formality of publiſhing the ſentence of excommunication againſt him and his adherents.

He receives an embaſſy from the emperor, and

THE following year, *Benedict* having, together with the cardinals and doctors, examined the opinion of his predeceſſor concerning the beatific viſion, publiſhed the recantation of *John*, with a commentary of his own, to eſtabliſh the catholic doctrine, and to clear the reputation of his predeceſſor. He therefore declared, that the ſouls of thoſe who die free from guilt, or after death are purged from their ſins, and likewiſe the ſouls of children, who, having received baptiſm, die before they arrive at the uſe of free-will, immediately after death, or the purgation above-mentioned, were admitted into the preſence of God [z]. A few weeks after, the embaſſadors of the emperor again arrived at *Avignon*, to negotiate a peace with the pope, having full power from *Lewis*, who offered to revoke all that he had done againſt *John* XXII. to annul the ſentence publiſhed by *Henry* VII. and himſelf againſt *Robert* king of *Naples*, and ſeveral other articles greatly in favour of the ſee of *Rome*. As the pope gave a favourable reception to the embaſſadors, the emperor ſoon after ſent others with further conceſſions. But the negotiation was prevented from coming to a favourable concluſion by the intrigues of the kings of *Naples*, *Bohemia*, and *France*, which laſt being threatened with a war from the king of *England*, was afraid leſt the emperor, after his reconciliation with the holy ſee, ſhould give aſſiſtance to *Edward* III. his brother-in-law. The king of *Bohemia*, who the year before had contracted an alliance with *France*, was intirely in the intereſt of *Philip*; and therefore wrote to the pope, that he, with the aſſiſtance of ſome other nobles, propoſed to elect another king of the *Romans*. The intereſt of thoſe princes with the cardinals being ſuperior to that of

publiſhes a bull concerning the beatific viſion. A. D. 1336.

A peace propoſed betwixt him and the emperor, but without effect.

[z] SPOND. Annal.

the emperor, the negotiation was broke off, and the embaſſadors of the emperor returned to *Germany*[a]. The pope, being at this time deſirous to prevent a war betwixt the kings of *France* and *England*, wrote to the emperor, to turn him from his alliance with *Edward*; but being likewiſe offended with the king of *France*, for neglecting his expedition into the *Holy Land*, he revoked the grant of the tythes which *Philip* had obtained from his predeceſſor. He alſo laboured to reform the diſcipline of the church, particularly of the *Benedictines*, *Ciſtertians*, and regular canons of St. *Auguſtin*. He reſtrained the *Dominicans* from preaching promiſcuouſly, and from receiving confeſſions in the ſtreets and public roads, excommunicated the *Bologneſe* for refuſing to ſubmit to the church, and confirmed the ſentence of excommunication of the biſhop of *Wratiſlaw* againſt the king of *Bohemia*, for unjuſtly ſeizing and poſſeſſing a caſtle belonging to that biſhoprick[b].

A. D. 1337.

The pope endeavours in vain to reconcile the kings of France *and* England.

As hoſtilities had already commenced betwixt *France* and *England* in *Gaſcony* and *Xaintonge*, and the emperor, together with the *German* princes, had entered into a league with *Edward* at *Cologne*, the pope endeavoured to put a ſtop to the further progreſs of the war, and ſent two legates into *France* and *England*, to treat of an accommodation. The legates were received with great reſpect at *Paris*; but *Edward* would not allow them to enter *England*, but ſent deputies to treat with them on the continent, where, after ſeveral conferences, nothing was concluded on. *Benedict*, finding the king of *England* inflexible, wrote to the emperor, exhorting him not to engage in the war againſt *France*. But *Lewis* not returning a favourable anſwer to this letter, the pope wrote to all the faithful, prohibiting them from entering into alliance with *Lewis*. Soon after he received an embaſſy from the king of *England*, who deſired leave to enter into an alliance with the emperor; but *Benedict* refuſed to give his conſent, and, not being certain that the league was already concluded, he prohibited him from entering into any treaty with the enemy of the church. *Lewis*, however, being reſolved to break with the king of *France*, wrote to the pope, complaining of that prince for having ſeized ſeveral fiefs of the empire, and deſiring the aſſiſtance of his holineſs in obliging *Philip* to reſtore what he had uſurped. *Benedict* returned no anſwer to *Lewis*, but informed the king of *France* of the emperor's intention, and therefore

[a] Villan. l. xi. c. 54. [b] Bzov. hoc an. Villan. c. 59. Michov. l. iv. c. 22. Cureus in Annal. Sileſ.

intreated

intreated him earneſtly to a reconciliation with the king of *England*.

A FEW months afterwards *Benedict* receiving an embaſſy from ſeveral biſhops of *Germany*, ſoliciting him to be reconciled to the emperor, he declared to them, that unleſs *Lewis* concluded a peace with the king of *France*, he could not conſent to grant him abſolution, as *Philip* had threatened to uſe him worſe than his predeceſſors had done *Boniface*, if he ſhould abſolve the emperor without his conſent. The embaſſadors returning without obtaining their purpoſe, the *German* princes, in defence of their own privileges, in a diet at *Frankfort*, publiſhed a perpetual edict, declaring, that whoever was elected king of the *Romans* by the majority of the electors, was thereby real king or emperor of the *Romans*, and did not need the conſent or the approbation of the pope; and whoever dared to oppoſe that decree, ſhould be accounted guilty of treaſon. A copy of this decree was ſent to the pope, who, according to the relation of Dr. *Albert* of *Straſburgh*, the meſſenger, ſeemed not to be greatly offended, but ſent a nuncio to the emperor, deſiring him to ſend embaſſadors to *Avignon*, to treat of an accommodation with the holy ſee [c]. About the ſame time *Benedict* being informed that the king of *England* had aſſumed the title of vicar of the empire, and was about to march into *France* with a powerful army, threatened him with excommunication if he did not reſign that title. Soon after, hearing that the *Engliſh* army had retreated without any action, he again wrote to the king, exhorting him to a peace with *Philip*, and offering himſelf as mediator. This year alſo, according to *Surita*, he ſent two legates into *Sicily*, who laid that kingdom under an interdict, becauſe the *Sicilians* had refuſed, ſince the death of *Frederic*, to return to the obedience of the king of *Naples* [d].

The German nobles and biſhops intreat the pope to be reconciled to the emperor.

A. D. 1338.

THE following year, the king of *Arragon* arriving at *Avignon*, *Benedict* gave him the inveſtiture of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, but refuſed to confirm his claims to the iſlands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*. About the ſame time he received an embaſſy from *Andronicus*, emperor of *Conſtantinople*, offering to treat of an union with the *Latin* church, on condition that the chief cities of the empire poſſeſſed by the *Turks* ſhould be recovered by the *Latins* from the infidels, and reſtored to the *Greeks*; and a general council ſhould be appointed, where the *Greeks* might have liberty to defend the

The pope gives the inveſtiture of Sardinia *and* Corſica *to the king of* Arragon;

1339.

[c] ALBERT. Argent. Chron. p. 129. [d] SURIT. Indict. l. iii. FAZEL. D. ii. c. 9.

doctrine of the proceſſion of the Holy Spirit. *Benedict* anſwered, that, if the *Greeks* would agree to the union, the princes of the weſt would then give their aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*. He then diſmiſſed the embaſſadors, becauſe they declared, that they had no commiſſion from the patriarch or biſhops, but were only ſent privately by the emperor. Mean while *Azo Viconti* dying at *Milan*, his brother *Luchino* ſucceeded to the principality; and the power of the emperor being diſregarded in *Italy*, he was reconciled to the holy ſee, and purchaſed the title of vicar of the empire from the pope for 50,000 florins of gold, and a yearly tribute of 10,000 [e]. His example was imitated by the other princes in *Lombardy*, who, being reconciled to the pope, acknowleged the empire to be vacant, and obtained the ſanction of the apoſtolic ſee for their uſurpations. *Maſlin Scala*, or *Scaliger*, obtained the vicarage of *Verona* and *Vicenza* for a yearly tribute of 5,000 florins; and, in like manner, *William Gonzaga* was appointed vicar of *Mantua* and *Reggio*; *Albert Carraria* of *Padua*; *Opizo Eſte* of *Ferrara*, *Modena*, and *Argenta*, in conſideration of certain ſums of money paid to the pope; on account of which contracts *Villani* exclaims, "O avari-"cious and mercenary church, how art thou degenerated "from the good, humble, poor, and holy, inſtitution of "Chriſt [f]!" The city of *Bologna*, imitating the princes of *Lombardy*, the following year ſubmitted to the pope, and, promiſing to pay an annual tribute to the holy ſee, was abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication and interdict.

and ſells the title of vicar of the empire to ſeveral nobles in Lombardy.

A. D. 1340.

ABOUT the ſame time *Benedict* being informed that *Margaret*, heireſs of *Carinthia* and *Tyrol*, had obtained a pretended divorce from her huſband *John*, the king of *Bohemia*'s ſon, and married *Lewis* marquis of *Brandenburgh*, ſon to the emperor, he annulled the marriage, becauſe the divorce had been illegally obtained, and no diſpenſation granted of her conſanguinity with *Lewis*. He likewiſe excommunicated the count of *Hainault*, and laid his province under an interdict, becauſe he had rebelled againſt his ſovereign the king of *France*, and entered into a league with *Edward* king of *England*. Soon after theſe two princes having agreed to a truce till the middle of the following ſummer, they intreated the pope to ſend two legates to *Arras*, who, with their plenipotentiaries, might in the mean time negotiate a peace [g]. Not long after, the king of *France* having prevailed with the emperor to renounce his alliance with the king of *England*, and

1341. *The emperor enters into an alliance with the king of* France.

[e] VILLAN, c. 100. ap. Murat. t. xiii. p. 83. [f] Idem, ut ſupra. [g] Idem, c. 108——111.

to enter into a treaty with him, he ſent embaſſadors to *Avignon*, to excuſe his proceeding to the pope. *Benedict* declared, that he had long deſired that accommodation; however, he blamed the king for treating with *Lewis* before he was reconciled to the holy ſee. About the ſame time he prevailed with the kings of *France* and *England* to continue the truce for another year; and not many months after he died at *Avignon*, on the 25th of *April*, in the 7th year and 4th month of his pontificate. A. D. 1342. Benedict dies at Avignon.

THE cardinals, according to a conſtitution of *Gregory* X. having mourned nine days for pope *Benedict*, entered the conclave on the 7th of *May*, and unanimouſly choſe cardinal *Peter Proger*, a *Benedictine* monk, whom *Petrarch*, his cotemporary, calls a moſt learned pope [h]. *Peter*, having aſſumed the name of *Clement* VI. was conſecrated in the church of the *Dominicans*, on the feaſt of *Whitſuntide*; and ſoon after received an embaſſy from the *Romans*, intreating him to come to *Rome*, and to appoint the celebration of the jubilee for the middle of the century (G). *Clement* declared, that he could not with ſafety then return to *Italy*, as the emperor was threatening to enter that kingdom with an army, and had appointed vicars in many of the cities of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, in return for thoſe of *Lombardy* that had received them from the pope. He excuſed himſelf likewiſe on account of the differences betwixt *England* and *France*, which he deſired to accommodate. He accordingly ſent two legates to theſe princes, who prolonged the truce for two years longer, in hopes of concluding a peace. Two legates were alſo ſent into *Lombardy*, to form a league among the cities to oppoſe the emperor, againſt whom *Clement* ordered the anathemas of his predeceſſor to be again renewed; and becauſe the archbiſhop of *Mentz* refuſed to publiſh them, he cited him to appear at *Avignon*. The following year, in the month of *January*, *Clement* publiſhed a bull, appointing a jubilee to be held at *Rome* on the 50th year from the beginning of the century. Soon after he renewed all the cenſures of *John* XXII. againſt the emperor, whom he declared guilty of contumacy, and deprived of all dignity and honour; Clem. VI. elected pope. *He excuſes himſelf from going to* Rome; *but, at the deſire of the* Romans, *he appoints a*

[h] PETRAR. l. ii. rer. memor. c 1.

(G) *Petrarch*, who, the year before, had been created poet laureat by the king of *Naples*, was one of the deputies; and, upon his arrival at *Avignon*, in the name of the city and church of *Rome*, preſented the pope with a poem upon his promotion.

jubilee to be held in Rome. A. D. 1343.

and wrote to the archbiſhop of *Triers*, and the other electors, to proceed to a new election. About the ſame time he entered into an alliance with the king of *Cyprus* and the *Venetians* againſt the *Turks*; and, having ordered a cruſade to be preached againſt thoſe infidels, he exhorted the knights of *Rhodes* to arm againſt them, appointing *Henry* the *Latin* patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, as his legate, to have the command of the expedition. *Clement* likewiſe appointed a certain ſum to be raiſed from all the vacant benefices in *England*, as a revenue for two cardinals; but being informed, that the agents of the cardinals had been impriſoned by the king's officers, and afterwards ignominiouſly expelled the kingdom, he wrote to the king, complaining heavily of the indignity offered to the agents. *Edward*, having called a parliament, by their advice wrote to the pope, deſiring him to forbear for the future from claiming the firſt-fruits of vacant benefices, or from conferring biſhopricks or abbacies upon foreigners who did not reſide in the iſland, as the right of patronage belonging to himſelf and his nobles was thereby totally annulled [1].

The emperor makes moſt ſubmiſſive conceſſions to the pope. 1344.

MEAN while the emperor, alarmed with the violent proceedings of the pope, and ſenſible that a great many princes of *Germany* ſecretly favoured his deſigns, he ſent an embaſſy to *Avignon*, offering to ſubmit to any terms that *Clement* ſhould preſcribe. The embaſſadors appeared in the conſiſtory, before the pope, on the 16th of *January*; and, having preſented the emperor's ſubmiſſion, ſigned by his own hand, acknowleging all the hereſies of which he was accuſed, reſigning his children and all his poſſeſſions into the hands and will of the pope, and abdicating the empire, not to reſume it, unleſs from the hands of his holineſs. They then deſired to know the articles of penance which the pope would be pleaſed to preſcribe to *Lewis*. *Clement*, inſtead of uſing that opportunity to conclude an accommodation, inſulted his ſubmiſſive adverſary, and required ſeveral other grievous articles againſt the rights of the empire, which the embaſſadors had no authority to agree to. Theſe articles being laid before the diet at *Frankfort*, that aſſembly ſent deputies to the pope, deſiring him to moderate his demands, and declaring, that they would never agree to the articles which he had propoſed. This unexpected firmneſs in the princes of *Germany* greatly irritated the pope againſt the emperor; he reſolved to puſh his reſentment to the utmoſt, and

The diet of Frankfort *ſupport the rights of the empire.*

[1] Bzov. ex cod. Vatic. de reb. Angl. WALSING. in *Edward. III.*

began

began to treat with the king of *Bohemia*, the archbiſhop of *Triers*, and ſome other princes, to proceed to the election of another emperor. About the ſame time he created *Lewis* of *Spain*, count of *Clermont*, then at *Avignon*, as embaſſador from *France*, king of the *Fortunate Iſlands*, or *Canaries*, on condition of his converting the inhabitants to Chriſtianity [k]; and, to gratify the king of *Bohemia*, he erected the church of *Prague* into an archbiſhoprick, granting the archbiſhop the honour of the pall, and the right of crowning the kings of *Bohemia*, which privilege formerly belonged to the archbiſhop of *Mentz*.

As the factions increaſed in *Germany* the following year, *Clement* again renewed his anathemas againſt the emperor, exhorted the electors to proceed to a new election, and ſent a legate *a latere* into *Italy*, to ſupport the faction of the church in that kingdom. Being ſoon after informed of the murder of *Andrew* king of *Naples*, and huſband of *Jean* the grand-daughter of *Robert*, he ordered an inquiry to be made after the murderers, againſt whom he denounced a ſentence of excommunication, and gave a full commiſſion to ſome counts to puniſh them, whether they ſhould be found to be laymen or clergymen [l]. About the ſame time, hoſtilities being again renewed betwixt the kings of *France* and *England*, *Clement* ſent two cardinals to thoſe princes, to endeavour to conclude an accommodation; but the *Engliſh* refuſed to hearken to any terms propoſed by the cardinals, accuſing the pope of partiality to the king of *France*. *Clement*, then deſpairing to reconcile the princes by intreaties or embaſſies, publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the prelates, ordering public prayers to be uſed for procuring peace among Chriſtian princes. Being likewiſe informed, that his fleet, in conjunction with that of the *Venetians* and *Genoeſe*, had taken *Smyrna*, he ordered a cruſade to be preached againſt the *Turks*, and appointed *Humbert Dauphin*, of *Vienne*, as general of the land army [m].

The emperor is excommunicated. A. D. 1345.

The pope endeavours in vain to conclude a peace betwixt France *and* England.

In conſequence of the intrigues of the pope, *John* king of *Bohemia* arriving at *Avignon*, with his eldeſt ſon *Charles* marquis of *Moravia*, to negotiate for the empire in favour of *Charles*, *Clement*, to ſtrengthen their party, depoſed the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, as guilty of contumacy, and conferred that ſee upon *Gerlac* of *Naſſau*, grandſon of the emperor *Adolphus*. A few days after he publiſhed a bull againſt the

The king of Bohemia *and his ſon arrive at* Avignon; 1346.

[k] PETRAR. de vit. ſolit. l. ii. ſec. 6. c. 3. WALS. ut ſupra.
[l] VILLAN. c. 50, 51. See alſo the Hiſtory of the Kingdom of Naples. [m] SPOND. Annal.

emperor, depoſing him from his dignity, and abſolving all his ſubjects from their allegiance. This bull, which was dated on *Good Friday*, the 13th of *April*, was ſent to all the prelates in Chriſtendom, with a circular letter, ordering them to publiſh it in their churches. *Clement* at the ſame time wrote to the electors, enjoining them to proceed to a new election; but excluded the marquis of *Brandenburgh* from the privilege of voting, under pretence that his father, the emperor, being an uſurper, had no right to confer that fief. Having thus ſecured a majority among the electors, he embraced that opportunity for extending the authority of the ſee of *Rome*, and accordingly entered into a treaty with the marquis *Charles*, who promiſed to revoke and annul all the acts made by *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, to confirm all the grants of former emperors to the ſee of *Rome*, to reſign all pretenſions to the territories of the counteſs *Mathilda*, not to enter *Rome* but upon the day of his coronation, and never to return but with the leave of the pope, and to annul all proceedings of his grandfather *Henry* VII. derogatory to thoſe conceſſions. This treaty, which ruined the authority of the empire in *Italy*, and eſtabliſhed that of the popes, being ſworn to by *Charles*, and confirmed by his father the king of *Bohemia*, *Clement* recommended him as a candidate for the empire, and he was accordingly choſen emperor a few months after by four electors at *Rentz*, three of the electors ſtill adhering to the intereſt of *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. *Charles*, immediately after his election, ſent embaſſadors to the pope, who having ſworn in his name that he would fulfil the former treaty, *Clement* publiſhed the news of his election in the conſiſtory; and having with difficulty obtained the conſent of the majority of the cardinals, he publiſhed a bull, confirming his election[n]. About the ſame time he ſent ſeveral nuncios into *Armenia*, to extirpate the errors prevailing in that church, and to exhort the king to give his aſſiſtance to the Chriſtians againſt the *Turks*. He likewiſe admoniſhed the doctors of the univerſity of *Paris* not to employ their time in vain and uſeleſs queſtions, but to explain the catholic faith according to the ſenſe of the fathers.

and negotiate a treaty for the empire.

A revolution at Rome. A. D. 1347.

DURING theſe tranſactions in *Germany* and *Avignon*, a great revolution happened at *Rome*, owing to one *Nicolas Gabrini di Rienzo*, the ſon of a miller and waſherwoman, who, having received good education from his parents, and being of an active and enterpriſing genius, was created a public ſcribe or notary. He having been ſent with the embaſ-

[n] RAINALD. ad an. 1346. VILLAN. c. 59.

ſadors

ſadors to pope *Clement*, to invite him to *Rome*, and having received a denial from his holineſs, upon his return he aſſembled the *Romans* in the capitol, and made a long and warm diſcourſe to them, of the deplorable ſtate of their city, and the happineſs of their antient liberty. His words had ſuch an effect on the people, that they unanimouſly declared him tribune of the people, and conferred upon him the ſupreme power. He immediately degraded the ſenators appointed by the pope; ordered ſeveral of the nobility, convicted of oppreſſion, to be put to death; and baniſhed the *Urſini*, the *Colonnæ*, and many other noble families. Having eſtabliſhed his authority by the attachment of the people, and made himſelf reſpected by his regard to juſtice, he ſent letters to all the cities of *Italy*, informing them of the liberty of the *Romans*, and deſiring them to give their aſſiſtance to their mother city. His meſſengers were every-where treated with great reſpect; and ſeveral of the cities, concluding that the *Romans* were about to recover their antient grandeur, promiſed their aſſiſtance, and ſent golden rings as tokens of their fidelity. Not only the *Italian* cities, but even foreign princes, ſought his alliance: he received an embaſſy with an offer of friendſhip from *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, who was preparing to enter *Italy* with an army, to revenge the murder of his brother the king of *Naples*. About the ſame time embaſſadors arrived from *Jean* queen of *Naples*, deſiring his mediation with the king of *Hungary*. The tribune likewiſe received an embaſſy from the emperor *Lewis*, aſking his friendſhip; and *Clement* wrote to him from *Avignon*, commending his proceedings, and exhorting him to govern *Rome* in his name.

THIS grandeur was of very ſhort continuance; for *Nicolas*, being intoxicated with his authority, diſdained to have any dependence upon the pope, and reſolved to be abſolute maſter in *Rome*. Accordingly, being deſirous of the dignity of knighthood, he bathed himſelf in the font in which *Conſtantine the Great* had formerly been baptized, and then received his arms from the ſyndic of *Rome* and two knights before the altar of *St. Peter*; at the ſame time being crowned with the different crowns, he aſſumed the title of *Candidate knight of the Holy Ghoſt, ſevere and merciful, deliverer of* Rome, *aſſerter of the liberties of* Italy, *lover of the univerſe, and auguſt tribune*. He likewiſe publiſhed a letter, declaring *Rome* the head of the world; and cited *Lewis* and *Charles* of *Bohemia*, with the other electors, to appear at *Rome*, to juſtify the rights and privileges which they aſſumed. Theſe extravagant proceedings ruined his character; and the pope,

looking

fury of the people, who accuſed them of being the authors of their calamity, and for two years continued to perſecute them and put them to death without any diſtinction of age or ſex. Mean while, as a means to remove the calamity, the ſuperſtitious ſect of flagellants again appeared, and from *Hungary* marched in troops through *Upper* and *Lower Germany*, *Poland*, *France*, *England*, and other countries, their numbers increaſing as they went along. Both men and women marched naked to the waiſt, and whipped themſelves twice a day, and once during the night. Notwithſtanding this great appearance of penitence and mortification, their ſect is ſaid to have been compoſed of the moſt profligate people, and to have profeſſed abſurd and pernicious doctrines, as that the goſpel ceaſed upon their appearing, that their ſcourging was preferable to martyrdom, and that the blood which they loſt by that exerciſe mixed with the blood of Chriſt; that if any one ſcourged himſelf for 30 days, the guilt and puniſhment of his ſins would be forgiven. Theſe and many other errors being diſcovered to be the tenets of the ſect, the pope publiſhed a bull againſt them, and prohibited all Chriſtians from uſing thoſe public ſcourgings, in conſequence of which ſeveral princes publiſhed edicts againſt them, as diſturbers of the public peace, ſo that in a ſhort time they were totally diſperſed [u].

The ſect of flagellants revives.

WHAT, according to *Spondanus*, was of much greater efficacy in removing the general calamity, was a bull publiſhed by the pope on the 10th of *April*, appointing a jubilee to be held the following year at *Rome*, promiſing a full remiſſion of all their ſins to thoſe penitents who ſhould viſit the churches of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and *St. John di Lateran*. Two cardinals were ſent as legates to *Rome*, to ſuperintend the ſolemnity, with full power to grant diſpenſations to thoſe pilgrims who did not chuſe to continue the full time preſcribed by the pope, which was fifteen days for the *Italians*, and ten or five days for the *Ultramontani*, or foreigners. About this time *Cantacuzenus*, who had ſeized the empire of *Conſtantinople*, ſent embaſſadors to the pope, to juſtify himſelf from the falſe accuſation of having made an alliance with the *Turks*, and exhorting his holineſs and the princes of *Europe* to undertake an expedition into *Aſia* againſt thoſe infidels. *Clement* received the embaſſadors with honour, and, upon their return, ſent two biſhops with them to *Conſtantinople*, declaring, that he accepted of the empe-

The Greek emperor ſends an embaſſy to the pope.

[u] TRITHEM. in Chron. HIRSANG. NAUCLER. Gener. 45. WALSING. in Edw. III.

ror's

ror's excuſes, and deſiring him to procure an union of the Greek church to that of *Rome*. *Cantacuzenus*, in return, wrote to the pope, expreſſing his deſire of an union, but propoſed, that a general council of the eaſtern and weſtern biſhops ſhould aſſemble in ſome city near the ſea-coaſt, where both the pope and he himſelf might be preſent [w].

WHILE this affair was tranſacting betwixt the *Greek* emperor and the pope, the jubilee commenced at *Rome*, where, notwithſtanding the plague ſtill raged with great violence in ſeveral parts of *Europe*, ſuch numbers of people aſſembled, that, according to *Matthew Villani*, from *Chriſtmas* to *Eaſter*, which happened that year on the 18th of *March*, there were continually from a million to twelve hundred thouſand foreigners in *Rome* [x]. During the ſummer, the number of pilgrims in the city was ſuppoſed to amount to 200,000; but, towards the end of the year, the concourſe was almoſt as great as at the beginning, and chiefly of the better ſort of both ſexes, as the diſpenſations were then eaſily granted with regard to the time. According to *Meyerus*, ſcarce the tenth part of the pilgrims returned home, being cut off by the plague, or the fatigues of the long journey [y]. And *Villani* relates, that the *Romans*, with great rapacity, practiſed all manner of extortion upon the pilgrims; and were ſo exaſperated againſt the cardinal legate for diſpenſing with the time of viſitation, that they attacked him and his retinue in the ſtreets; and, as he endeavoured to ſhun their violence by retiring into *Campania*, he was poiſoned, with ſeveral of his relations, upon the road [z]. Mean while *Clement* being informed that the archbiſhop of *Milan*, who, ſince the death of his brother *Luchino*, was both ſpiritual and temporal ſovereign in that city, had ſeized *Bologna*, and annexed it to his dominion, he laid the city of *Milan* under an interdict, and ſummoned the archbiſhop and his nephews to appear at *Avignon*. The archbiſhop neglecting the citation, *Clement* excommunicated him and his adherents; and afterwards, hearing that he ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the *Gibellines*, he ſent the biſhop of *Ferrara* as his legate into *Italy*, to form a league among the cities of *Lombardy* and *Tuſcany* for their mutual defence, and the protection of the church.

A jubilee celebrated at Rome. A. D. 1350.

The archbiſhop of Milan *is excommunicated for ſeizing* Bologna.

IN the mean time his legate at *Naples* having concluded a truce betwixt the king of *Hungary* and queen *Jean*, who was now returned to *Naples*, it was agreed that all hoſtilities

[w] CANTACUZEN. l. iv. c. 9. SPOND. Annal. [x] MATTH. VILLANI, ap. Murator, t. xiv. l. i. c 56. [y] MEYER. l. xiii. [z] VILLAN. ut ſupra.

ſhould

Italy *enter into a treaty with the emperor.* miſed the following year to enter *Italy* with 6000 horſe, and to attack the territories of *Viconti*, the allies ſtipulating to join his army with 3000 horſe, and to grant him a ſubſidy of 200,000 florins of gold [f]. *Clement* ſurvived this tranſaction but a few months, and died at *Avignon* in the beginning of *December*. From his regard to the kings of *France*, he granted them a power of communicating under both kinds, whenever they pleaſed to deſire the euchariſt [g]. He likewiſe moderated the rigour of the conſtitution of *Gregory* X. with regard to the cardinals, when ſhut up in the conclave at an election. He is accuſed of having conferred honours and dignities upon his relations without meaſure, or regard to their merit, having created his nephew *Peter* a cardinal when only 17 years of age.

Clement *dies at* Avignon.

THE cardinals, upon the death of *Clement*, being informed that the king of *France* was haſtening to *Avignon*, to have a pope choſen in his intereſt, they thought proper to prevent him; and, on the 18th of the ſame month, choſe *Stephen Albert*, biſhop of *Oſtia*, who took the name of *Innocent* VI.; and, immediately after his conſecration, wrote to all the Chriſtian princes, informing them of his promotion (K). He likewiſe ſuſpended, and afterwards annulled, the grants of reverſion of benefices given by his predeceſſor *Clement*; at the ſame time commanding all prelates, and other eccleſiaſtical perſons, to repair to their churches, under pain of an anathema, declaring, that flocks ought to be

Innocent VI. *elected pope.*

A. D. 1353.

[f] VILLAN. c. 6, 7. c. 44. ſect. 7.

[g] HENRIQ. lib. de Euchariſt.

(K) *Innocent* VI. was born in *Limoſin* in *France*, and, being bred to the law, he was for ſome time a proctor or attorney, and then a judge, at *Thouloufe*. Entering afterwards into orders, he was ſucceſſively biſhop of *Meaux*, *Clermont*, and *Cambray*, and by *Clement* VI. was created a cardinal prieſt, and afterwards biſhop of *Oſtia*, and major penitentiary.

In an antient chronicle of the *Carthuſians* it is mentioned, that when the majority of the cardinals were determined to elect *John Birell*, the general of that order, as pope, they were diſſuaded by a cardinal of *Perigort*, who, knowing *John* to be a man of great juſtice and ſanctity, declared, that, if he were elected pope, their fine mules would in a few days be drawing in the carts, as he was a profeſſed enemy to worldly pomp and ambition. The cardinals, alarmed by his diſcourſe, altered their reſolution, and choſe *Innocent* (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal. ex antiq. Cod.*

kept

kept by their own ſhepherds, and not by hirelings [h]. Being intent alſo upon reforming his own court, he reprehended the cardinals for their luxurious lives, and ordered them to follow the example of frugality ſet by himſelf. As the eccleſiaſtical ſtate was at this time almoſt wholly uſurped by different princes, and the city of *Rome* a ſcene of confuſion and uproar, the *Romans*, upon account of a great dearth, having ſtoned their ſenator to death, *Innocent* ſent cardinal *Egidius Alvarus*, a *Spaniard*, deſcended from the ancient kings of *Leon*, as his legate into *Italy*, appointing him vicar over all the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, with full power of aſſembling an army, and oppoſing the unjuſt poſſeſſors of the territories of the church. Together with the legate, *Innocent* ſent *Nicolas Rienzo*, the former tribune, to oppoſe the deſigns of *Francis Baroncelli* at *Rome*, who, ſupported by the favour of the people, had expelled the nobility, aſſumed the title of tribune II. and *Roman* conſul; and, throwing off the authority of the pope, had invited the *Gibellines* to an alliance [i]. Not only *Rome*, but almoſt all *Italy*, was at this period deſolated by inteſtine wars. Though the allied cities in *Tuſcany*, being diſappointed in their ſuccours from the emperor, had concluded a peace with *Viconti*, yet ſeveral other cities had formed a new league againſt him. The *Venetians* and *Genoeſe* were engaged in a moſt deſtructive war, which was carried on with great animoſity; and, while the pope's legate had aſſembled an army at *Monte Fiaſcone*, againſt *John de Vico*, who had uſurped a great part of the territories of the church, one frier *Moriale*, a *Provençal*, and knight hoſpitaller, headed an army of freebooters, who acknowleged no faction. This knight had ſerved the king of *Hungary* in his *Neapolitan* war, and, after his accommodation with queen *Jean*, had entered into the ſervice of the church; but, not being able to recover his arrears of pay, he now deſerted that party, and, by offering large pay to thoſe who would ſerve under him, he quickly aſſembled an army of 2000 men, compoſed of *Germans*, *French*, and *Provençals*, who were diſperſed through different parts of *Italy*. This army of banditti was called the *Grand Company of the March of* Ancona, which province was the firſt ſcene of their ravaging; and, their numbers continually increaſing, they formed themſelves into a military ſociety, appointing a council, ſecretaries, quæſtors, and other magiſtrates, and put garriſons into ſeveral cities which they made themſelves maſ-

A legate ſent into Italy, *which is a ſcene of great confuſion.*

[h] PLATIN. in vit. Innocent. VI. c. 78.

[i] VILLAN. l. iii.

Rienzo again created tribune of Rome.

ters of [k]. Mean while the *Romans* received *Nicolas Rienzo* with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy; and *Baroncelli*, after a government of a few months, being put to death, they conferred the tribuneſhip on *Nicolas*, and ſent deputies to the legate at *Monte Fiaſcone*, acknowleging their ſubmiſſion to the church.

DURING theſe commotions in *Italy*, *Innocent*, being informed that a great many heretics had fled from the mountains of *Yverdon* into *Calabria*, wrote to the king of *Naples*, and to the inquiſitor, to proceed againſt them. He likewiſe ſent a cardinal legate to the king of *England*, exhorting him to a reconciliation with the king of *France*; and wrote to the biſhop of *Orvieto*, his vicar at *Rome*, deſiring him to oblige the chapter of *St. Peter*'s church to refund three fourth parts of all the offerings preſented during the jubilee at *St. Peter*'s altar, as one fourth part, according to antient cuſtom, only belonged to them. As the Chriſtians of the eaſt were at this time harraſſed by the continual incurſions of the *Turks*, *Innocent* granted the third part of the tythes of the churches of *Germany*, *France*, *Bohemia*, *Greece*, and other provinces, for their aſſiſtance, and ordered the maſter of the knights of *Rhodes* to ſuccour the city of *Smyrna*, at that time attacked by the *Turks*. Soon after, receiving an embaſſy from *Stephen* king of *Raſcia*, complaining that ſome *Greek* biſhops diſturbed the peace of his kingdom, by depoſing ſome biſhops and abbots of the *Roman* communion, and obliging others to repeat their baptiſm and confirmation, deſiring likewiſe the pope to ſend ſome learned and religious men into his kingdom, to reform all abuſes, and that the king might be appointed by the holy ſee captain againſt the *Turks*. *Innocent* thanked the king for his zeal, nominated him captain according to his deſire, and appointed the biſhop of *Traw* as his legate, to extirpate the errors and abuſes in that kingdom, particularly their opinion concerning the Holy Spirit, which they affirmed proceeded only from the Father; and their doctrine concerning the wafer in the euchariſt, which they denied to be the real body of Chriſt.

The pope receives an embaſſy from the king of Raſcia; A. D. 1354.

THIS embaſſy of the king appeared afterwards to be only a pretence, to prevent his being invaded by *Lewis* king of *Hungary*, who had formed pretenſions to his kingdom [l]. About this time alſo *Abdalla*, one of the kings of *Mauritania*, wrote to the pope, offering to embrace the Chriſtian faith; but the profeſſions in his letter, as appeared afterwards, were not ſincere, but deſigned only to procure him

and another from a king of Mauritania.

[k] VILLAN. c. 81, & 89. [l] BZOV. an. 1356.

the

the assistance of the Christians against some of his neighbouring princes, with whom he was at war. *Innocent* wrote to him to persevere in his good intentions; and at the same time, hearing that *Peter* king of *Castile* had prevailed with two of his bishops to grant him a divorce from his queen, and had married the widow of one of his nobles, he wrote to the king, reproaching him with the heinousness of his crime, and ordered his nuncio in that kingdom to oblige the king to recall his queen, and, in case of his refusal, to proceed against him by ecclesiastical censures. Mean while two *Franciscans* being brought prisoners from *Montpelier* to *Avignon*, for disputing concerning the poverty of Christ and his apostles, contrary to the definition of *John* XXII. *Innocent* ordered them to be examined; and as they refused to recant their doctrine, and affirmed, that the opinion of pope *John* was a heresy, they were delivered to the civil magistrate, and publicly burnt [m].

Two Franciscans burnt as heretics at Avignon.

Soon after the pope received an embassy from the emperor *Charles*, who, in the beginning of *November*, had entered *Lombardy* with a small army. As the embassador made a demand of the imperial crown for his master, *Innocent* wrote a long letter to *Charles*, excusing himself from going to *Rome* on the occasion of his coronation, but promising to commission some of the cardinals to perform that ceremony. He likewise wrote to his legate *Ægidius* to assist the emperor with the troops of the church, and to dispose the *Romans* to receive him in an honourable manner, they having a few months before revolted against their tribune *Rienzo*, and put him to death. *Charles*, in the mean time, residing at *Mantua*, tried to conclude a peace betwixt the confederates of *Tuscany*, and the nephews of the archbishop *Viconti*, whom that prelate, who died a few weeks before, had left heirs of his extensive conquests. As he had no forces to compel the parties to agree to an accommodation, his endeavours were ineffectual; however, having granted several articles unworthy of his dignity, he procured a truce betwixt them till the month of *May* following. Proceeding then to *Milan*, he was crowned with the iron crown in that city on the 6th of *January*; and receiving some money from the *Viconti*, for confirming to them the vicariate of the empire in the territories they then possessed, he went from thence with great dispatch for *Pisa*. *Innocent*, in consequence of the embassy of the emperor, appointed the cardinal bishop of *Ostia* to perform the ceremony of the consecration, together with

The emperor enters Italy; and is crowned king of Lombardy at Milan. A. D. 1355.

[m] Rebdorff in Annal. Walsing. in Edw. III.

two other cardinals who solicited that office. As the conclave refused to bear the expences of the cardinals, and *Charles* was not able, those two who were so earnest in soliciting the deputation refused to go, on which account the pope appointed the legate *Ægidius* to assist *Bertrandi* bishop of *Ostia*, who, having received his commission in the beginning of *February*, set out for *Italy*, and joined the emperor at *Pisa* [n].

Receives the imperial crown from cardinal Bertrandi *at* Rome.

CHARLES, soon after leaving *Pisa*, arrived in the neighbourhood of *Rome* with an army of 5,000 *Germans* and 10,000 *Italians*; and, having appointed *Easter* for the day of his coronation, he, on *Good Friday*, with some of his nobles, entered the city in the habit of pilgrims, and took a view of the principal edifices and churches. Two days after he marched into the city in a grand procession; and, being received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, he was crowned emperor by cardinal *Bertrandi*, in the church of *St. Peter*. According to his promise to the pope, he marched out of the city the same day, and refused to accept of the government of *Rome* offered him by the *Romans*. It appearing from this proceeding, and from his after-conduct, that he quite abandoned all the rights of the empire in *Italy*, he quickly lost his reputation, and was treated with great indignity by those, who, if he had asserted his own rights, would have been his firmest friends. At *Sienna* he held a long conference with the pope's legate; and, instead of accepting of the allegiance of the *Gibellines*, granted some troops to *Ægidius*, to assist him in quelling that faction. In consequence of these proceedings, finding himself odious to the *Italians*, he quitted that kingdom, and in the month of *July* retired with about 2000 men into *Germany* [o].

The grand company of Ancona *ravages* Italy.

WHILE the emperor was thus dishonouring himself by his conduct in *Italy*, the grand company of *Ancona* having lost their chief, *Morialé*, who was surprised and executed by the tribune *Rienzo* at *Rome*, they conferred the command on the count *di Lando*; and, after having served several months in the pay of the *Lombard* states, marched into *Romagna*, demanding a contribution of 30,000 florins of gold; but, upon receiving 12,000, they were prevailed upon to quit that province, and marched into *Ancona*. From thence they sent and demanded a contribution of 40,000 florins of gold from *Lewis* king of *Naples*, and, upon his refusal, they entered his kingdom, and immediately took *Pescara*, *Villa Franca*,

[n] VILLAN. l. iii. c. 103. l. iv. c. 71. c. 14, 15. 20. 29.

[o] Idem, l. v.

and

and *San Fabiano*, and threatened to join the duke of *Durazzo*, who was then in rebellion P. Mean while great disorders happened at the pope's court at *Avignon*, the cardinal of *Perigort*, upon a conteſt about precedency, having raiſed a tumult, in which ſome perſons were killed, while other young cardinals took ſome young married women from their huſbands by violence, and kept them publicly in their houſes. *Innocent*, being informed of their infamous proceedings, reproved them in the conſiſtory, and threatened to transfer his court to *Rome* q.

ABOUT the ſame time he received an embaſſy from *John Paleologus*, who, by the voluntary abdication of his governor *Cantacuzenus*, had at length obtained the poſſeſſion of the empire of *Conſtantinople*. The emperor ſolicited earneſtly the aſſiſtance of the pope and the weſtern princes againſt the *Turks*; and, in order to obtain his requeſt, he promiſed an intire ſubmiſſion to the apoſtolic ſee, to ſend his eldeſt ſon to *Avignon*, as a ſecurity for his fidelity, and to aſſign a palace in *Conſtantinople* for the reſidence of the pope's nuncio, and three colleges for maſters to teach the *Latin* tongue, which the ſons of the *Greek* nobles ſhould be compelled to learn. *Innocent*, the following year, ſent two biſhops to *Conſtantinople*, and wrote to the emperor to make the ſame confeſſion before them, in the preſence of the patriarch and a full aſſembly, in one of the chief churches, as he had wrote in his letter. The emperor agreed without difficulty to this propoſal of the pope, who thereupon wrote to the kings of *Cyprus* and *Hungary*, to the doge of *Venice*, the ſenate and people of *Genoa*, and to the maſter of the knights of *Rhodes*, deſiring them to aſſiſt the *Greek* emperor with arms, men, and money r.

The Greek emperor ſolicits the aſſiſtance of the pope. A. D. 1356.

ABOUT the ſame time, being informed that the king of *France* had been defeated by the *Engliſh* at *Poictiers*, and taken priſoner, with his ſon, and ſeveral of his nobles, he ſent the abbot of *Cluny*, and the cardinal of *Perigort*, to the emperor *Charles*, deſiring him to intercede for the liberty of the king, and to offer his mediation to conclude a peace betwixt *France* and *England*. In conſequence of the pope's endeavours to procure a reconciliation, ſome *Engliſh* deputies arrived at *Metz*, and were preſent at a diet held in that city at *Chriſtmas*, but nothing was concluded on with regard to a peace.

P VILLAN. l. iv. c. 15. 19. 23. 40 58. 79. q Idem, c. 85. r BZOV. & WADDING. hoc an.

Great confusions in Italy,

MEAN while the kingdom of *Italy* continued still to be desolated by intestine wars, the grand company, under the command of *Lando*, ravaging and plundering *Naples*; while the two *Viconti* at *Milan*, having poisoned their elder brother, still continued their wars against the other princes or tyrants of *Lombardy*. At the same time *Ægidius* the legate having recovered by arms almost all the patrimony of the church, except *Forli* and *Faenza*, which were held by *Francis Ordelaffus* and *John* and *Richard Manfred*, he ordered them and their adherents to be excommunicated, and condemned as heretics, publishing a crusade against them, with the same indulgences as were given to those who fought against the *Saracens*. Having by this means greatly increased his army, he soon obliged the two *Manfreds* to surrender; but *Ordelaffus* still refused to submit, and, in contempt of his fulminations, made effigies of the pope and cardinals, whom he excommunicated; and, having apprehended some of the crusaders, he imprinted the figure of a cross with a red-hot iron, upon the soles of their feet. He was encouraged in his opposition by the *Viconti*, who were jealous of the growing authority of the legate; and, seizing the priest, whom he had sent to publish the crusade in *Milan*, ordered him to be inclosed in an iron grate, and roasted to death, expelling likewise the bishop of *Parma*, who had granted his protection to the priest. Their troops at the same time ravaging their neighbouring states, several cities of *Lombardy* entered into a league against them, and took into their pay the grand company of *Lando*, who, having received a large sum from the king of *Naples*, had quitted that kingdom, and were then ravaging the territory of *Ravenna*. The emperor also, being desirous of humbling the *Viconti*, had left the bishop of *Augusta* at *Pisa*, with a secret commission, as his vicar in *Italy*, ordering him not to act unless he saw a probability of success. The bishop, who had a great reputation in military affairs, thought proper at this time to publish his commission; and, being appointed general of the grand company, and the other troops of the confederates, he summoned the *Viconti* to answer for the many outrages they had committed against the empire and the church. They despising his citation, he advanced with his troops, and ravaged the territory of *Milan*; but, being surprised by the *Viconti*, he was, after a desperate engagement, intirely defeated, and taken prisoner, together with *Lando*, and several other chief officers [a]. To complete the devastation of *Italy*,

which is ravaged by the troops of the Viconti,

who gain a victory over the confederates.

[a] VILLAN. l. vi. c. 23. 28. 75.

this

this year, according to *Villani*, the *Turks* first invaded that kingdom, at the invitation of one of the nobles of *Romagna*. Having landed their troops from 70 vessels, and a great many smaller barks, they ravaged the country in a miserable manner, and reimbarked without meeting with any disturbance[t]. Italy *likewise ravaged by the* Turks.

The pope, in the mean time, being informed that *Peter* king of *Castile* had seized the revenues of cardinal *Ægidius* in his kingdom, from a persuasion that that prelate had been the chief adviser of the ecclesiastical censures that had been denounced against him, *Innocent* reprehended the king for his proceeding, and declared, that, as the cardinals were employed together with the pope in governing the universal church, they ought to be reputed as residing upon their benefices[u]. As *Peter* was likewise at war with the king of *Aragon*, and they had both called in the *Moors* to their assistance, *Innocent* sent a cardinal as his legate into *Spain*, who concluded a truce betwixt the two kings for fifteen months. But, the truce being quickly violated by the king of *Castile*, the legate denounced a sentence of excommunication against him, and laid his kingdom under an interdict. A. D. 1357.

During these proceedings of the legate in *Spain*, *Innocent* was alarmed with the progress of a numerous troop of banditti, commanded by one *Arnold* of *Gascony*, an archpriest, who, in imitation of the grand company in *Italy*, ravaged the southern parts of *France*, and raised contributions upon the people. As they approached *Avignon*, the pope caused the city to be fortified against their attempts; but he was freed from his alarms by a message from *Arnold* the captain, declaring that he had no intention of invading his territories[w]. About the same time *Innocent* recalled his legate *Ægidius* from *Italy*, and sent *Androinus* abbot of *Clugny* as his successor; but as *Ægidius* had provided every thing for the attack of *Ordelaffus*, he was prevailed upon by the abbot to continue with the army for several months, during which time he reduced *Cesena*, with several other towns; and having, by money and ecclesiastical censures, prevailed upon the grand company of *Lando*, which was sent against him, to return to *Lombardy*, in the month of *August* he laid siege to *Forli*, and, leaving the management of the rest of the war to *Androinus*, he returned to *Avignon*, where he was received with great honours by the pope and the cardinals. Innocent *fortifies* Avignon *against an army of robbers.* *The legate* Ægidius *quits the command of the pope's army in* Italy.

[t] Villan. c. 30. [u] Bzov. hoc an. [w] Villan. l. vii. c. 87, & 96. l. viii. c. 8. 54. 96.

A. D. 1358. nals. *Androinus*, having continued the siege for some time after the departure of *Ægidius*, was at length obliged to raise it by the approach of winter, and the vigorous defence of the besieged. In the beginning of the spring he again invested the city; but *Ordelaffus*, during the winter, having strengthened the garrison with part of *Lando*'s company, his efforts to gain the place were rendered ineffectual.

The grand company are defeated.

WHILE his army was engaged in the siege of *Forli*, the grand company, intending to pass into *Tuscany*, contrary to a treaty that they had made with the *Florentines*, were defeated in the passes of the *Appennines* by the inhabitants of those mountains, and *Lando* himself taken prisoner. The two peasants, who had seized *Lando*, being prevailed upon by a promise of 2000 florins to set him at liberty, he immediately repaired to the remains of his company in *Romagna*, and, being greatly exasperated against the *Florentines*, he used all means to reinforce his company, with the intention of invading *Tuscany*, and ravaging the territories of *Florence*. *Androinus* in the mean time being obliged to raise the siege of *Forli*, and being unsuccessful in several other attempts, *Innocent* again sent *Ægidius* into *Italy*. About the same time the bishop of *Ely* in *England* arriving at *Avignon*, and complaining that he had been tried and imprisoned by the king's judges, contrary to the privileges of ecclesiastics, the pope ordered the whole process to be transmitted to him by the judges, under pain of excommunication if they refused. The judges not only refused to obey the pope's mandate, but one of them even imprisoned his nuncio; which *Innocent* being informed of, he immediately excommunicated them, ordering the bishop of *Lincoln*, and some other prelates, not to allow the bodies of the judges, if they should die, to be buried in consecrated ground. This proceeding of the pope greatly offended the king; and soon after, having apprehended some persons who had delivered an apostolic letter to his treasurer, he ordered them to be put to death[x].

Difference between the pope and the king of England.

Innocent *is refused the tythe of the ecclesiastical revenues in* Germany.

THE usurpations of the see of *Rome* this year likewise met with an opposition in *Germany*, where *Innocent* had sent the bishop of *Cavaillon*, as his nuncio, to raise the tythe of all the ecclesiastical revenues for the use of the apostolic see. This extraordinary subsidy was refused by the clergy of *Triers*, *Mentz*, and *Cologne*; and the following year the emperor held a diet of the princes of the empire at *Mentz*, to deliberate upon the demand of the pope. With the consent of the princes, *Charles* declared to the nuncio, that the

1359.

[x] WALSING. in Edw. III. HARPSFIELD, secul. 14. c. 29.

clergy

clergy of *Germany* could not ſubmit to the propoſed tax; and at the ſame time aſked the biſhop, with ſome warmth, why the pope was ſo earneſt in demanding money, and ſo negligent in reforming the pride and diſſoluteneſs of the clergy? He then addreſſed himſelf to the archbiſhop of Mentz, and ſtrictly ordered him to reform his clergy according to the canons, eſpecially with regard to their luxurious living, and the vanity of their dreſs; and if any eccleſiaſtic ſhould prove refractory, he ordained that the revenues of his benefice ſhould be confiſcated, and diſpoſed of according to the pleaſure of the pope[y]. *Innocent*, by the return of the nuncio, being informed of the determination of the diet, diſſembled his reſentment for the denial of the tythe, and ſent other nuncios into the provinces of the empire, with orders to collect the half of the revenue of all vacant benefices for two years, for the uſe of the apoſtolic ſee. But, thinking the eccleſiaſtical liberty violated by the endeavours of the emperor to reform the clergy, he wrote to *Charles*, commending him for his zeal, but at the ſame time deſiring him to deſiſt from the ſecular ſequeſtration of benefices, and to reſtore thoſe that were already confiſcated, contenting himſelf with deſiring the prelates to chaſtiſe their irregular clergy. *Innocent* likewiſe wrote to all the archbiſhops of *Germany*, ordering them to correct and puniſh their clergy who were guilty of irregularities. In conſequence of theſe letters of the pope, the emperor ſoon after publiſhed a bull, annulling all that had been done againſt the eccleſiaſtics, and confirming to them, under the notion of privileges, a great many exemptions, incompatible with the welfare of ſociety[z]. Having thus gratified the pope, he ſent to him, deſiring him to cancel ſome bulls in the *Clementine* conſtitutions, that were derogatory to the honour of the empire. It was not the temper of the court of *Rome* to part with any uſurpation; accordingly *Innocent* replied, that as thoſe bulls were part of the canon law, and publicly taught in the ſchools, he could not ſuppreſs them[a].

The emperor publiſhes a bull in favour of eccleſiaſtical liberty.

MEAN while *Androinus*, abbot of *Cluny*, having returned from *Italy*, was ſent as legate to reconcile the kings of *France* and *England*; which he at laſt effected, a peace being concluded by his mediation on the 8th of *May*, and confirmed by the apoſtolic ſee the *October* following. By this peace, the king of *France* obtained his liberty, on condition

The pope's legate concludes a peace between France

[y] NAUCLER. Gen. 46. SPOND. Annal. [z] Mag. Chron. Belg. ſub Carol. IV. TOM. rer. Germ. Lindenburg. [a] RAINALD. ad an. 1359.

of

and England. A. D. 1360.

of paying three millions of gold; but, as his kingdom was greatly exhausted by the long and destructive war, to raise part of this money he condescended to contract an alliance with the *Viconti* of *Milan*, giving his daughter *Isabel* to *John* the son of *Galeas Viconti* for 600,000 florins of gold. While *Galeas* was thus employed in aggrandizing his family by an alliance with *France*, his brother *Barnabo* was besieging the city of *Bologna*, which, notwithstanding the treaty lately concluded betwixt his uncle and the pope, the legate *Ægidius* had made himself master of. As the forces of *Barnabo* were very numerous, the pope solicited the assistance of the emperor against him; he likewise invited the king of *Hungary* to succour the church; and denounced a sentence of excommunication against the two *Viconti*, and their adherents. *Galeas Viconti*, declaring that he did not approve of his brother's proceedings, was quickly absolved from the sentence; but *Bernabo*, despising the pope's fulmination, to shew his own superiority, ordered three other places belonging to the church to be besieged at the same time; by which means he obliged the pope to an accommodation, and to consent to pay him a tribute of 20,000 florins for five years. This peace was quickly broken by *Bernabo*, who again besieged *Bologna*, and renewed his hostilities against other places of the ecclesiastical state. The pope, finding himself still too weak to oppose his arms, again solicited the emperor to interest himself in the affairs of *Italy*, in behalf of the church; while his legate *Ægidius* went over into *Hungary*, to procure assistance from that kingdom. *Charles*, at the solicitation of the pope, published an imperial edict, ordering *Bernabo* to desist from hostilities, under pain of being deprived of all the dignities he had received from the empire. But as this edict was not supported by any troops, it was despised by *Bernabo*; however, *Galeot Malatesta*, soon after, having entered *Bologna* with a strong reinforcement, made a successful sally against the enemy, and obliged him to raise the siege.

Bernabo Viconti *besieges* Bologna.

Great commotions in Rome.

DURING these disturbances in *Lombardy*, the city of *Rome* was again divided into factions, occasioned by the fickleness and instability of the people in the change of senators, who were neither contented with nobles nor plebeians in that dignity. To put an end to those divisions, the pope ordered his legate to appoint a stranger as their senator; accordingly that dignity was conferred for six months on *Raimund* of *Siena*. The *Romans* were quickly disgusted with this form of government, and chose for themselves seven *reformers* of *the* commonwealth; but the pope, disapproving of their proceeding,

proceeding, appointed the king of *Cyprus* as their ſenator, who had come into *Europe* to demand aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*. The king dying ſoon after, the biſhop of *Fermo* was appointed rector of *Rome*, and the count of *Fondi* was ordered to quell the ſeditious by arms [b]. Mean while the kingdom of *France* being ravaged by great troops of robbers, who plundered the provinces under different leaders, *Innocent*, being apprehenſive leſt they ſhould attack *Avignon*, ordered a cruſade to be preached againſt them, and appointed the biſhop of *Oſtia* as general of the cruſaders [c]. The following year the plague again appeared in ſeveral places in *Europe*, and in *Egypt* and *Syria*. In *Milan* it raged with great violence, and, according to *Villani*, it carried off 11 cardinals and a great number of people at *Avignon* [d]. *Innocent* himſelf did not long ſurvive, but died the next year, on the 13th of *September*. A few months before his death, the *Romans* having revolted againſt their governor, and choſen one *Lelius Bonadota*, a ſhoemaker, as their ſenator, he, by the aſſiſtance of the people, expelled the greateſt part of the nobility and gentlemen from the city. But, as the exiles aſſembled an army to revenge themſelves on the oppoſite faction, the *Romans* again ſubmitted to the pope, on condition that cardinal *Ægidius* ſhould not have any authority over them [e] (L).

Innocent dies at Avignon. A. D. 1362.

A FEW days after the death of *Innocent*, the cardinals, to the number of twenty, entered the conclave, to chuſe a ſucceſſor. Fifteen of them gave their votes for a cardinal of the order of St. *Benedict*; but he refuſing to accept of the pontificate, the cardinals, on the 28th of *October*, unanimouſly choſe *William Grimoaldi*, a *Benedictine*, and abbot of St. *Victor*, of *Marſeilles*. As the abbot was then abſent in *Italy*, the cardinals wrote to him to come immediately to

Urban V. is elected pope.

[b] BLOND. D. ii. l. x. VILLAN. l. ix. c. 87. Bzov. hoc an. [c] VILLAN. l. ix. x. xi. FROSSARD. lib. i. c. 214, 215. WALSING. in Edw. III. [d] VILLAN. l. ix. c. 107, l. x. c. 38. 46. l. xi. c. 57. [e] Idem, l. xi. c. 25.

(L) *Innocent*, before his promotion to the pontificate, was perſuaded by the inſinuations of ſome people, that the famous *Petrarch* was addicted to magical arts; but, being afterwards undeceived, he ſolicited him by letters and preſents, to come to *Avignon* to be his ſecretary. *Petrarch* excuſed himſelf from accepting of that honour on account of his great age, and his love for a retired life (1).

(1) *Petrar. l.* i. *Senil.* 3.

Avignon.

Avignon, but concealed his election till his arrival; a few days after which, on the 7th of *November*, he was consecrated pope, and took the name of *Urban* V. Having, according to custom, informed the emperor, and other kings and princes, of his promotion, he immediately ordered all the bishops at *Avignon* to return to their own sees, and published severe edicts against luxury in dress, as he himself continued to wear his monastic habit underneath his pontifical ornaments, and never laid aside the hard bed and parsimonious living proper to his order. He likewise abolished a privilege which the cardinals claimed, of affording a sanctuary in their houses to those who fled thither, after committing any atrocious crime. A few weeks after his promotion, he received a visit from the king of *France*; together with that prince came the deputies of *Bernabo* of *Milan*, who desired a peace with the holy see. *Urban* refused to grant their request, unless *Bernabo* restored all the territories that he had usurped from the see of *Rome*, and, by a true penitence, declared his submission to the church. Continuing firm in his resolution, notwithstanding the intercession of the king of *France*, that prince departed dissatisfied from *Avignon*; and *Urban* soon after published a bull against *Bernabo*, accusing him of heresy and schism, and many other horrid crimes; ordering him, under pain of excommunication, to justify himself before the first of *March*. This bull was sent to the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, of *Italy*, and, according to *Villani*, was published at *Florence* on the 29th of *January*; but, *Bernabo* neglecting the citation, *Urban*, on the 4th of *March*, held a public consistory, in which he declared him excommunicated, and deprived, together with all his posterity, of all honour and jurisdiction[f]. He likewise freed his wife, as being a Christian woman, from the bond of marriage, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and granted indulgences to all those who would take up the cross against him. By this proceeding *Urban* greatly offended the king of *France*, who had returned to *Avignon* to intercede for *Bernabo*; he likewise disgusted several cardinals, who received secret pensions from the *Viconti*, to support their interest at the court of *Avignon*[g]. *Bernabo*, in contempt of this sentence, marched with an army into the territory of *Modena*, against the confederates; but his troops, from too great security, allowing themselves to be surprised, were defeated with great loss.

He excommunicates and deposes Bernabo. A. D. 1363.

[f] Villan. c. 31. 41. 44. Spond. Annal. [g] Idem *ibid.*

About

ABOUT the time he received this check in *Italy*, the king of *France*, with *Peter* king of *Cyprus*, and *Waldemar* III. king of *Denmark*, being at *Avignon*, mutually bound themſelves to undertake an expedition againſt the *Turks* within two years, and, together with many other nobles, received the croſs from the hands of the pope. This cruſade was owing to the ſolicitation of the king of *Cyprus*, whoſe kingdom had been for ſeveral years ravaged by the *Turks*; and the pope, being deſirous to intereſt the *German* princes in his defence, wrote to the emperor and the *German* nobles, exhorting them to undertake an expedition againſt the infidels; but his letters had no effect upon *Charles*, who was then threatened with a war from the king of *Hungary*. As both parties were preparing for hoſtilities, *Urban* ſent a nuncio into *Bohemia* and *Hungary* to prevent a rupture, by whoſe mediation *Charles* was prevailed upon to give ſatisfaction to the king of *Hungary*, and promiſed to marry his couſin *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Bogeſlas* duke of *Pomerania*. Accordingly, the following year, the peace being confirmed by the pope's legate ſent for that purpoſe, the marriage was celebrated at *Cracow* with great magnificence.

The kings of France, Denmark, *and* Cyprus, *take the croſs.*

The pope's legate concludes a peace betwixt the emperor and the king of Hungary. A. D. 1364.

DURING theſe tranſactions in *Poland*, a peace was likewiſe concluded betwixt the pope and *Bernabo Viconti*, owing chiefly to his defeat at *Modena*, and an edict of the emperor, who, from his uſual complaiſance to the pope, had ordered all the vicars of the empire to join their arms to thoſe of the legate. The kings of *France* and *Cyprus* likewiſe acting as mediators, *Androinus*, lately created a cardinal, was ſent to *Milan*, and concluded a treaty in the beginning of *March*, by which *Bernabo* ceded all the forts which he poſſeſſed in the territories of *Bologna*, *Modena*, and *Romagna*, to the holy ſee; and the pope abſolved him from the ſentence of excommunication, and, in conſideration of the forts lately built, promiſed to pay him 500,000 florins of gold within eight years [h]. Mean while the grand companies of robbers ſtill increaſing in *France*, *Urban* renewed his menaces and fulminations againſt them, in conſequence of which ſeveral parties of them were routed; and the reſt, to the number of 30,000 of various nations, were prevailed upon to march into *Spain* to the aſſiſtance of *Henry*, who had rebelled againſt his brother the king of *Caſtile* [i].

A peace betwixt the pope and Bernabo.

THE following year *Urban* ſent a legate to the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, to exhort him to an union with the *Roman* church,

The pope ſends a le-

[h] VILLAN. l. xi. c. 64. PETRAR. Senil. l. vii.

[i] FROSSARD. l. i. c. 230.

gate to the emperor of Constantinople; A. D. 1365.

church, and to preach up a cruſade againſt the *Turks* and *Saracens*. As *John Luſignan*, a relation of the king of *Cyprus*, at this time raiſed pretenſions to the kingdom of *Armenia*, which he claimed by hereditary right, *Urban* alſo wrote to the prelates and nobles of that kingdom in favour of *John*, and exhorted them to reject the errors of the *Neſtorians*, and others, and to embrace the purity of the catholic faith [k]. A few weeks after, the emperor *Charles* arrived at *Avignon*, and was moſt honourably received by the pope, with whom he had ſeveral private conferences. According to *Corius*, *Urban* likewiſe crowned *Charles* king of *Arles*, in the city of that name, and promiſed the empire to his ſon *Wenceſlaus* [l]. Upon their return to *Avignon*, the pope held a ſolemn aſſembly, at which were preſent, beſides the emperor, *Peter* king of *Cyprus*, and ſeveral other princes. *Peter* propoſed to attack the infidels in *Egypt*; but the emperor oppoſed his opinion, and offered to march at the head of an army againſt *Amurath*, emperor of the *Turks*, who, by the aſſiſtance of the *Genoeſe*, had paſſed the *Helleſpont*, and entered *Thrace* with an army of 100,000 men. This propoſal was oppoſed by the count of *Savoy*, who declared, that it was more neceſſary to retake *Gallipoli*, and by that means cut off ſupplies from thoſe *Turks* that had already entered *Europe*. The different opinions of the princes prevented any general enterpriſe from being concluded upon; *Charles*, however, promiſed to march into *Italy* at the head of an army, to reduce the *Viconti*, in conſideration of which engagement the pope granted him the tythes of the eccleſiaſtical revenues in *Bohemia* and *Germany*.

The princes retiring from *Avignon* to their different dominions, *Urban* ſoon after publiſhed a bull, ordering all the patriarchs, archbiſhops, and biſhops, in Chriſtendom, to hold provincial councils for reſtoring eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; and, for that purpoſe, ordered all prelates, under pain of excommunication, to reſide in their proper dioceſes, and to apply themſelves diligently to the paſtoral charge. He likewiſe prohibited any eccleſiaſtic from joining in marriage *Edmund* the ſon of the king of *England*, with *Margaret* the heireſs of *Flanders*, although ſhe had been betrothed to him by her father. This prohibition was owing to the pope's attachment to his native kingdom; for he ſoon after granted a diſpenſation for the marriage of the heireſs with the duke of *Burgundy*, brother of the king of *France* [m]. About the

[k] Bzov. hoc an. [l] Corius, Par. iii. [m] Til. de reg. Franc. Meyer. an. 1368.

ſame

same time, having received letters from the emperor of *Constantinople*, who promised to accomplish the union of the Greek and *Latin* churches, on condition of receiving assistance from the western princes against the *Turks*, *Urban* wrote to him, informing him, that *Lewis* king of *Hungary* was marching with a strong army to his assistance; and that the king of *Cyprus*, who, after his departure to *Avignon*, had sailed from *Venice* with a considerable army of crusaders, and taken *Alexandria*, intended to sail from *Thrace* against the *Turks*; he then exhorted him not any longer to delay the union from false pretences, but speedily submit to the *Roman* church, otherwise he would look upon him and the *Greeks* as heathens, and would give them no farther assistance. This letter was carried by the count of *Savoy*, who besieged *Varna*, the capital of *Bulgaria*, where the emperor was imprisoned, and took *Gallipoli* by assault. The emperor, having recovered his liberty, went to the king of *Hungary* at *Buda*, to whom he promised with an oath, that both he and his sons *Manuel* and *Michael* would submit to the *Roman* church, and fulfil whatever the pope should think necessary for their reconciliation. *Urban*, being informed of his submission by his chancellor and the bishop of *Nitria*, wrote to the emperor to persevere in his resolution; and sent him the form of the profession of faith, and abjuration of schism, formerly used by the emperor *Paleologus* on a like occasion. When the *Greek* chancellor returned, he likewise sent with him two legates, to complete the union, and to exhort the king of *Hungary* to a sacred expedition [n], and to give his assistance in putting an end to the schism. *Lewis* seems to have been very zealous in the service of the *Roman* church; for, having conquered *Bulgaria*, he sent for 2000 *Franciscans* to convert his new subjects. The vicar of *Bosnia* sent him eight, who in 50 days baptized upwards of 200,000 people [o].

who promises to submit to the Roman church. A. D. 1366.

URBAN, before he arrived at the pontificate, had expressed a great desire that the residence of the popes might be again transferred to *Rome*. After his promotion, continuing in the same sentiments, which were confirmed by a letter from *Petrarch*, he this year wrote to the doges of *Venice* and *Genoa*, desiring their gallies to conduct him to *Rome*, it being impossible to enter *Italy* by land, as the *Viconti* then guarded the passes of the *Alps*, by several troops of the banditti who had entered into their service [p]. In the mean time

Urban *proposes to return to* Rome.

[n] SPOND. Annal. [o] Idem, ex Chron. minor. [p] VILLAN. l. xi. c. 26. PETRAR. Senil. l. vii.

he

he sent a legate into *Spain*, to reconcile the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*; but his journey had no effect, for, besides the war with *Arragon*, *Peter* of *Castile* was attacked by his rebellious subjects, who, being assisted by the banditti from *France*, obliged him to fly the kingdom. In consequence of the pope's desire, in the beginning of the following year, several gallies arrived at *Marseilles* from *Naples*, *Venice*, *Genoa*, and *Pisa*; which *Urban* being informed of, he left *Avignon* on the last day of *April*, not without a great many reproaches from his court, who had no inclination to return to *Italy* [q]. Having embarked at *Marseilles*, he arrived four days after at *Genoa*, and, proceeding next day on his voyage, on the 4th of *June* he landed at *Corneto* in *Tuscany*, where he was met by cardinal *Ægidius*, and received an embassy from the *Romans*, with the keys of the castle of *St. Angelo*. A few days after he went to *Viterbo*, the inhabitants of which city received him with great respect; but they soon changed their disposition, and attacked the *French* cardinals, who were obliged to fly for refuge to the pope's palace. They quickly repented of their rashness; and, having obtained pardon from the pope, ordered the chiefs of the tumult to be put to death. *Urban*, after continuing four months at *Viterbo*, proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received by the clergy and the people with the greatest honours. Before he left *Viterbo*, he concluded an offensive and defensive alliance for seven years with the king of *Hungary*, the dukes of *Austria*, and several *Italian* princes, with the design of opposing the ambition of the *Viconti*, and securing the quiet possession of the conquests of *Ægidius*; in consequence of which he was now regarded not as an imaginary, but as a real temporal prince. In that city he likewise received another embassy from the *Greek* emperor; to which he returned an answer after his arrival at *Rome*, writing to the *Greek* patriarchs of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Jerusalem*, commending them for their intention of finishing the schism, and inviting them to come to *Rome*, together with their emperor. *Urban* received also a letter of congratulation from *Petrarch*, praising him for his return to *Rome*, and earnestly exhorting him to restore the church to its antient purity [r]. To this end, according to *Spondanus*, the pope this year confirmed the order of *Jesuits*, so called from their frequent mention of the name of *Jesus* (M).

A. D. 1367.

He embarks at Marseilles.

Is received in Italy *with great joy.*

ABOUT

[q] Petrar. ut sup. [r] Idem ix. Senil. 1.

(M) This order was instituted a few years before by *John Colombino*, a nobleman, who, separating himself by consent

ABOUT the ſame time, being informed that *Peter* king of *Caſtile*, after defeating the rebels, had again got poſſeſſion of his kingdom, and exerciſed great cruelty towards the eccleſiaſtics, he ſent a legate to *Spain*, who, drawing the king to a conference upon the bank of a river, read the pope's letter, and, from a boat, declared him excommunicated; immediately after which he ſailed down the river, and eſcaped. The king was ſo greatly exaſperated at this proceeding of the legate, that he purſued him into the water on horſeback; but, returning from his purſuit, he declared, that he would take off the yoke of the pope, and perſuade the kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon* to do the ſame: he threatened likewiſe to revenge the inſult by a war, and made great preparations by ſea and land; which *Urban* being informed of, he thought proper to take off the former cenſures, and ſent a cardinal to *Spain*, who accommodated all differences, upon certain conditions not very honourable for the holy ſee[s]. Mean while the pope cauſed ſeveral churches of *Rome* to be repaired; and prohibited, under ſevere penalties, the concealing or ſtealing of relics. In the beginning of the ſpring he received a viſit from *Jean* queen of *Sicily*, and from the king of *Cyprus*, who were both treated with great honours. Soon after, to avoid the great heats, he retired to *Monte Fiaſcone*, where he publiſhed a bull againſt *Bernabo Viconti*, who continued to ravage *Lombardy* with great inhumanity and cruelty.

Difference betwixt him and the king of Caſtile.

A. D. 1368.

As the pope had long ſolicited the emperor to enter *Italy*, and had concluded his bull with imploring his aſſiſtance againſt *Bernabo*, *Charles* informed him, that he had aſſembled an army with an intention of paſſing the *Alps*. The pope, being ſtill apprehenſive of a viſit from the *Germans*, immediately deſired his nuncio to aſk an imperial confirmation of the rights of the church, which was granted without any heſitation by the emperor, in a very ample manner. This ſecurity being given, *Charles* entered *Italy* with a conſiderable army, and joined that of the pope, conſiſting of

The emperor confirms the rights of the church, and enters Italy with an army.

[s] MARIAN. l. xvii. cap. 10, & ſeq.

ſent from his wife, embraced a life of auſterity, and, by his fervent diſcourſes, quickly made many proſelytes. Having attended the pope from *Corneto* to *Viterbo*, he obtained from him the confirmation of his order, and the regulation of the dreſs of the monks who profeſſed the rule of St. *Auguſtin*, and were called the *Jeſuit* friers of St. *Jerom* (1).

(1) *Bergom. l.* xiv.

20,000 men. *Verona* and *Vicenza* were quickly obliged to surrender, which determined *Bernabo* to sue for peace. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which *Bernabo* agreed to evacuate all the places that belonged to the holy see, or to the *Italian* nobles, who were vassals and allies of the empire; to give no protection to the banditti that served in his troops; and to appear personally before the pope, to ask pardon for his crimes, and to receive absolution. This treaty being confirmed, the emperor published an edict, revoking the privileges of the cities and nobles who had adhered to *Bernabo*; however, upon receiving considerable sums of money, he made no difficulty of restoring them their antient rights, with several new ones. All differences in *Lombardy* being thus accommodated, *Charles* proceeded to *Viterbo*, where he had an interview with the pope, who was then returning to *Rome*. Upon the pope's arrival in the neighbourhood of that city, the emperor led his horse by the bridle as far as the church of *St. Peter*. A few days after, the empress arriving at *Rome*, the pope crowned her at the altar of *St. Peter*; after which ceremony the emperor retired to *Tuscany*, where he continued several months; but, finding himself despised by the *Italians*, he appointed the bishop of *Porto* as his vicar in *Italy*, and returned to *Germany*.

Urban publishes a bull in favour of ecclesiastical liberty. A. D. 1369.

AFTER the departure of the emperor from *Rome*, *Urban* published a bull, confirming the liberty of ecclesiastics, prohibiting, under pain of excommunication and interdict, all laymen from punishing the clergy, under any pretence whatever. The following year he again left the city, on account of the heats; and, while he continued at *Viterbo*, the *Greek* emperor arrived at *Rome*, where, in the presence of the bishop of *Ostia*, and three other cardinals commissioned by the pope, besides many other witnesses, he made a profession of all the articles of the *Roman* faith, which doctrine he swore upon the holy gospels always to acknowlege and believe. *Urban*, being informed that the emperor had confirmed the union, immediately hastened to *Rome*. He was met without the city by *Paleologus*, who, after having kissed his feet, led his horse by the bridle as far as the *Vatican* church, where he held the stirrup while his holiness alighted, and afterwards renewed his profession before the altar of *St. Peter*. In consideration of these concessions, when the emperor began to talk of receiving succours, *Urban* recommended him to the *Venetians* and *Genoese*, and gave him leave to treat with *John Hawkwood*, an *Englishman*, who, after the death of *Lando*, had succeeded to the chief command of the banditti, and had rendered his name respected in *Italy* by his military exploits,

The Greek emperor arrives at Rome, and abjures the schism.

plain, but was then under a ſentence of excommunication on account of the aſſiſtance he had given to *Viconti*, who had again renewed his hoſtilities [t]. The emperor's negotiations with *Hawkwood* had no effect, for that captain preferred the plunder of *Italy* to the honour of fighting againſt the *Turks*. What was his ſucceſs with the *Venetians* and *Genoeſe*, is uncertain (N); but we find he did not quit *Italy* till the following year, as there is a bull extant, dated at *Rome* the 20th of *January*, wherein he confirms his former profeſſion [u]. After his departure, *Urban* created *William* of *Prato*, a *Franciſcan*, archbiſhop of *Cambalu*, and ſent him with twelve other *Franciſcans* to preach the goſpel in the kingdom of *Cathay*. He afterwards commiſſioned 60 other friers of the ſame order, and wrote to the Great Khân, and to the princes and people of *Tartary*, exhorting them to embrace the Chriſtian faith. He likewiſe invited the Vaivode of *Walachia* to forſake the ſchiſm; and wrote to the *Greek* prelates and clergy, exhorting them to follow the example of their emperor. By the mediation of the emperor, he again granted a peace to *Bernabo*; but he prohibited *Frederic*, the poſſeſſor of *Sicily*, from contracting an alliance with the *Viconti*, by a marriage betwixt their children [w]. About the ſame time he threatened to ſummon the king of *England* to anſwer at *Rome*, for neglecting to pay the allegiance and tribute due to the holy ſee, according to the conceſſion of his predeceſſor king *John*. The biſhop of *Ely*, the chancellor

A. D. 1370.

Difference betwixt the pope and the king of England.

[t] Spond. Annal. Villan. l. 9—11. [u] Spond. Annal. [w] Idem ibid.

(N) *Chalcondyles*, mentioning the emperor's journey to *Italy*, is quite ſilent as to the tranſactions at *Rome*, but ſays, when he went to *Venice* to aſk aſſiſtance, he could obtain nothing but a loan of money from the uſurers: that from thence he went to *France*, where his ſolicitations were ineffectual. He then returned to *Venice*, with the intention of ſailing to *Conſtantinople*; but, being thrown into priſon by his creditors, he wrote to his eldeſt ſon *Andronicus*, to remit the money which he owed. This prince, from a deſire of retaining the ſovereignty, wrote to his father, that it was impoſſible to raiſe the money; however, *Emanuel*, the younger ſon, hearing of his father's neceſſity, immediately raiſed what money he could, and went and offered himſelf as a hoſtage for his father till the payment of the whole ſum. As this ſtory is not mentioned by any other author, and, as *Chalcondyles* is frequently inaccurate and inconſiſtent, we think it deſerves but little credit (1).

(1) *Chalcond. l.* 1.

of the kingdom, informing the parliament of these menaces of the pope, they unanimously decreed, that the king was not bound by that extorted concession of *John*; and that, if the pope should proceed any further in his demand, they would oppose him to the utmost of their power. The parliament likewise renewed the former acts against the conferring of benefices upon foreigners, and the king prohibited any one from paying the tax of St. *Peter* [x]. This vigorous opposition of the parliament of *England* obliging the pope at that time to desist from his pretensions, he confirmed the order of St. *Salvator*, instituted by St. *Bridget*, a noble lady of *Sweden* [y]; and, at the solicitation of the cardinals, having determined to return to *Avignon*, he appointed two cardinals as his legates in *Italy*, and embarked at *Corneto* for *Marseilles*. He arrived at that city on the 16th of *September*, and a few days after entered *Avignon*, having published, as a reason for his returning, that he intended personally to reconcile the kings of *France* and *England*. This accommodation, however, he was prevented from effecting; for, quickly after his return, being seized with sickness, he died at *Avignon* on the 19th of *December*.

Urban returns to France, and dies at Avignon.

TEN days after the death of *Urban*, the cardinals unanimously chose cardinal *Peter Roger de Maumont*, who had been created a cardinal at 17 years of age, by his uncle *Clement* VI. As *Peter* was of a tender constitution, and not then 40 years of age, he refused for some time to accept of the pontificate; but at length allowing himself to be persuaded by the other cardinals, he was ordained priest on the 4th of *January*, and consecrated the day following, assuming the name of *Gregory* XI. On the day of his election, he wrote to the emperor, and the other sovereigns of *Europe*, informing them of his promotion; and, after his consecration, he sent two legates to the kings of *France* and *England*, to treat of peace; but those princes, being still inflamed with mutual resentment, could not be prevailed upon to hearken to an accommodation. *Gregory*, being likewise desirous of reconciling the kings of *Spain*, sent cardinal *Bertrand* thither as his legate, to assist the nuncios who had been commissioned by his predecessor *Urban*. Legates and nuncios were also sent into *Italy* and *Sicily*, to take care of the affairs of the church, and to prevent disturbances in those kingdoms. Mean while the pope having received complaints from *Eymericus*, the inquisitor of the faith in *Arragon*,

Gregory XI. *is chosen pope.*

A. D. 1371.

[x] HARPSFIELD, secul. 14. c. 5. [y] ONUPHR. in Chron. Vit. Brig. ap. SUR. t. 4.

again

againſt ſome friers, who publicly preached opinions not authorized by the church, he prohibited any one from diſcourſing publicly upon thoſe doctrines, under pain of excommunication. The friers complained of aſſerted, that if the conſecrated wafer was loſt, or devoured by a beaſt, it ceaſed to be the body of Chriſt, and returned to the ſubſtance of bread; and that even when taken by a communicant, the real body went to heaven, during the chewing of the wafer; which opinions were believed by ſeveral great men before the decree of *Gregory*, who did not abſolutely condemn them as heretical, but only prohibited them from being publicly diſcourſed of [z]. *Gregory* about the ſame time received an embaſſy from the king of *Denmark*, deſiring his aſſiſtance againſt the *Jutlanders*, who had revolted from their allegiance, and choſen another prince. But deputies likewiſe arriving from the rebels, and repreſenting the oppreſſions and exactions they ſuffered from the king, they found means to juſtify themſelves to the pope, who wrote to *Waldemar*, and threatened him with excommunication if he did not alter his conduct with regard to his ſubjects. This unexpected meſſage from the pope greatly exaſperated the king, who immediately returned an anſwer in theſe terms: "*Waldemar* "the king, to the pope, wiſheth health. We hold our life "from God, our kingdom from our ſubjects, our wealth "from our anceſtors, and our faith from your predeceſſors; "if you are not our friend, we reſtore you the faith by "this preſent writing [a]". *He is inſulted by the king of* Denmark.

GREGORY did not think proper to reſent this contempt of the apoſtolic ſee by any eccleſiaſtical cenſures; but, being ſolicitous to repreſs the growing authority of the *Viconti*, who again attacked the territories of the ſee of *Rome*, he publiſhed a bull, prohibiting any princes or nobles from contracting marriages with them or their children. At the ſame time having aſſembled a conſiderable army, he gave the command of it to *Amadeus* count of *Savoy*; and wrote to the emperor, the princes of *Germany*, and the king of *Hungary*, intreating their aſſiſtance in behalf of the church. His ſolicitations had no effect upon the king of *Hungary* or the *German* princes; but the emperor publiſhed a bull, granting a full power to the pope over all the lands and poſſeſſions of the *Viconti*, which they held of the empire, under any title whatever. By this bull the pope was appointed imperial vicar in *Italy* for ten years, with a power of transferring that *He ſends an army againſt the* Viconti; A. D. 1372.

[z] Direct. Inquiſ. EYMER. par. i. WADDING. hoc anno.
[a] PONTAN. rer. Dan. l. vii.

dignity to others[b]. The pope, having thus ſtrengthened his authority in *Italy*, applied himſelf to put an end to the diſputes betwixt *Naples* and *Sicily*; accordingly, by his means a treaty of peace was concluded, whereby *Frederic* was allowed the title of king of *Trinacria*, and *Jean* that of queen of *Sicily*; but *Frederic* and his ſucceſſors were bound to render homage to the kings of *Sicily*, to pay an annual tribute of 3000 ounces of gold, and to furniſh ten galliès and 100 armed knights in caſe of an invaſion of the kingdom of *Naples*. Among other conditions, the pope added, that both the kings of *Sicily* and *Trinacria* ſhould pay homage to the holy ſee, and that the immunities of the clergy ſhould be confirmed by *Frederic*. The articles added by the pope being ratified the following year by *Frederic* and *Jean*, the apoſtolic nuncio went over into *Sicily*, and took off the ſentence of excommunication and interdict from that iſland. In the mean time *Gregory* having received an embaſſy from the queen of *Armenia*, intreating the aſſiſtance of the *European* princes againſt the *Turks*, he wrote to her uncle, the prince of *Tarento*, to the maſter of the knights of *Rhodes*, to the king of *Hungary*, and the doges of *Venice* and *Genoa*, in her behalf. At the ſame time, being ſolicitous to ſtop the progreſs of the infidels, he exhorted the above-mentioned princes, and the *Greek* emperor, with the king of *Trinacria*, and the biſhops and prelates of *Greece*, to aſſemble the following *October* at *Old Thebes*, to enter into a league againſt the enemies of Chriſtendom[d]; and, to ſupply the expences of the war, he ſent collectors into all the provinces of *Europe*, to raiſe the taxes due to the apoſtolic ſee. *Gregory*, being no leſs earneſt for the extirpation of hereſy, animated the emperor and the princes of *Germany* againſt the heretics called *Begardi* and *Bequini*, who began to appear again in the empire. He likewiſe ordered the apoſtolic legate in *Sicily*, and the prelates of that kingdom, to repreſs the boldneſs of the *Fratricelli*, the *Dulcini*, and other heretics, who made a great ſhew of penitence in their lives, and worſhipped relics as ſaints. He wrote to the count of *Savoy* to aſſiſt the inquiſitors in ſuppreſſing the *Turlupines*, ſo called on account of their immodeſt tenets, and the depravity of their lives[e]; and he ordered the inquiſitors in *Arragon* to puniſh thoſe who taught the doctrines of *Raimund*, a convert from *Judaiſm*, who aſſerted, that the devils ought to be worſhipped: that, during tortures, it was lawful

and concludes a peace betwixt the king of Trinacria *and the queen of* Naples.

The pope labours to extirpate hereſy, and

[b] Cod. Eccleſ. Burdegal. *Bzov. & Wadding. Annal.*

[c] Bzov. an. 1372, 1373.

[d] Contin. Nangii.

to

...ary God by the mouth, provided he was ſtill adored in ...heart; and that it was more perfect to be a ſchiſmatic ...a catholic. In conſequence of theſe orders of the pope, ...doctrines of *Raimund* were condemned, and his books ...mitted to the flames. The *Turlupines* were alſo intirely ...preſſed, great numbers of that ſect having been burnt at ...ris, and elſewhere[f].

to reform the diſcipline of the church.

THE following year, *Gregory*, in imitation of his prede- ...ſor, by circular letters, adviſed all the biſhops and pre- ...s in Chriſtendom to hold provincial and dioceſan councils ...r the reformation of manners, and the reſtoring the diſ- ...pline of the church. At the ſame time he exerted himſelf ...behalf of eccleſiaſtical liberty, and, on that pretence, ...uſed to grant the demands of the king of *England*, who, ...conſequence of an act of his parliament, had ſent meſ- ...gers to *Avignon*, requiring the pope to deſiſt from con- ...ring of benefices in *England*; and to leave, according to ...ient cuſtom, the election of biſhops to the clergy, and ...ir confirmation to the metropolitans. The pope ſent back ...meſſengers to *England*; and made ſome demands upon ...king, which he required to be granted, before he would ...harken to thoſe propoſed by the parliament; and in the ...ean time, by his own authority, ſupplied the vacancies of ...ome of the chief biſhopricks in that kingdom[g]. A few ...onths after, the pope, being informed that one *Militzius*, ...canon of *Prague*, had raiſed a ſect in *Bohemia*, which ...maintained that antichriſt was already come, and that there ...was no truth in the pope, cardinals, or biſhops, but that the way of ſalvation was only to be found among them, he wrote to the archbiſhop of *Prague* to reprove *Militzius* as a heretic, and to puniſh his followers. About the ſame time he condemned to the flames an heretical book, intituled, *The Mirror of the* Saxons; and wrote to the archbiſhops of *Germany*, ordering them to publiſh his ſentence of condemnation.

A. D. 1373.

He concludes a peace with the Viconti, *and propoſes to return to* Rome.

MEAN while his army in *Italy* having gained ſeveral advantages over the *Viconti*, they again propoſed an accommodation with the holy ſee; which was accordingly concluded, to the ſatisfaction of the pope, by the mediation of the dukes of *Auſtria*. *Gregory*, believing the peace ſolidly eſtabliſhed in *Italy*, propoſed to return to *Rome*, and fixed the time of his departure for the month of *September*, informing the emperor, and the kings of *Hungary*, *Sicily*, and *Trinacria*,

[f] MEYER. l. xiii. EYMER. Direct. Inquiſ. par. ii. q. 20, & 27. [g] BZOV. hoc an.

and other princes, of his resolution. In the mean time he sent some *Dominicans* as his nuncios to the *Greek* emperor, to treat with him about the means of prevailing with the *Greeks* to embrace the union with the *Latin* church. He likewise sent the bishop of *Treviso*, with other bishops and *Dominicans*, into *Armenia*; and as the *Walachians*, who had lately abjured the schism, had no proper bishop, he committed the care of them to the archbishops of *Strigonia* and *Kolotza*, and to the king of *Hungary* [h] (O). The pope, however, deferred his *Italian* journey; and the following year, being informed by the bishop of *Treviso*, who, in his way to *Armenia*, had stopped at *Constantinople*, that *Cantacuzenus*, formerly emperor, had been prevailed upon by the *Dominicans* to acknowlege the supremacy of the *Roman* church, he wrote to *Cantacuzenus*, inviting him to *Rome*, and exhorting him to use his authority with the other *Greeks*.

A. D. 1375.

[h] Spond. Annal.

(O) This year died the famous *Francis Petrarch*, in the 70th year of his age. He was born at *Arezzo* in *Tuscany*, his parents having been banished from *Florence* by the faction of the *Guelphs*. After he had learnt grammar, rhetoric, and logic, at *Carpentras*, he applied himself to the study of the law four years at *Montpelier*, and, after that, three years at *Bologna*. At the age of 22 years, hearing that his parents had died of the plague at *Avignon*, he went to that city; but soon after, to avoid the contagion, he retired to *Vaucluse*, in the neighbourhood of *Avignon*, where he first saw his mistress *Laura*, whom he has so greatly celebrated in his writings. Having received a letter on the same day from *Rome*, and the university of *Paris*, inviting him to come and receive the crown, with the honours due to a prince. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, the laurel crown was conferred upon him, with great solemnity, in the capitol. He afterwards was created archdeacon of *Parma*; and, having visited *Verona*, *Parma*, *Venice*, and *Milan*, where *Galeas Viconti* made him a councellor of state, he stopped at *Padua*, and there received a canonicate, tho' he had formerly refused several benefices. He then bought a house at *Arqua*, where he lived five years, and received a favour from the *Florentines* he had formerly solicited in vain, namely, the restitution of all his paternal effects, and the revocation of the sentence of banishment against him; but their favour came too late, for he died a few years after at *Arqua*. He composed a great many treatises, and was esteemed by all the princes and great men of his time, being no less conspicuous for piety than for his eloquence and learning (1).

(1) *Pet. Pegg. Boccace, Placide Cantarini.*

to

embrace the union. To the ſame purpoſe he wrote to *Manuel*, the emperor's younger ſon, and cautioned him from truſting to the *Turks*, with whom his father had concluded a truce, in conſequence of which great numbers of infidels had entered *Conſtantinople*[i].

A general revolt in Italy againſt the authority of the pope.

MEAN while the great ſuperiority which the pope had acquired in *Italy*, by the inactivity of the emperor, and the forces of the arms of his legates, was in great danger of being wholly ruined, by a general revolt of the cities ſubject to the holy ſee, occaſioned by the tyrannical government of the legates, who not only oppreſſed their new ſubjects by grievous ſubſidies and exactions, but likewiſe built ſtrong forts in each of their towns. The *Florentines*, at that time very rich and powerful, were the firſt who roſe againſt the church, alleging, that the legates had prevented their city from receiving a ſupply of proviſions during a great dearth; and that *John Hawkwood*, then in the ſervice of the ſee of *Rome*, had ravaged their territory at the head of an army[k]. Under pretence, therefore, that their liberty was in danger, they determined upon a war, the chief management of which they committed to a council of eight citizens. They impriſoned the pope's nuncio, deſtroyed the priſon of the inquiſition, and erected a ſtandard, on which was written, in large letters, the *Latin* word LIBERTAS, declaring, at the ſame time, that whoever would revolt from the church ſhould be comprehended in the league. In conſequence of theſe proceedings, the cities of *Bologna* and *Perugia* immediately revolted, and were followed by more than 60 cities in *Romagna*, *Campania*, the *March*, and the duchy of *Spoleto*, who concluded an alliance with the *Florentines* and the *Viconti*; and wrote to the emperor, and the king of *Hungary*, and other princes, in juſtification of their league, declaring, that though they refuſed to be governed by the church, yet they would ſtill pay the uſual tribute to the holy ſee[l]. *Gregory*, thinking to ſtop the progreſs of the revolt, offered to enter into a negotiation for peace with the *Florentines*; and in the mean time he ſent two legates to *Bruges* in *Flanders*, to reconcile the kings of *England* and *France*; and, being informed that the *Waldenſes* were again become ſo numerous in *Dauphiny*, *Savoy*, and *Provence*, as to riſe in rebellion againſt the inquiſitors, he wrote to the prelates and rectors of the provinces, accuſing them of negligence,

[i] BZOV. & WADDING. hoc an. CHALCOND. l. i. [k] ARETIN. l. viii. Poggl. 2. ANTON. tit. xxii. c. 1. COR. Part iii.
[l] Annal. Mediol. ap. MURATOR. t. xvi. p 759.

and

and, having desired the princes in those provinces to give their protection to the inquisitors, he sent the bishop of *Mussa* to assist them in extirpating the heretics [m].

The Florentines are excommunicated, and declared slaves. A. D. 1376.

SOON after, being alarmed with the strength of the confederacy in *Italy* against the church, he published a sentence of excommunication and interdict against the *Florentines*, depriving them of all their privileges, ordering their property to be seized, and their persons to be enslaved, in whatever country they should be found. In consequence of this censure, all the subjects of that state in *England*, *Germany*, and other kingdoms, were immediately declared slaves, and all their possessions seized, which obliged the *Florentines* to think of an accommodation with the holy see. They accordingly sent *Catharine* of *Sienna* to *Avignon*, to intercede for them with the pope, promising to send deputies to confirm whatever articles should be agreed to. The deputies, after several delays, at length arrived, but, instead of ratifying the articles, they spent the conferences in accusing the legates and commanders of the church. *Gregory*, finding that they had no real desire of a peace, but intended to delude him with vain promises, raised an army of 6000 horse and 4000 foot in *Britany*, and other provinces of *France*, which he sent under the command of a cardinal into *Italy*, proposing himself to return to *Rome*. But, before he left *Avignon*, he granted a bull, allowing the electors to chuse *Wenceslaus*, the emperor's eldest son, king of the *Romans*; and sent two nuncios into *Germany*, to be present at the election [n]. Having afterwards received an embassy from *Wenceslaus*, informing him of his election, he allowed him to be crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, by the archbishop of *Cologne*; and, leaving *Avignon* on the 13th of *September*, he embarked at *Marseilles* for *Italy*, and landed at *Corneto* on the 5th of *December*. After resting himself for some weeks from the fatigues of his voyage, he reimbarked, and arrived at *Rome* on the 17th of *January*, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy.

The pope returns to Rome. 1377.

BY his presence at *Rome*, *Gregory* expected to re-establish the authority of the holy see in *Italy*, and to prevail with the rebels to submit; but he quickly found himself greatly mistaken; for though the *Romans*, upon his return, had suppressed the twelve captains of the wards, who were called bannerets, yet they soon after restored them, and resumed the government of the city, in opposition to the remonstrances of the pope. The rebels likewise were so far from

The Romans retain the sovereignty of their city.

[m] WADDING. hoc an. [n] SPOND. Annal.

returning

giving to their allegiance, that even ſome cities, that had of [illegible] continued in their obedience, now entered into the on- [illegible]e with the *Florentines* [o]; and *Hawkwood*, with his *Eng-* nce [illegible]troops, deſerting the party of the church, made an alli- de- [illegible]e with *Bernabo Viconti*, who gave him his natural daugh- rty [illegible]r in marriage [p]. *Gregory*, greatly afflicted with the bad ver [illegible]e of his affairs, ſent for the deputies of the *Florentines*, en- [illegible]d admitted them to a kiſs of peace, and a participation of nd [illegible]cred ordinances; but he could not prevail with them all [illegible]nſent to any honourable terms of peace for the holy ſee: nk- [illegible]ever, in the month of *June* they agreed to a ceſſation ly [illegible]arms for a few months. The pope in the mean time go- m [illegible]g to *Anagni*, from thence wrote to the emperor, the king t- [illegible]f *France*, and other princes, complaining bitterly of the ul- [illegible]*rentines*, who, in contempt of the interdict denounced - [illegible]ainſt them, had compelled their prieſts to perform divine l [illegible]rvice, and protected a heretic, who explained the apoca- [illegible]lypſe, and other parts of Scripture, in the vulgar tongue [q]. Returning to *Rome* in the beginning of *November*, he wrote to *Bernabo* and *Hawkwood*, intreating them to hearken to a reconciliation. *Bernabo*, upon his repeated ſolicitations, at length declared his willingneſs to enter into a negotiation; and the *Florentines*, beginning to be weary of the expences of the war, which had coſt them upwards of 3,000,000 of florins, a congreſs was appointed to be held at *Serazanæ* in *Tuſcany*.

A truce agreed to betwixt the pope and the confederates.

DURING theſe commotions in *Italy*, *Gregory*, being informed of the hereſies publiſhed in *England* by *John Wickliffe*, wrote to the chancellor and univerſity of *Oxford*, reproving them ſeverely for allowing thoſe erroneous doctrines to be publiſhed, and ordering them forthwith to deliver *John* as a priſoner into the hands of the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the biſhop of *London*, to whom he ſent nineteen articles taken from the propoſitions of *Wickliffe*, which he condemned as heretical. He wrote alſo to thoſe prelates to examine the doctrines of *Wickliffe*, and to keep him priſoner in irons; but, if they could not ſeize him, to ſummon him publicly to appear before the apoſtolic ſee within three months. The king of *England* likewiſe received a letter from the pope, exhorting him to uſe his authority in extirpating hereſy; but *Richard*, who, a few months before the arrival of the pope's letters in *England*, had ſucceeded his grandfather *Edward* III. being then a boy, his uncle the duke of

Gregory orders the chancellor of Oxford to imprison Wickliffe.

[o] ARETIN. l. viii. ANTON. tit. xxii. c. 1. Mediol. ut ſupra, c. 139. [p] Annal. [q] SPOND. Annal.

Lancaſter,

Lancaſter, and ſeveral other nobles, afforded their protection to *Wickliffe*; ſo that the archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the biſhop of *London*, being prohibited by the nobles, and threatened by the citizens of *London*, dropt the proſecution, and excuſed themſelves, by alleging, that *Wickliffe* declared, that he would ſubmit his doctrines to the judgment of the church of *Rome* [r] (P). The authority of the pope was at this time alſo oppoſed in *Germany*, where ſeveral princes and magiſtrates had decreed, that no temporal poſſeſſions ought to be transferred to eccleſiaſtics; that no clergyman ought to be admitted as an agent or witneſs in civil affairs; that excommunicated perſons ought not to be deprived of the benefit of the laws. But the emperor, zealous for aggrandizing the power of the popes, publiſhed a bull, ordering thoſe decrees to be revoked, and prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, any one from moleſting the clergy [s]. Mean while *Gregory*, not depending greatly upon the pacific intentions of the confederates, wrote to the archbiſhop of *Rouen*, his nuncio, to ſolicit the king of *France* and the emperor to aſſiſt the church, and to ſend deputies to the congreſs. The king, receiving ſoon after a letter from the pope, ſent four deputies to *Serazanæ*, where the congreſs was opened on the 12th of *March*; but, as *Gregory* died on the 27th of the ſame month, the conferences were immediately broke off, and the deputies returned home [t].

The papal authority is oppoſed in Germany.

A. D. 1378.

Gregory *dies at* Rome.

The Romans *violently compel the cardinals to*

BEFORE the death of *Gregory*, the bannerets conſulted about the means of retaining the apoſtolic ſee in *Italy*, and, by the advice of the *Italian* prelates, they unanimouſly agreed to uſe their utmoſt endeavours, upon the death of the pope, to procure a *Roman*, or at leaſt an *Italian*, to be elected as

[r] WALSING. HARPSFIELD. [s] BZOV. hoc an. [t] SPOND. Annal.

(P) The doctrines of which *Wickliffe* was accuſed were not all publiſhed at once. The chief of thoſe which he at firſt advanced were, "That the "wafer in the euchariſt, after "conſecration, is not the real "body of Chriſt, but its figure "only; that the *Roman* church "has no right to be the head "of all churches; that the "pope has no more authority "than any other prieſt; that "lay patrons may and ought "to deprive a delinquent "church of its temporal poſ-"ſeſſions; that the goſpel was "ſufficient to direct any Chriſ-"tian; that no prelate of the "church ought to have priſons "for puniſhing delinquents" (1).

(1) *Walſing.*

his

his ſucceſſor. After *Gregory*'s death, they accordingly exhorted the cardinals ſingly to chuſe a *Roman* or *Italian*, otherwiſe they threatened them with an inſurrection of the people. When the cardinals entered the conclave, the tumult increaſed, and the common people having expelled the nobles, and brought a great many country people into the city, with great violence ruſhed into the conclave, and ſurrounded the palace, loudly demanding a *Roman* or *Italian* pope. At length, at the perſuaſion of the bannerets, the mob quitted the conclave, and the doors were ſhut; however, they continued all night round the palace, with great tumult and noiſe; and in the morning, when they heard the celebration of the maſs, they rung the alarm bells, and, having obliged the cardinals to open the windows of the conclave towards the ſtreet, they declared, that unleſs they immediately choſe a *Roman* or *Italian*, they would put them to death. In this extremity, the *French* cardinals, who were three fourths of the whole college, proteſting that they only conſented to an election from the fear of immediate death, they then named *Bartholomew* archbiſhop of *Bari*, a gentleman of *Naples*. As this gentleman was remarkable for his modeſty and humility, and for his ſkill in the canon law, the cardinals were perſuaded that he would acknowlege his election to be null, and would therefore abdicate the pontificate. They were, however, greatly diſappointed; for the archbiſhop, who aſſumed the name of *Urban* VI. obliged the cardinals, ſix of whom had fled to the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, to come to the palace, and perform the ceremony of his coronation [u]. The day after he wrote to thoſe cardinals that remained at *Avignon*, informing them of the election of *Urban*, which they declared to be free and unanimous. To the ſame purpoſe they wrote to the princes and prelates in *Europe*. However, *Spondanus*, from a *Vatican* code, aſſerts, that one of the cardinals wrote ſecretly to the *French* king, deſiring him to give no credit to their letters that were dated from *Rome* [w]. The *French* cardinals having thus in appearance acknowleged the validity of the election, they behaved with the uſual obſequiouſneſs for three months; but, under pretence of avoiding the heat, they obtained leave to retire to *Anagni*, *Urban* himſelf, with the four *Italian* cardinals, about the ſame time going to *Tivoli*. At *Anagni* they immediately took the troops of *Britany* into their pay; and, having ſummoned the four cardinals that were at *Tivoli*, they wrote to

chuſe an Italian pope.

Urban *the ſixth is elected.*

The French cardinals retire to Anagni, *and proceed to a ſecond election.*

[u] Theod. de Niem. l. i. Anton. tit. xxii. c. 2. Froſſard, l. ii. c. 12. [w] Spond. Annal. hoc an.

Urban to reſign the pontificate. *Urban*, having then received a guard of 200 ſpearmen, and a conſiderable body of foot from the queen of *Naples*, ſent three cardinals to *Anagni*, to exhort their brethren to return to their duty, but without effect; for on the 9th of *Auguſt* the *French* cardinals publiſhed a ſentence againſt *Urban*, by the title of the archbiſhop of *Bari*, accuſing him of being an apoſtate and antichriſt.

Clement VII. *anti-pope.*

Soon after, having prevailed with queen *Jean* and her huſband *Otho* of *Brunſwick* to abandon *Urban*, they went to *Fondi*, where, on the 21ſt of *September*, they choſe cardinal *Robert*, who took the name of *Clement* VII [x].

A ſchiſm in the church.

THUS a violent ſchiſm aroſe in the church, to the great diſturbance of ſeveral kingdoms in *Europe*, which were thereby involved in the miſeries of war (Q). The emperor, with the kingdoms of *Portugal*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *England*, *Bohemia*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, and the *Italians*, *Flemings*, *Saxons*, and *Weſtphalians*, acknowleged *Urban*; *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Cyprus*, *Sicily*, and ſome princes, ſubmitted to the authority of *Clement*; while others continued in a neutrality, till the diſpute ſhould be determined by a general council. Mean while the two popes perſecuted each other with mutual anathemas, and by offering plenary indulgences to all thoſe who would take the croſs in defence of their cauſe. What the one bound, the other looſed; and what

[x] SPOND. Annal. hoc an.

(Q) This ſchiſm continued upwards of forty years, and, according to ſeveral authors, was owing to the ill-timed ſeverity of *Urban*, who took no pains to ſooth the exaſperated ſpirits of the cardinals; but, in a public diſcourſe immediately after his coronation, reprehended them ſeverely for their pomp and luxury, and threatened to puniſh thoſe who ſhould be guilty of ſimony, or receiving of bribes, adding reproaches againſt ſome of the college for privately correſponding with the enemies of the church. This unſeaſonable rigour, together with his kindneſs to the *Romans*, provoked the *French* cardinals to think of a ſecond election, juſtifying themſelves on account of the violence the conclave had ſuffered at *Rome*, a particular relation of which they publiſhed after their arrival at *Anagni*. Some authors greatly extenuate the violence offered by the *Romans*, while others are at as much pains to repreſent it in the worſt light, every one writing in favour of the party he had eſpouſed. The great number of treatiſes written on the occaſion of this ſchiſm are collected in the *Vatican* library, and conſiſt of thirty-two volumes (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal.*

the

the one granted, the other annulled; in conſequence of which a great corruption of manners quickly prevailed; the good were not honoured, and the bad were protected by either party; rapines and murders became frequent, the laws were deſpiſed, diſcipline aboliſhed, and ſimony eſtabliſhed as a public merchandize. *Urban*, before the ſchiſm, had concluded a peace with *Bernabo*, the *Florentines*, and the confederates [y], confirmed the election of *Wenceſlaus*, without receiving any embaſſy from *Germany*, and threatened to excommunicate the king of *Arragon*, if he did not deſiſt from his pretenſions to the crown of *Sicily* (R). But finding himſelf abandoned by all the cardinals excepting one, and by the greateſt part of the prelates and officers of his court, he began to be ſenſible of his imprudent conduct in acting too arbitrarily before his authority was eſtabliſhed; and, having returned to *Rome*, created 29 new cardinals, chiefly *Romans* and *Neapolitans*. *Clement* likewiſe about the ſame time created ſix cardinals; and ſent the troops of *Britany* and *Gaſcony*, and the *Roman* nobles that adhered to his party, to take poſſeſſion of *Rome*; but, after ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, they were obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. Finding his arms unſucceſsful, the following year he retired to *Naples*, where he was received by the queen with all the veneration uſually paid to a pope; but the *Neapolitans* raiſing a tumult in favour of *Urban* their citizen, *Clement* was obliged to quit the city, and, as he had few followers in *Italy*, about the middle of *June* he embarked with his cardinals for *Marſeilles*, and was received with great joy at *Avignon*.

A. D. 1379.

The anti-pope retires to Avignon.

URBAN, being now ſecure in *Italy*, reſolved to revenge himſelf upon the queen of *Naples*, by declaring her excommunicated, and abſolving her ſubjects from their allegiance; and as the emperor and the king of *Hungary* had jointly publiſhed a letter in his favour, he wrote to the king, inviting him to puniſh the queen for the murder of his brother, and to ſend *Charles* of *Durazzo* with an army to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Naples*. *Charles*, who at that time commanded the *Hungarian* army in the *Treviſan* againſt the *Venetians*, after ſome difficulties was prevailed upon to accept of the offer of the pope, and made ſecret preparations for his expedition. *Urban* accordingly publiſhed a ſen-

(R) *Urban*, in oppoſing the pretenſions of the king of *Arragon*, ſeems to have been actuated by motives of perſonal intereſt; for, according to *Theodoric de Niem*, and others, he intended a match betwixt his own nephew *Francis Prignano* and *Mary* heireſs of *Sicily*.

tence

A. D. 1380. tence of excommunication and depoſition againſt *Jean*, who, to avert the ſtorm with which ſhe was threatened, took the grand companies into her pay, and, as ſhe had no iſſue, adopted the duke of *Anjou*, the *French* king's brother, as her heir [x]. But the year after, *Charles* of *Durazzo* arriving with an army of *Hungarians* at *Rome*, *Urban* conferred upon him the crowns of *Sicily* and *Jeruſalem*, under the ſame conditions as the kings of *Naples* had formerly bound themſelves to the holy ſee (S); and as *Charles* was in great want of money, the pope melted down and ſold a great many gold and ſilver chalices, croſſes, and images of ſaints, for the expences of the war. *Charles*, immediately after his coronation, marching for *Naples*, by a ſucceſsful battle made himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom, and got the queen and her huſband into his power; while the legate, whom *Urban* had ſent to accompany him, having apprehended two cardinals and ſeveral prelates of the party of *Clement*, obliged them to abjure the antipope, and to throw the ornaments of their dignity into the fire. Mean while great diſturbances were raiſed in *France* by the exactions of the antipope, who not only conferred the richeſt vacant benefices on his cardinals, but appropriated others by grants of reverſion; and, as he had no other kingdom to ſupply the expences of his court, great ſums of money were raiſed under the name of tythes and arrears due to the apoſtolic chamber. As, upon theſe accounts, the ſtudents, who were cut off from all hopes of preferment, deſerted the univerſity, one *Roſs*, a doctor of divinity, went to the king, and repreſented their grievances with great freedom. The duke of *Anjou*, who was then regent, and ſuppoſed to be a ſharer with the antipope in his exactions, being highly offended with this repreſentation, impriſoned the doctor; but the whole univerſity going in a body, and complaining of the outrage, the doctor obtained his liberty, and immediately after went to *Urban*, who wrote to the univerſity, exhorting them to perſevere in their oppoſition to the antipope [a]. *Urban* ſoon after was alarmed at *Rome* by an inſurrection of the *Romans*, who were offended with him for denying a petition that they had preſented;

Urban *crowns* Charles *of* Durazzo *king of* Sicily.

Diſturbances at Paris, *on account of the exactions of the antipope.*

A. D. 1381.

[x] Theod. de Niem. l. i. Car. VI.

[a] Juven. in reb. geſt.

(S) The ſame author relates, that, before *Charles* was crowned by the pope, he was forced to promiſe to his nephew, *Francis Prignano*, the duchies of *Capua* and *Amalphi*, and ſeveral other counties in the kingdom of *Naples*.

however,

however, the pope oppoſing their fury with conſtancy and firmneſs, they quickly laid down their arms, and aſked pardon[b]. About the ſame time *Charles* of *Durazzo* having cauſed the queen of *Naples* to be put to death, the duke of *Anjou*, whom ſhe had adopted as her ſon and heir, arrived at *Avignon*, and was crowned king of *Sicily* by *Clement*. After reducing the *Provençals*, who had refuſed to acknowledge him as their ſovereign, he paſſed the *Alps* with a numerous army, and entered the kingdom of *Naples*, where he was immediately joined by many of the nobles, and took ſeveral towns in *Apulia* and *Calabria*; but as his troops were not accuſtomed to the climate, and his convoys were frequently intercepted by the enemy, before the return of the ſpring his army was greatly leſſened, and inferior to the forces of *Charles*.

A. D. 1382. *who confers the crown of* Sicily *on the duke of* Anjou. 1383.

MEAN while *Urban*, having left *Rome* to avoid the heats, after reſiding ſome time at *Tivoli*, reſolved to go to *Naples*, to ſettle the commotions in that kingdom, and to obtain the confirmation of the promiſes of *Charles* in favour of his nephew. Though he was diſſuaded from his journey by ſeveral letters from *Naples*, and by many of his cardinals; he nevertheleſs proceeded, and arrived at *Averſa* in the beginning of *October*, where he was received with great reſpect by *Charles*, who led his horſe into the city. The pope took up his reſidence at the biſhop's palace; but the following night he was conducted by force into the caſtle, where he was compelled to revoke all the conditions upon which he had granted the kingdom of *Naples* to *Charles*. Proceeding from *Averſa* to *Naples*, he was again lodged in the caſtle; but after ſome time, at the interceſſion of the cardinals and nobles, *Charles* was reconciled to him, aſked pardon for what he had done, and ſet him at liberty, promiſing likewiſe to fulfil what he had promiſed to his nephew[c]. *Urban*, ſoon after his promotion, had deſired the aſſiſtance of the king of *England* againſt the *French*, granting him, for that purpoſe, the tythes of all eccleſiaſtical revenues in his kingdom. In conſequence of frequent letters from *Rome*, the biſhop of *Norwich* at length aſſembled an army of 17,000 cruſaders; and, about the time that *Urban* was preparing for his *Neapolitan* journey, tranſported his troops to *Calais*, with the intention of attacking the *French* as ſchiſmatics; but, after his arrival upon the continent, he altered his deſign, and invaded *Flanders*. The *Flemings*, who acknow-

Urban *goes to* Naples, *where he is treated with indignity by king* Charles.

[b] WALSING. KRANTZ, Metrop. 14. [c] THEOD. de Niem.

leged *Urban*, being surprised by the *English*, lost several towns; but the king of *France* approaching with a formidable army, the crusaders dispersed, and the bishop returned in a disgraceful manner to *England*[d].

He publishes a crusade against the duke of Anjou. A. D. 1384.

THE following year *Urban*, still residing at *Naples*, excommunicated the duke of *Anjou*, and published a crusade against him, appointing *Charles* standard-bearer, and general of the crusaders. After the king's departure for the campaign, he himself went to *Nocera*, which had been granted to his nephew. As an edict had been published, prohibiting any one to buy victuals, or even salt or candles, unless from the king's warehouses, his court was quickly in great want of provisions, on which account a great many cardinals returned to *Naples*; but the pope recalling them, they all, except one, came back to *Nocera*, and shared in the indignities which he suffered in that city for several months. The king, in the mean time, being freed from his competitor by death, and having obtained the quiet possession of the kingdom, returned in the month of *November* in a triumphant manner to *Naples*. Though *Nocera* was within a day's journey of his capital, he neglected to visit the pope, but sent to him in a disrespectful manner, demanding why he left *Naples*, and desiring him to return immediately, as he had matters of importance to communicate to him. The pope, provoked to the last degree with his arrogance, replied, that Christian kings and princes did not use to call the popes to them, but thought themselves honoured by coming to the feet of the popes; and that, if he desired to see him as a friend, he must take off the heavy taxes with which he oppressed a kingdom that was a fief of the holy see[e]. This answer greatly offended the king, who declared, that the kingdom was his own by conquest, and by right of his wife, and by his own authority he would raise what taxes he thought proper. The difference betwixt *Urban* and the king was chiefly fomented by cardinal *Reali*, who, in contempt of the pope's message, had remained at *Naples*.

A rupture between the pope and the king of Naples.

THIS cardinal, for what reason is uncertain, had resolved upon the ruin of *Urban*, and, by corresponding secretly with the cardinals at *Nocera*, had persuaded them, that it was the opinion of divines, and those that were skilled in the canons, that when a pope acted imprudently, or despised the advice of the cardinals, it was lawful to appoint several curators to assist in the administration of the universal church.

[d] FROSSARD, l. ii. JUVEN. in Hist. Car. VI. [e] SUMMONT. l. iv.

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The cardinals, having once aſſented to this opinion, proceeded further; and having alleged againſt the pope the crimes of hereſy, ambition, avarice, and ingratitude towards the king, they formed a deſign, not only of depoſing him, but of murdering him. The conſpiracy being diſcovered by one of the cardinals, *Urban* immediately held a conſiſtory, laying before them the proofs he had received of the plot, he ordered ſix, ſome authors ſay ſeven, of the cardinals to be ſeized and put in irons. Having by tortures wreſted from them a confeſſion of their guilt, he confined them to ſeparate dungeons; and a few days after, to ſupply their places, he made a promotion of ſeventeen cardinals, among whom were the three eccleſiaſtic electors of *Germany*, the bishops of *Liege* and *Wratiſlaw*, and a prieſt of *Bohemia* of a noble family, which ſix refuſed to accept of the dignity that was offered them [f]. Immediately after theſe proceedings, he aſſembled the clergy and people of *Nocera*, and, giving them a particular account of the conſpiracy, he erected a croſs, and, with lighted candles, excommunicated the king and queen of *Naples*, cardinal *Reali*, with the other convicted cardinals, and the antipope, with all his adherents. The king and queen were alſo depoſed, the cardinals deprived of their dignities, and the city of *Naples* laid under an interdict.

The cardinals convicted of a conſpiracy againſt Urban; A. D. 1385.

CHARLES, highly exaſperated at the pope's fulmination, imprisoned all the prelates and clergy that favoured *Urban* at *Naples*; and, marching with his army againſt *Nocera*, took and plundered the city, the pope having ſaved himſelf in the citadel, from whence thrice a day he denounced anathemas againſt the king's army, with bell and candles [g]. *Urban*, after ſuffering for ſome time the miſeries of a ſiege, at length, by means of two generals of the party of the late duke of *Anjou*, he eſcaped from the citadel, and arrived with his cardinals, and thoſe that were degraded, after a dangerous journey, at *Benevento*. From thence proceeding to *Barletta*, he embarked on board ſome *Genoeſe* gallies, and arrived on the 23d of *September* at *Genoa*, where he again committed his degraded cardinals to priſon, excepting *Adam*, an *Engliſhman*, who, at the interceſſion of king *Richard*, was allowed to return to *England* (T). Immediately after the departure

who is beſieged in Nocera.

He eſcapes by ſea to Genoa,

[f] GOBEL. PERS. ap. rer. Germ. ſcriptor. t. i. p. 316. THEOD. de Niem, l. i. c. 42. [g] THEOD. c. 49.

(T) This is the account of *Perſona*, *Walſingham*, *Krantz*, *Theodoric de Niem*, *Gobellinus* *Summontius*, and others; however,

A. D. 1386. departure of *Urban*, *Charles* croſſed the *Adriatic*, and went into *Hungary*, where, in prejudice of the rights of the daughters of the late king, he was crowned by a faction on the 31ſt of *December*, but was murdered a few weeks afterwards by the party of the queen. The news of his death arriving at *Naples*, the queen immediately crowned his ſon *Ladiſlaus*, or *Lancelot*, then a boy of ten years of age. But as the party of the duke of *Anjou* likewiſe crowned his ſon *Lewis*, who was ſupported by the antipope *Clement*, the queen ſolicited the aſſiſtance of *Urban* in the moſt ſubmiſſive and preſſing manner. Though it was the intereſt of the pope to ſupport the party of *Ladiſlaus* in oppoſition to that of *Lewis*, yet, as the reſentment for the injuries he had received from *Charles* had not yet ſubſided, it was with great difficulty he was prevailed upon to give aſſiſtance to his ſon. At length he ſent a few troops; but, before their arrival, the *Clementine* party had taken poſſeſſion of *Naples*, and gained ſeveral other advantages. Mean while *Urban* received an embaſſy from *Jagello* duke of *Lithuania*, who had renounced his idolatry, and, after his baptiſm, married the queen of *Poland*, and, by the name of *Uladiſlaus*, aſcended the throne of that kingdom, to which he had annexed his hereditary dominions.

where he puts the degraded cardinals to death.

Soon after the pope, having rejected all interceſſions in behalf of the degraded cardinals, ordered them to be put to death, as his own life was again in danger from the deſigns of their friends, who had more than once endeavoured to poiſon him, and had even aſſaulted his palace [h]. As he made diligent inquiry to find out the authors of the aſſault, two cardinals fled from his court, and went to *Avignon*, where they were promoted to the ſame dignity by other titles. *Urban*, not being able to prevail with the doge of *Genoa* to puniſh thoſe that had been guilty of the aſſault, left that city, and in the end of *December* arrived at *Lucca*, where he reſided nine months. *Clement*, in the mean time, find-

A. D. 1387.

[h] Gobelin. Person. ut ſupra, p. 309, 310.

ever, *Niem* adds, that, while the pope was on his journey from *Nocera* to the ſea-coaſt, he ordered the biſhop of *Aquila*, who was one of the conſpirators, to be put to death, and left unburied, imagining he wanted to eſcape, as he was mounted on a bad horſe, and, on account of ſickneſs, occaſioned by his long impriſonment, was unable to keep up with the reſt of the company (1).

(1) *Niem*, c. 56.

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ing his party ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, and by ſome ſucceſſes of his adherents in *Italy*, that he might, by an appearance of moderation, reconcile the minds of others, he ſent legates thro' the different provinces of Chriſtendom, to deſire a general council, declaring, that he was willing to ſubmit to the deciſion of the church, without whoſe determination he could not with a ſafe conſcience reſign the pontificate: that, if he was confirmed, he would create *Urban* a cardinal of the firſt rank, and, if the council ſhould decide againſt him, he would ſubmit to *Urban*[i]. *Clement*, by this proceeding, gained a great many friends in *Germany*, from whence the princes and prelates ſent an embaſſy to *Urban*, deſiring him to conſent to a general council, in order to procure the unity of the church, offering a place of ſecurity, and to defray the expences neceſſary on that occaſion. The ſolicitations of the embaſſadors were ineffectual; for *Urban* inſiſted, that there was no neceſſity to examine the juſtneſs of his title to the pontificate[k]. About the ſame time he publiſhed a cruſade againſt the *Clementines* that had ſeized *Naples*; and, having had ſome diſputes with the *Florentines*, he left *Lucca*, and went to *Perugia*.

He marches from Perugia with ſome troops to recover Naples. A. D. 1388.

DURING his reſidence in that city, a diviſion aroſe among the chiefs of the party of the duke of *Anjou* at *Naples*, who employed their troops in revenging their private quarrels. *Urban*, in hopes of recovering his intereſt in that kingdom, aſſembled a conſiderable body of horſe, and, in the month of *Auguſt*, leaving *Perugia*, marched for *Naples*. But, having a fall from his mule, he was obliged to be carried in a litter to *Tivoli*, where he received an embaſſy from the *Romans*, inviting him to *Rome*. *Urban*, diſtruſting their fidelity, advanced with his troops to *Ferentino*; but they having almoſt wholly deſerted for want of pay, he was obliged, in the beginning of *October*, to return to *Rome*, having been informed that the city of *Bologna* had revolted to the party of *Clement*. The following year, according to *Boninſegnius* and *Antoninus*, he had a diſpute with the *Romans*, on account of ſome ſenator he had appointed, whom they ſuſpected to be their enemy. To quiet the people, who threatened an inſurrection, he publiſhed a bull for the celebration of a jubilee the following year at *Rome*; which ſolemnity he ordered for the future to be obſerved every thirty-three years, according to the number of years of our Saviour's

[i] MUTII Chron. Germ. lib. xxvi. ANTON. tit. xxii. c. 2.

[k] NIEM, c. 66.

life [l]. He hoped by this feſtival to enrich both the *Romans* and himſelf; but he died before the time arrived for its celebration: *Niemus*, who was preſent at his death, relates, that, after a ſickneſs of twenty-eight days, he died on the 12th of *October*, and that it was generally believed he was poiſoned [m].

Dies at Rome.

Boniface elected.

A FEW days after the death of *Urban*, the cardinals who were at *Rome*, to the number of fourteen, entered the conclave, and, after ſome diſputes, unanimouſly choſe *Peter Tomacello*, a *Neapolitan*, and cardinal prieſt, of the title of *St. Anaſtaſia*. He was conſecrated and crowned on the feaſt of St. *Martin*, by the name of *Boniface* IX. and immediately after publiſhed circular letters, informing all the Chriſtian princes and prelates of his promotion (U). The news of his election no ſooner reached *Avignon*, than *Clement* denounced a ſentence of excommunication againſt him, the ſame anathema having been fulminated by *Boniface* againſt the antipope. Soon after, in conſequence of the bull for the jubilee, great numbers of pilgrims arrived at *Rome*; but as they were not ſo numerous as at the former jubilees, *Boniface* ſent the indulgencies into the different provinces of Chriſtendom, to be conferred on thoſe who, inſtead of the pilgrimage, would undertake other pious works. Thoſe who were intruſted with the diſpoſal of the indulgencies, were ordered to return a third part of the offerings to the pope. But as great abuſes were committed in that ſacred merchandize, the collectors were not only maltreated by the people, but alſo impriſoned by *Boniface*, who, at the perſuaſion of *Adam* the *Engliſh* cardinal, whom he had reſtored to his dignity, declared, that a confeſſion without penance did not intitle any one to the benefit of the indulgence, unleſs at the point of death [n]. About the ſame time the pope having received an embaſſy from the queen of *Sicily* and her ſon *Ladiſlaus*, deſiring to be abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication denounced againſt them by *Urban*, and to receive the inveſtiture of the kingdom, he ſent cardinal *Acciaioli* to *Gaeta*, where they then were, who crowned the young *Ladiſlaus*, with his wife *Conſtantia*, king and queen of *Sicily*.

A jubilee celebrated at Rome, A. D. 1390.

[l] NIEM, c. 68. BONINSEGN. lib. iv. ANTON. tit. ut ſupra.
[m] NIEM, c. 69. [n] WALSING. in Rich. II.

(U) *Boniface* was born of a noble though poor family, and, according to *Niem*, was created a cardinal twenty-five days after he had come to *Rome* as a poor and unbeneficed clergyman.

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and *Jeruſalem*. Mean while the antipope having received an embaſſy from the knights of *Rhodes*, informing him of the danger of *Smyrna*, from the incurſions of the *Tartars* under the command of *Tamerlane*, he publiſhed a bull, promiſing a plenary remiſſion of ſins to all thoſe who would furniſh money to the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtians in *Aſia* [o].

THIS bull was ſoon after followed by a letter of *Boniface*, addreſſed to all the faithful, exhorting them to the obedience of the pope, and to defend the apoſtolic ſee. As the antipope was chiefly ſupported by *France*, *Boniface* exclaimed againſt that kingdom. He compared the reſidence of the popes on the banks of the *Rhone* to the captivity of the *Jews* at *Babylon*. He aſſerted, that the king of *France* had been deceived by falſe letters, as though *Urban* VI. had deſigned to deprive him of the kingdom of *Arles*; and that he engaged in defence of the ſchiſm, upon a promiſe from the antipope of obtaining the univerſal monarchy, and the tythes in perpetuity [p]. *Boniface* ſeems to have publiſhed this letter from his apprehenſion of an expedition of the king of *France* into *Italy*, according to a rumour which then prevailed [q]. He was likewiſe ſoon after alarmed by the proceedings of the parliament of *England*, who ordered all *Engliſh* ſubjects then at *Rome*, ſoliciting preferment, to return immediately, under pain of loſing their benefices. The pope, apprehenſive leſt *England* ſhould declare for the antipope, ſent an abbot into that kingdom, to declare, that he had no intention to infringe the king's prerogative, but would nevertheleſs defend the eccleſiaſtical liberty. The abbot had orders alſo to inform the king, that the antipope and the king of *France* had entered into a treaty to inveſt the duke of *Tours*, that king's brother, with all the dominions of the church in *Italy*, to confirm the young duke of *Anjou* in the kingdom of *Sicily*, and to create ſome other perſon king of *Lombardy* and *Tuſcany*; on which account the pope intreated the king of *England* to undertake the defence of the church, as the *French*, if they were once maſters of *Italy*, would eaſily conquer *England* [r].

A. D. 1391.

The pope informs the king of England *of the ambitious views of the* French;

WHILE his nuncio was repreſenting theſe things in *England*, *Boniface*, at the requeſt of the *German* prelates, publiſhed a bull, confirming the edicts of the emperors *Frederic* II. and *Charles* IV. for the immunity and juriſdiction of eccleſiaſtics. He likewiſe canonized St. *Bridget*, and ſent legates to mediate a peace betwixt the *Viconti* and the *Flo-*

and publiſhes a bull for the liberty of eccleſiaſtics. 1392.

[o] Bzov. hoc anno. [p] Epiſt. Bonifac. apud SPOND.
[q] FROSSARD. [r] WALSINGHAM in Rich. II.

rentines, which was accordingly concluded the following *January*. Not long after the pope, on account of the many indignities and hardships he suffered from the bannerets of *Rome*, was obliged to quit the city, and retire to *Perugia*, where, at the intreaty of the queen dowager of *Sicily*, he granted a divorce betwixt her son *Ladislaus* and his young queen *Constantia*, for no other reason pretended, than because a report prevailed, that *Constantia*'s mother had been debauched by *Martin* duke of *Monablanco*[s]. He likewise sent two nuncios with a letter to the king of *France*, desiring him to give his assistance in restoring the union of the church. The two nuncios went first to *Avignon*, where they were injuriously treated, and detained prisoners by the antipope; but, at the request of the university of *Paris*, the king of *France* ordered them to be set at liberty. Upon their arrival at *Paris* the king admitted them to an audience, and desired them to inform *Boniface*, that he would endeavour to the utmost to promote the union of the church, for which purpose supplications and processions were then begun to be made at *Paris*. *Clement*, perceiving the inclinations of the *Parisians*, pretended likewise to desire the union, and added a peculiar office to the mass, granting great indulgences to those who celebrated it. But it appears that his real intention was otherwise, for he soon after sent a master of the *Carmelites* to excite the *Parisians* against *Boniface*. The following year the pope, having received the verbal answer of the king of *France*, again wrote to that prince; but as *Charles* was then in a state of lunacy, his letter was neglected by those who had the administration of the kingdom. Mean while the books of *John Wickliffe* having been carried into *Bohemia* by a young nobleman of that kingdom, who had studied at *Oxford*, his doctrines were embraced by great numbers of people at *Prague*; and, being publicly preached by *John Huss*, they were received likewise in several cities of *Germany*, particularly at *Augsburgh*, where one *Henry*, a priest of *Bamberg*, having received authority from the magistrates of the city, made inquiry after those who professed heretical doctrines, many of whom this year he ordered to be burnt, and commanded those who recanted their opinions to wear upon their breast and back a yellow cross for 12 months[t].

The followers of Wickliffe's *doctrines are persecuted in* Germany.

Boniface returns to Rome. DURING these proceedings against the heretics in *Germany* *Boniface* returned to *Rome*; but he continued but a

[s] SUMMONT. l. iv. c. 2. [t] CRUSII Annal. Suev. par. iii. l. vi. c. 4.

few

few months in the city, when his life was in danger, from a violent insurrection of the *Romans*, who broke open the doors of his bed-chamber, and dragged from thence some canons of *St. Peter*'s church, who had refused to agree to a alienation required of them by the bannerets. The king of *Naples*, who had come to *Rome* to demand succours from the pope against his competitor, immediately assembled some troops; and, having repulsed the mob, effected a reconciliation betwixt the *Romans* and his holiness. About the same time the university of *Paris*, having obtained leave from the king to consult of means to put an end to the schism, had concluded upon three expedients for that purpose, namely, either the resignation of both the pretenders, or a mutual compromise of both parties to elect a certain person, or, lastly, the determination of a general council. Notwithstanding the great opposition of the duke of *Berry*, the king's uncle, and *Peter de Luna*, the legate of the antipope, the university presented their resolutions in form of a letter to the king; which were graciously received by his majesty, who appointed a day for the further deliberation of that affair. At length, however, the intrigues of the antipope's legate prevailed; and the chancellor, by order of the king, prohibited the university from any further proceedings on that subject. *Clement* dying a few months afterwards, on the 16th of *September*, the king of *France* immediately wrote to his cardinals to delay the election of a successor, till he should send special messengers to treat of the means of an union. The cardinals likewise received letters to the same purpose from the university of *Paris*, from the king of *Arragon*, and other princes. *Boniface* also sent two legates to *Avignon*, and wrote to the king of *France* and university of *Paris*, exhorting them to use their utmost endeavours to put an end to the schism. The cardinals at *Avignon*, however, paid no regard to the solicitations of the king of *France*, but, ten days after the death of *Clement*, entered the conclave, and chose *Peter de Luna*, who took the name of *Benedict* XIII.; and wrote to the Christian princes, that he had been elected against his inclination, and would even willingly resign to procure the union of the church [u].

A. D. 1394.

The university of Paris *proposes a means to put an end to the schism.*

The antipope dies,

and is succeeded by Benedict XIII.

In consequence of these professions, the king of *France* assembled the prelates and doctors of his kingdom at *Paris*, in the beginning of *February*, to consult about the means of an union. The council, after mature deliberation, de-

A council of divines at Paris *propose the*

[u] Surit. Indic. lib. iii. Monach. Dionys. & Juven. in Car. VI.

creed,

method of reſignation, to put an end to the ſchiſm. A. D. 1395.

creed, that the method of reſignation was the moſt convenient; and that *Benedict* and the king ought firſt to inform the princes of their own party; and that the king alone ſhould then acquaint the princes of the oppoſite party with the means propoſed for the union; and that, after thoſe princes ſhould have perſuaded *Boniface* to agree to a reſignation, they ſhould then conſult about the manner of the future election. The king of *France* being informed that *Benedict* and his cardinals, before his election, had taken an oath, whereby they had bound themſelves to endeavour to the utmoſt of their power to put an end to the ſchiſm, he ſent to *Avignon* for a copy of the oath; but receiving only evaſive anſwers from the antipope, he ſent his brother and his three uncles, with ſeveral other eminent nobles, prelates, and doctors, to *Avignon*, to urge *Benedict* to remember his oath, and give peace to the church. This ſolemn embaſſy had no influence with the antipope; however, all his cardinals, except three, ſubſcribed their aſſent to the method of reſignation[w]. During theſe tranſactions in *France*, the *Lollards* or *Wickliffites* in *England* expreſſed their contempt for both popes, by writings affixed to the doors of *St. Paul's* and *St. Peter's* churches; while the univerſity of *Oxford*, at the deſire of the king, examined the method of reſignation propoſed by the *Pariſians*, which they condemned by numerous arguments, and propoſed the way of a general council, which they proved to be preferable, on account of its authority and dignity. *Boniface*, being informed of the outrages committed by the *Wickliffites*, the following year wrote to the king of *England*, deſiring him to aſſiſt the prelates of the church againſt the *Lollards*, and to condemn thoſe who were declared heretics. About the time the king received the pope's letter, the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* held a council at *London*, which condemned eighteen propoſitions taken from the books of *Wickliffe*. Soon after the kings of *England* and *France* having an interview in the neighbourhood of *Calais*, *Richard* was married to the *French* king's daughter in that city; and, diſapproving of the opinion of the univerſity of *Oxford*, agreed, that the method of ceſſion was moſt proper to put an end to the ſchiſm. Accordingly, the year after, embaſſadors were ſent in the name of both kings to the two competitors for the pontificate, deſiring them to conſent to a reſignation. Both *Boniface* and *Benedict* refuſed to give a determinate anſwer to this propoſal. *Boniface* likewiſe, having received another embaſſy from the

The kings of England and France ſolicit both popes to reſign.

[w] SPOND. Annal.

diet

diet at *Frankfort* to the same purpose, evaded giving a positive answer as to the cession, but treated the embassadors with great respect, and granted particular favours to them and their friends [x].

Soon after the emperor *Wenceslaus*, who had neglected to appear at the diet at *Frankfort*, sent deputies to *Rome*, to inform the pope, that he proposed an interview with the king of *France* at *Rheims*, to consult of the means for terminating the schism; and therefore desired his holiness to send two of his cardinals thither, with full power to treat upon that subject. *Boniface* wrote to the emperor, dissuading him earnestly from that journey; however, his letter had no effect, and *Wenceslaus* arrived at *Rheims* in the month of *March*, where he was treated with great magnificence by the *French* king. At his persuasion the emperor agreed to the means of cession; and the bishop of *Cambray* went as deputy from both princes, to desire *Boniface* to consent to a resignation. The pope, being informed by the bishop, that the emperor and the *French* king had determined to withdraw their obedience from that pope who refused to agree to the means of cession, declared, that if they could prevail with *Benedict* to abdicate, he would likewise satisfy both princes. The emperor, being informed at *Coblentz*, by the bishop, of this declaration of the pope, desired the king of *France* to oblige his pope to abdicate, and that he would then compel *Boniface* to resign. In consequence of this representation of the emperor, a general council of the nobles, prelates, and doctors, of *France*, was held at *Paris*, which determined, that *Benedict* should be desired to resign; and, if he did not voluntarily agree to an abdication, he should be compelled to it by force. The bishop of *Cambray* accordingly went to *Avignon*; and *Benedict* absolutely refusing to abdicate, he quitted the city, which was immediately after invested by marshal *Boucicaut*, who, being admitted by the citizens, took possession of the palace; in which he confined the antipope under a guard of 100 men [y]. Upon *Benedict*'s refusal to abdicate, nineteen of his cardinals left *Avignon* before the place was invested. *Froissard* likewise relates, that he continued a prisoner for five years; and that the king of *France*, having withdrawn his obedience from him, solicited the king of *England* to refuse obedience to *Boniface*, and to agree to a neutrality; but though that prince inclined to hearken to the proposal of his father-in-law, yet the clergy

A. D. 1398.

Boniface consents to resign, after Benedict *had abdicated.*

Benedict, *refusing to abdicate, is imprisoned by the* French *king.*

[x] Harpsfield, Hist. Wicliff. c. 14.

[y] Froissar. l. iv. c. 97.

of *England* would not consent [z]. The *French* king likewise wrote to the emperor, informing him of what had been done to *Benedict*, and desiring him to act in the same manner towards *Boniface*; but *Wenceslaus* excused himself, by alleging, that he must consult with the kings of *Poland* and *Hungary*, and with the princes of the empire [a].

Boniface publishes a bull, reserving the annates of all vacant benefices. A. D. 1399.

THE pope, in the mean time, residing undisturbed at *Assisi*, published a bull, by which he reserved, for the use of the apostolic chamber, the first year's revenues of all vacant bishopricks and abbacies, under the name of *annates*, or first-fruits [b]; so that whoever wanted to be promoted to the dignity of archbishop, bishop, or abbot, should beforehand be obliged to pay a yearly revenue of his church or abbacy. This bull was soon submitted to by the clergy in all the provinces of Christendom, except in *England*, where the bishopricks were only allowed to be taxed [c] (W). Mean while, as

[z] FROISSAR. c. 99. [a] Bzov. hoc an. [b] NIEM, l. ii. c. 7. [c] SPOND. Annales.

(W) This is the first bull for establishing perpetual annates, yet, if antiquity can give authority for that exaction, the payment of the first-fruits is mentioned by *Hostiensis*, who wrote about 130 years before this period; and in the council of *Vienne*, held under *Clement* V. it was decreed, that annates should be abolished; and that, in their stead, the 20th part of the revenues of priests should be paid to the apostolic see. *John* XXII. the successor of *Clement*, published a bull, whereby he reserved the first year's fruits of all ecclesiastical benefices that continued vacant for three years, archbishopricks, bishopricks, and abbacies, being exempted; but by degrees the first-fruits were exacted, without observing whether the benefices were vacant three years or not. The same pope afterwards published a bull, reserving for his life all benefices that became vacant in his court. *Benedict* XII. who succeeded *John*, followed his example, which was also imitated by some succeeding popes; but the authority of their bulls extended no further than their own life. What was before local and particular, *Boniface* decreed to be universal and perpetual. Before the schism, annates are said to have been collected at different times after the incumbent had taken possession, and frequently great part of the tax was never raised: but after the schism, a large part of the tax was raised before the delivery of the bull confirming the collation, and bonds were given for the payment of the rest. Soon after the whole first-fruits were exacted beforehand; and, lastly, the tax under the name of annates was not only imposed at pleasure, but frequently doubled, tripled, and quadrupled (1).

(1) *Spond. ex Cod. Victor. Niem, de Schismatic.*

the beginning of a new century approached, when the *Romans* expected another jubilee, they ſent deputies to *Boniface*, intreating him to return to *Rome*, being afraid, leſt, if he ſhould abſent himſelf, the reſort of pilgrims to their city would be greatly leſſened. *Boniface* refuſed to conſent to their requeſt, unleſs they admitted the city to be governed by a ſenator of his own appointment. The *Romans*, not willing at that time to diſoblige the pope, not only took the government from the bannerets, but received *Malateſta* of *Peſaro* as their ſenator, at the appointment of *Boniface*, to whom they ſent money to defray the expences of his journey to *Rome*. Upon his return to *Rome*, *Boniface* fortified the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, the capitol, and the bridges, and by degrees made himſelf abſolute maſter of the city, ſo that he is reckoned the firſt pope who intirely transferred the authority from the people [d] (X). Though it does not appear that

[d] PLATIN. in Bonif. IX. BLOND. D. ii. l. x.

(X) *Theodoric de Niem* and *Antoninus* deſcribe a ſcene of devotion in *Italy* this year, to which they were eye-witneſſes. *Niem* ſays it firſt aroſe from ſome ſeducers that had come into *Italy* from *Scotland*, one of whom pretended that he was *Elias* the prophet, and that the world would quickly periſh by an earthquake. *Antoninus* is uncertain where that kind of devotion firſt appeared, as he ſays ſome aſſerted that it came from *Spain*, others from *Scotland* or *England*, and ſome from *France*, from whence, according to *Sigonius* and *Platina*, a prieſt arrived in *Italy*, cloathed in white, with great appearance of modeſty, and ſeduced infinite numbers of people of both ſexes and all ages. The penitents, among whom were ſeveral cardinals and prieſts, were cloathed in white linen down to their heels, with caps on their heads, which covered their whole faces, except their eyes. They went in great troops of 10, 20, and 40,000 perſons, from one city to another, calling out for mercy, and ſinging hymns in the *Latin* and vulgar tongue. Where-ever they came, they were received with great hoſpitality, and joined by the inhabitants of thoſe places, as thoſe who did not follow their proceſſions were looked upon as heretics (2). They faſted or lived on bread and water during the time of their pilgrimage, which continued generally nine or ten days. At night they ſlept in churches, monaſteries, and churchyards, men and women without diſtinction, or falſe ſuſpicion. *Sigonius* and *Platina* relate, that the pilgrims ſtopped at *Viterbo*; and *Platina* ſays, that *Boniface*, afraid leſt the prieſt intended, by their aſſiſtance, to ſeize the pontificate, ſent a body of troops thither, who apprehended the falſe prophet, and carried him to *Rome*, where he was burnt (3).

(2) *Annal. Mediol. ap. Murator. Bonon. Anton. tit.* xxii. *c.* 3. *Niem, lib.* ii. *c.* 16.

(3) *Platina, Sigon. de Epiſc.*

Boniface

A jubilee celebrated at Rome. A. D. 1400.

Boniface appointed a jubilee to be held in the beginning of the century; and *Victorellus* affirms, that he searched the register of that pope, without finding the least mention of that ceremony; yet the following year great numbers of people flocked to *Rome* from different nations of *Europe*, particularly from *France*, although the year before the king of *France*, that he might not seem to acknowlege *Boniface*, and in consideration of the poverty of his kingdom, had published an edict, prohibiting any one from going to *Rome*. As the plague raged this year in *Italy*, and especially at *Rome*, where, according to *Boninsegnius* [e], 7 or 800 people died daily, very few of the pilgrims returned home, and great numbers of them were robbed, and the women ravished by the pope's soldiers in the neighbourhood of the city [f]. A great many foreigners had an opportunity of escaping these dangers; for *Boniface* granted indulgences to the *Danes*, who should visit the cathedral church of *St. Laurent* at *Lunden*, and allowed the emperor to celebrate the jubilee at *Prague* after the *Roman* fashion.

The pope confirms the election of the duke of Bavaria, *as emperor.*

A FEW months after, the electors of *Germany*, having deposed *Wenceslaus*, on account of his bad government, and chosen *Rupert* or *Robert* duke of *Bavaria*, and count palatine of the *Rhine*, as emperor, *Boniface* confirmed his election, and invited him to *Rome*, to receive the imperial crown. *Robert* being also invited by the *Florentines* to oppose the progress of *Galeas Viconti*, who had conquered almost all *Lombardy*, and four years before had purchased the title of duke of *Milan* from *Wenceslaus*, he assembled a considerable army, and the following year entered *Italy* about the end of autumn. As the troops of *Galeas* were accustomed to war, they put the *Germans* to flight in a skirmish near *Brescia*, so that the emperor was obliged to retire to *Trent*, where the greatest part of his army left him, and went back to *Germany*. However, at the intreaty of the *Florentines*, who promised him a reinforcement, he advanced with the remains of his army to *Padua*, where he continued some months in expectation of succours from the *Italians*, whose interest it was to humble *Galeas*. But as they did not exert themselves so much as he expected, he left *Italy* in the month of *April*, and returned to *Germany*.

1402. MEAN while in *France* the party of the antipope began to revive; the duke of *Orleans*, the king's brother, and the university of *Thoulouse*, professed their obedience to *Benedict*; the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon* supported his cause,

[e] BONIN. l. 4. [f] NIEM de Schism.

and

and ſeveral treatiſes were publiſhed, condemning the proceedings of the council of *Paris*. On the other hand, the univerſity of *Paris*, ſupporting its former decrees, declared, that whoever aſſerted that the withdrawing of obedience was unjuſt, were abettors and promoters of the ſchiſm. About the ſame time the cardinals who had ſeceded from *Benedict*, and who reſided at *Senlis*, together with the patriarch of *Alexandria*, and ſome other prelates, declared, that, as the withdrawing of obedience from *Benedict* had not ſucceeded in putting an end to the ſchiſm, a general council ſhould be called of thoſe that adhered to *Benedict*. But this method was not followed; for great diſputes aroſe, whether the antipope ſhould not firſt be reſtored to his liberty, and be obeyed as formerly; which propoſitions were condemned by the majority, who publiſhed a great many reaſons, juſtifying their opinion g.

The duke of Milan *dies while he was propoſing to aſſume the title of king of* Italy.

DURING theſe diſputes in *France*, the duke of *Milan* had marched with an army againſt *Bologna*; and having taken that city, with *Piſa*, *Perugia*, and *Siena*, had provided a crown, with the intention of aſſuming the title of king of *Italy*, and ſent his army to inveſt *Florence*, which was reduced to the utmoſt deſpair. In the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes he was ſeized with a fever, and died on the 3d of *September*, leaving his poſſeſſions to his two ſons. *Boniface* ſeized the opportunity of his death to recover ſeveral cities of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate which he had uſurped. *Bologna*, *Perugia*, and *Ferrara*, voluntarily ſubmitted, and ſome other places that reſiſted were taken and diſmantled. About the ſame time, being informed that the *Hungarians* had impriſoned their king *Sigiſmond*, and offered their kingdom to the king of *Naples*, the pope encouraged *Ladiſlaus* to take poſſeſſion of *Hungary*, and ordered cardinal *Acciaioli* to accompany him in the expedition as his legate. *Ladiſlaus* accordingly ſailed to *Dalmatia*, and, at the intreaty of the *Hungarian* nobles, proceeded to *Javarin*, where he was crowned in the month of *Auguſt* by the cardinal legate. But he was immediately obliged to quit the kingdom; for *Sigiſmond*, who ſome time before had eſcaped from his confinement to *Germany*, had aſſembled an army in his brother's kingdom of *Bohemia*, and returned to *Hungary*, where he was joyfully received by the greateſt part of his ſubjects. *Boniface*, by countenancing the claims of *Ladiſlaus* to *Hungary*, and confirming the election of the duke of *Bavaria*

A. D. 1403.

g Vide SPOND. Annal. hoc an.

to

to the empire, loſt the obedience of *Sigiſmond* and *Wenceſlaus*; who from that time both acknowleged the antipope.

The antipope eſcapes from priſon, and in ſome meaſure recovers his authority.

BENEDICT a few months before had made his eſcape from *Avignon*, and was again acknowleged by the king of *France*, upon his declaring he would conſent to reſignation, or condition either of the death, abdication, or depoſition, of his adverſary. This ſubmiſſion, however, was of very ſhort continuance; for the antipope, notwithſtanding the intreaties of his moſt zealous adherent the duke of *Orleans*, abſolutely refuſing to confirm the elections and collations that had been made during his confinement, the king, towards the end of *December*, publiſhed an edict, declaring, that he would defend the poſſeſſors, and prohibiting all his ſubjects from paying any money, under any pretence, to the antipope, or receiving any of his bulls[i]. The following year likewiſe the univerſity of *Paris* made a grand proceſſion to the church of *St. Catherine*, for the extinction of the ſchiſm; but they were attacked by the ſervants of the duke of *Orleans*, who ſtill adhered to *Benedict*. The antipope ſoon after ſent two biſhops, with ſome others, to *Boniface*, to treat of the means of a union. They arrived at *Rome* on the 21ſt of *September*, and, upon promiſing to pay the accuſtomed honours to the pope, they were admitted to an audience, in which they declared, that *Benedict* was moſt willing to treat of a union, and deſired *Boniface* to appoint a ſafe place where conferences might be held betwixt the two popes for that purpoſe. As *Boniface* was then afflicted with a fit of the gravel, the nuncios of the antipope were deſired to wait a few days. They accordingly had a ſecond audience on the feaſt of St. *Michael*, when, inſtead of agreeing to a conference, both parties mutually reproached each other. *Boniface* ſurvived this conteſt only two days; for, being ſeized with a fever, he died on the 1ſt of *October*. The nuncios were immediately after impriſoned in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, in breach of the ſafe-conduct that had been granted them by the pope, and were not ſet at liberty until they paid 5000 florins[k].

A. D. 1404.

Boniface dies at Rome.

AT the death of *Boniface*, there only remained 12 cardinals of his party, and, four of them being abſent from the city, the other eight entered the conclave; and having bound themſelves by an oath, that, which ſoever of them ſhould be elected pope, he might freely abdicate, if the antipope would do the ſame, they unanimouſly elected *Coſmato Melcorato*, of the kingdom of *Naples*, a cardinal of the title

Innocent VII. is elected.

[h] Magn. Chron. Belg. [i] SPOND. Annal. [k] DIONYS. Monach. JUVEN. in Car. VI.

of

of the *Holy Croſs* in *Jeruſalem*, who, having aſſumed the name of *Innocent* VII. was conſecrated on the 4th of *November*. Immediately after his promotion, great diſputes happened in *Rome* betwixt the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines*, about the government of the city. The families of *Colonna* and *Savelli*, with ſome other nobles and chiefs of the *Gibellines*, endeavoured to reſtore the government of the bannerets; but they were oppoſed by the *Urſini*, and other *Guelphs*. Several ſkirmiſhes enſued, till *Ladiſlaus* king of *Naples*, at the intreaty of the *Gibellines*, arriving with a large body of troops at *Rome*, ſettled the government on a footing not very advantageous for the church, as he left the power in the hands of the people, in hopes of uſurping it afterwards himſelf [l]. In conſequence of this ſettlement, *Innocent* was greatly harraſſed with the impudent demands of the new governors, who had received ſome troops from *Ladiſlaus*. In his own defence, he was obliged to hire 2 or 3000 men as a guard; but, being of a mild diſpoſition, he endeavoured to appeaſe the *Romans* by offices of kindneſs, and created 11 cardinals, five of whom were *Romans*, and one of them of the family of *Colonna*. However, ſoon after, the *Gibelline* faction attacked his guard upon *Ponte Molo*; but, being repulſed, they made an unſucceſsful attempt upon his palace. A few days after, ſome of the chief citizens came to the pope, to treat of a reconciliation. They were attacked upon their return, without his knowlege, by order of his nephew, and eleven of them, being apprehended, were cruelly put to death. The city, upon the news of their murder, was immediately in an uproar, and the friends of the deceaſed ſeized *Adrian*'s bridge with a large body of troops, and prepared to attack the caſtle. *Innocent*, dreading the reſentment of the *Romans*, ſo highly irritated, immediately left his palace, and fled with his army to *Sutri*, and from thence to *Viterbo* [m]. Upon his departure the *Romans* broke into the palace, where they deſtroyed a great many books and regiſters; and a conſiderable reinforcement of troops arriving from *Ladiſlaus*, *John Colonna* admitted them into the city and caſtle [n]. *Innocent*, before he left *Rome*, had ſummoned a general council to be held in that city, for the extinction of ſchiſm.

He is harraſſed by the Romans; A. D. 1405.

and obliged to retire to Viterbo.

MEAN while *Benedict* arrived by ſea at *Genoa*, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy: but as he brought a large body of troops along with him, which

[l] ANTON. tit. xxii. c. 4. NIEM, c. 34, 35. LEONARD ARETINI, ap. Murator. t. xix. p. 923. [m] Comment. [n] NIEM, de Schiſm. ANTON. tit. xxii. c. 24. ſ. 1.

was daily increasing, the *Genoese*, afraid of their liberties, took an opportunity, when the forces were reviewing, to shut them out of their city. The antipope was greatly offended at their proceeding, and soon after returned to *Nice* in *Provence*; but, while he continued in *Italy*, he sent to *Innocent*, desiring letters of safe conduct for some persons whom he intended to send to him to treat of a union. *Innocent*, believing his professions were not sincere, refused his request; upon which denial his adversary triumphed, and published the transaction to the world, accusing the pope of having no inclination to terminate the schism. *Innocent* endeavoured to refute the assertions of the antipope; but *Niem* accused them both of mutual altercation, with a design to protract the schism [o]. During these disputes, *Innocent*, being informed that the king of *England* had caused the archbishop of *York* to be executed on account of an insurrection that he had headed, he excommunicated all those who were concerned in the prelate's death; but, as he himself did not long survive, the anathema was disregarded in *England*. The following year, the *Romans*, taking umbrage at the *Neapolitan* troops, and understanding that the pope was innocent of the murder of the deputies, intreated him to return to the city. He accordingly arrived in the beginning of *Lent*; and soon after excommunicated and deposed *Ladislaus*, for having attacked the territories of the church. The king of *Naples*, struck with this unexpected fulmination, immediately solicited an accommodation, which was concluded by the mediation of the pope's nephew and *Paul Ursini*. *Niem*, however, affirms, that *Innocent* intended to renew the processes against the king, but was prevented by death, which happened to him on the 7th of *November*.

He returns to Rome, *where he dies.*

A. D. 1406.

Upon *Innocent*'s death, his cardinals deliberated for some time whether or not they should omit to elect a successor, as the *French* had bound their pope by solemn promises to abdicate, on condition that the other pope would resign, or that his cardinals would supersede the election of a successor. At length the cardinals at *Rome*, being afraid of a sedition in the city, determined to proceed to an election; but previously bound themselves by an oath, that, which soever of them should be elected, he should abdicate the pontificate, on condition that the antipope would resign. *Angelus Corrarius*, a *Venetian*, and cardinal of the title of St. *Mark*, was elected pope, and took the name of *Gregory* XII. but, before his coronation, he renewed the former oath, and

Gregory XII. *is chosen pope.*

[o] Niem, c. 38.

wrote

wrote to the antipope, exhorting him to reſign, and appoint a place where the cardinals of both parties might unanimouſly agree to the election of a pope; which letter was anſwered by *Benedict* almoſt in the ſame terms P. Letters likewiſe paſſed between the cardinals of both parties. On the 15th of *March Gregory* ſent other nuncios to *Benedict*, and, after much diſpute, it was agreed, that the popes, with their cardinals, ſhould meet at *Savona* on the *Genoeſe* coaſt, at the feaſt of St. *Michael*, or at *All Saints*. The *Genoeſe*, being informed of this determination, offered hoſtages for the ſecurity of both parties, and promiſed to furniſh all neceſſaries during the congreſs. The king of *France* likewiſe ſent embaſſadors to the popes, to exhort them to perſevere in their intentions, who, arriving at *Rome* about the beginning of *July*, found *Gregory* averſe to the congreſs at *Savona*, to which he raiſed ſeveral objections; and, notwithſtanding all their remonſtrances, inſiſted upon a change of place for the conferences. His objections gave great joy to *Benedict*, who wanted a fair pretence to delay the union; he therefore inſiſted upon ſtanding to the former agreement, and obſtinately refuſed to agree to any alterations in the preliminary articles. *Gregory* had ſome excuſe for refuſing to go ſo far from *Rome*; for, a few weeks before the arrival of the embaſſadors, *Ladiſlaus*, with the *Gibelline* exiles, had ſurpriſed the city, and obliged the pope to ſave himſelf in the caſtle of St. *Angelo*; they were however again expelled with conſiderable loſs by *Paul Urſini*.

He promiſes to abdicate, and exhorts the antipope to reſign.

A. D. 1407.

He alters his reſolution.

In conſequence of the preliminaries agreed to, *Gregory* at length, with great reluctance, quitted *Rome* on the 9th of *Auguſt*, and in the beginning of *September* arrived at *Siena*, where he offered to reſign the pontificate, on condition of enjoying during his life the patriarchate of *Conſtantinople*, ſome benefices in the republic of *Venice*, and the churches of *York* or *Oxford*, which were then ſaid to be vacant, and that ſome territories in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate might be conferred on his three nephews and their heirs. Though his cardinals agreed to this propoſal, yet he found excuſes for delaying his abdication; and let the time for the congreſs elapſe without removing from *Siena*. Mean while *Benedict*, with his cardinals, had arrived at *Savona* on the 24th of *September*, and, after continuing there upwards of three months, he advanced in the beginning of *January* to *Portus Veneris*, that he might ſeem to take away all objection from *Gregory* for delaying the conferences. As the pope ſtill continued at

A D. 1408.

P Aretin. Niem, ut ſupra.

Siena, *Benedict* ſent the archbiſhops of *Rouen* and *Taragona* to him, deſiring him to agree to ſome intermediate place. Their journey was without effect; however, in the end of the month he advanced to *Lucca*. About the ſame time the king of *France* publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the faithful, declaring, that, if the ſchiſm was not quickly terminated, he would withdraw obedience from *Benedict* at *Whitſuntide*, and exhorting all other princes to reject the authority of both popes. Mean while the popes pretending a diſtruſt of each other's intentions, all hopes of a conference vaniſhed; and on the 9th of *May* *Gregory* created four new cardinals, contrary to the opinion of the college, who refuſed to aſſociate with them, and deliberated among themſelves about deſerting the pope[q]. Accordingly, two days after, they all, except four, left *Lucca*, and went to *Piſa*, where they publiſhed a writing, appealing from *Gregory*, firſt to Chriſt, then to a general council, and laſtly to a future pope. About the ſame time *Benedict* having ſent letters to *Paris*, prohibiting the withdrawing of obedience, under pain of excommunication, the parliament ordered the letters to be burnt, and on the 25th of *May* publiſhed a neutrality with regard to both popes; and orders were ſent to *Buſſicald*, governor of *Genoa*, to ſeize *Benedict*. The antipope, having notice of theſe orders, immediately quitted *Italy*, and fled to *Elne*, on the coaſt of *Catalonia*; but, before his departure, his cardinals had likewiſe deſerted him, and retired to *Leghorn*, where they entered into a correſpondence with the cardinals at *Piſa*.

Is deſerted by his cardinals.

The cardinals likewiſe deſert Benedict, *and join thoſe of* Gregory *at* Leghorn.

THE cardinals of both parties ſoon after uniting at *Leghorn*, on the 24th of *July*, publiſhed letters, addreſſed to all the prelates of Chriſtendom, appointing a general council to be held at *Piſa* the following year, on the 25th of *March*. The popes, being informed of this proceeding of the cardinals, likewiſe appointed general councils; *Benedict* ſummoned the council to aſſemble at *Perpignan* in *November*, while *Gregory* appointed it to be held the following *Whitſuntide* in the province of *Aquileia*, or exarchate of *Ravenna*, the particular place to be mentioned afterwards[r]. *Gregory* at that time had arrived at *Siena*, where he continued ſeveral months, and in *September* created nine new cardinals, five, or, according to *Niem*, twelve cardinals being likewiſe created by the antipope at *Perpignan*. From *Siena* the pope went to *Rimini*, where he wintered, the *Romans* re-

[q] ARETIN. NIEM, ut ſupra.

[r] Rer. Germ. Script. *t. i. p.* 326.

ſuſing

fuſing to admit him into their city, as he had agreed to deliver up the eccleſiaſtical ſtate to the king of *Naples*, in conſideration of an annual penſion in money[s]. Mean while the *French* king, having aſſembled the prelates of *France*, by their advice, on the 13th of *October*, publiſhed an edict, depriving all the adherents of *Benedict* of their benefices and dignities in his kingdom; and a few days after articles were drawn up for regulating the government of the *Gallican* church during the time of the neutrality, thereby demonſtrating, even before the times of the reformation, that a church could ſubſiſt without acknowleging any pope. During theſe tranſactions in *France*, *Benedict* opened his council at *Perpignan*; but as there were but very few prelates, it was prorogued to the 14th of the month, when about 120 prelates aſſembled from *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, *Provence*, and *Savoy*. It was continued, by eight ſeſſions, to the firſt of *February*, before which time the greateſt part of the prelates had left *Perpignan*. Thoſe who remained exhorted the antipope to a reſignation, and propoſed ſome means for terminating the ſchiſm, to which *Benedict* ſubſcribed. A. D. 1409.

A FEW weeks after the general council was opened at *Piſa*, at which were preſent 22 cardinals, three patriarchs, 180 archbiſhops and biſhops, 300 abbots perſonally or by their proxies, and 282 doctors of theology, beſides deputies from the kings of *France*, *England*, *Poland*, and ſeveral other princes. This council having, in two or three ſeſſions, cited the two popes to appear, at laſt declared them contumacious; after which ſentence it adjourned to the 15th of *April*, when deputies arrived from the emperor, deſiring the aſſembly to be transferred elſewhere; but, as their petition was rejected, they appealed in their maſter's name, affirming, that a council could not be held without the emperor's authority. After the tranſactions in ſeveral other ſeſſions, all regarding the unity of the church, the council, on the 5th of *June*, publiſhed a ſentence of depoſition againſt both the popes, as obſtinate ſchiſmatics and heretics, publicly convicted of perjury and breach of vows. A few days after the cardinals produced a writing, with their ſubſcriptions, whereby they promiſed, that if any of them was elected pope he ſhould prorogue the council till a reformation of the univerſal church ſhould be effected. They then entered the conclave on the 23d of *June*; and three days after elected *Peter Philargi*, a cardinal prieſt of the title of the twelve apoſtles, a *Greek* by nation, who took the name of Alexander V. *A general council aſſembles at* Piſa; *and depoſes the two popes.* *elected.*

[s] Monach. DIONYS.

Alexander V. The new pope immediately presided at the council, confirmed their decrees, and annulled all the processes and sentences denounced by the popes against any persons, communities, kingdoms, *&c.* since the beginning of the schism. He likewise decreed, that a general council should be convened within three years afterwards; and in the 23d and last session, which was held on the 7th of *August*, he ordained, that the *Pisan* council should be prorogued till the other general one should assemble.

As *Ladislaus* king of *Naples* had seized *Rome*, with several other cities of the ecclesiastical state, and was daily making new conquests in *Tuscany*, the *Florentines*, *Siennese*, and cardinal legate at *Bologna*, made an alliance with his competitor *Lewis* duke of *Anjou*, who arrived at the council of *Pisa*, where he was received with great honour by *Alexander*. The pope confirmed to him the crown of *Sicily*, and appointed him standard-bearer of the church; after which ceremony he marched against *Ladislaus*, and quickly recovered the city of *Rome*, and several other places in the ecclesiastical state. Mean while *Gregory* held his council in the diocese of *Aquileia*, but there is no mention of any of its proceedings; only *Niem* relates, on the 5th of *September* he published a writing, as from his council, declaring his willingness to abdicate; but the conditions which he proposed were so impracticable, that it might easily be perceived he had no inclination to a union [t].

He confers the crown of Naples *on the duke of* Anjou.

As neither *Gregory* nor *Benedict* quitted their pretensions to the pontificate, the church was at this time provided with three popes; but *Gregory* was now acknowleged only by *Ladislaus* and a few cities of *Italy*; and *Benedict* by the king of *Scotland*, the count of *Armagnac*, and the kings of *Spain*, *Portugal* excepted. All the rest of Christendom submitted to *Alexander*, who, after dismissing the council at *Pisa*, went from thence, first to *Pistoia*, and then to *Bologna*, from whence he wrote to *Subinco*, archbishop of *Prague*, ordering him to prohibit any one from discoursing either publicly or privately upon the doctrines of *Wickliffe*, and to allow the preaching of sermons in churches and church-yards. By this order the pope intended to prevent the *Bohemians* from any further examination of *Wickliffe*'s doctrines, which had been embraced by great numbers in *Prague*, and a few years before been preached by *John Huss*. As the university of *Prague*, which consisted chiefly of *Germans*, had the former year condemned 45 of *Wickliffe*'s propositions, *John Huss*

John Huss *publishes the doc-*

[t] Niem, c. 45 & 46.

and

and his party had prevailed with *Wenceslaus* to deprive the foreigners of their privileges; on which several thousands of *Poles* and *Germans* left *Prague*. After their departure, *John*, being elected rector of the university, and appointed a preacher in one of the chief churches of the city, began to translate the writings of *Wickliffe* into the vulgar tongue, and in his discourses, without any reserve, exclaimed against the authority of the pope, purgatory, prayers for the dead, and several other doctrines of the *Roman* church. Upon hearing of the mandate of *Alexander*, he declared, that it was contrary to the actions and words of our Saviour and his apostles, who used to preach every-where; and he appealed to the pope himself, when better informed [u]. *Alexander* was prevented by death from proceeding any further in that affair, as he died on the 3d of *May*, in the 11th month of his pontificate.

trine of Wickliffe *at* Prague.

Alexander *dies*, A. D. 1410.

Upon the death of *Alexander*, the 17 cardinals who were at *Bologna* chose cardinal *Balthasar Cossa*, a *Neapolitan*, who is said by some authors to have been elected by force, as he was legate in the city, and had the command of a great number of troops; however, *Niem* only alleges, that it was at the recommendation of *Lewis* king of *Naples*, who was on the neighbouring coast with a powerful fleet. His promotion gave great scandal, as he was more remarkable for his military than religious disposition; however, on the 25th of *May* he was consecrated, and took the name of *John* XXIII [w]. Immediately after, being informed of the death of the emperor *Robert*, he sent nuncios to the electors, exhorting them to chuse *Sigismond* king of *Hungary*; and sent a legate into *France*, to demand the tythes, the revenues of vacant benefices, and the spoils of deceased clergymen, which he asserted belonged by natural and divine right to the apostolic chamber [x]. The university of *Paris* opposed this demand with great vigour, and proposed to appeal to a general council, and to deprive all those of the degree of master of arts who should submit to the payment of the subsidy required. Soon after *John* went to *Rome*, where, on the 23d of *April*, being the feast of St. *George*, he consecrated several standards, and a few days after appointed *Lewis* king of *Sicily* and *Paul Urfini* generals of his troops against *Ladislaus*, who obliged the kingdom of *Naples* to acknowlege *Gregory* XII. whom he retained at *Gaeta*. The pope's army, advancing to *Cam-*

John XXIII. *is elected.*

1411.

[u] Cochlei Hist. Huffit. l. i. [w] Aretin. ut supra, Anton. tit xxvi. c. 6. Gobelin. Person. ap. rer. Germ. Script. t. i. [x] Monstrelet, l. i. c. 67, & 70.

His troops gain a victory over the king of Naples;

Tunia, on the 19th of *May*, entirely defeated *Ladiſlaus*, who fled in deſpair to *St. Germains*. But, notwithſtanding the preſſing inſtances of king *Lewis*, *Paul Urſini* refuſing to purſue the victory, *Ladiſlaus* had leiſure to repair his loſs; upon which *Lewis* returned to *Rome*, and, diſſatisfied with the conduct of the *Italians*, ſoon after went back to *France*. On the ſame day *Ladiſlaus* was defeated in *Campania*, the city of *Bologna* revolted from the church, two butchers having headed an inſurrection and ſeized the government, which they held for more than a year. *John* being informed of the loſs of *Bologna*, reinforced the troops with new levies, and, on the 16th of *June* created fourteen new cardinals. About the ſame time he received an embaſſy from the king of *Poland*, with very rich preſents, deſiring that he would approve of the war that he had with the *Teutonic* knights, and would declare that the ſacred veſſels taken out of the *Pruſſian* churches, and diſtributed in *Poland*, were lawful prizes. The pope granted theſe two requeſts, but refuſed a third demand made by the ambaſſadors, namely, that the king might have leave to cauſe a cruſade to be preached againſt the *Tartars*. The pope refuſed to grant a cruſade againſt the *Tartars*, becauſe he intended to make uſe of thoſe ſacred ſoldiers in defending the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. He accordingly, in the beginning of the following year, publiſhed a cruſade againſt *Ladiſlaus*, who was thereupon induced to agree to an accommodation, although the terms were not very honourable to the holy ſee; for the pope engaged to pay a tribute to the king, on condition that he ceaſed hoſtilities, and refuſed to acknowlege *Gregory* [y].

againſt whom he cauſes a cruſade to be preached.

A. D. 1413.

The Huſſites, *on account of this cruſade, exclaim againſt the pope.*

THE preaching of this cruſade at *Prague* gave a new opportunity to *John Huſs* and his party to exclaim againſt the errors of the church: accordingly three of his followers, in three different churches, during the reading of the papal bull, called out that the pope was antichriſt, who cauſed a cruſade to be preached againſt Chriſtians. Theſe three were immediately apprehended and impriſoned; which *Huſs* was no ſooner informed of, than he came at the head of 2000 men to the magiſtrates, demanding the liberty of the priſoners, offering to anſwer himſelf for their crime, if it was any crime to ſpeak the truth. The ſenate diſmiſſed the mob, by promiſing that nothing ſhould be determined againſt the priſoners: however, next morning, they ordered them to be executed. Their friends, among whom were a great many ſtudents, immediately aſſembled, and wrapping the

[y] Spond. Annal.

dead

dead bodies in linen, carried them with great ſolemnity thro' the churches of the city, calling out, *Theſe are the ſaints who have given their bodies for the teſtimony of God.* Soon after the adminiſtration of the church of *Prague* was given to the biſhop of *Olmutz*, who, by the advice of ſeveral members of the univerſity, propoſed ſome articles to the regent and nobles, as proper to put a ſtop to the diſorders. The other party likewiſe preſented nine propoſitions, about preſerving the rights and liberties of the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and againſt defaming *John Huſs* and his followers as heretics, without examining their cauſe. The articles propoſed by the biſhop were approved by an edict of *Wenceſlaus*; in conſequence of which *John Huſs* was baniſhed the city: however the diſturbances did not ceaſe, his followers rather turned more outrageous, and cenſured the edict by public writings, which were again anſwered by the catholic doctors [z].

DURING theſe commotions in *Bohemia*, the pope celebrated a general council at *Rome*, which aſſembly was not very numerous, and on that account was prorogued. However, by their advice, on the 6th of *January*, *John* publiſhed a decree againſt the *Huſſites*, ordering the books of *Wickliffe* to be ſearched for by the ordinaries, and to be burnt; and commanding all his followers to appear before the apoſtolic ſee within nine months, otherwiſe they ſhould be convicted of hereſy [a]. Soon after *Ladiſlaus* again commenced hoſtilities, by ſurprizing the city of *Rome*, where he committed great barbarities, the pope and his cardinals, with much difficulty, eſcaping to *Sutri*, and from thence to *Florence*. The king quickly after made himſelf maſter of all the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, as far as the frontiers of *Siena* and *Florence*, while the pope earneſtly ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the emperor *Sigiſmund*, who had entered *Italy* to terminate his differences with the *Venetians*. Though the emperor was deſirous of putting a ſtop to the progreſs of *Ladiſlaus*, yet he would not conſent at that time to engage in a war againſt him; but by frequent letters prevailed upon the pope to agree to a general council, as the moſt proper means to procure the peace of *Italy*. *John* accordingly ſent two legates to the emperor, with full power to determine the place and time for holding the council, but cautioned them, in the moſt earneſt manner, not to agree to any place under the power of the emperor [b]. The legates, for what reaſon is uncertain, agreeed to hold the council at *Conſtance*, an imperial city, in the dio-

A general council is held at Rome. A.D. 1413.

The emperor enters Lombardy.

[z] ÆN. SYLV. c. 25. DUBRAV. l. 23. COCHL. l. i. [a] SPOND. Annal. [b] LEONARD ARET. ap Muratori, t. 19.

ceſe

ceſe of *Mentz*; and the emperor publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the prelates, inviting them to come to the council, to be opened in that city on the 1ſt of *November*, in the following year, promiſing them a ſafe conduct both in their coming and returning, and full ſecurity during their reſidence.

Conferences betwixt him and the pope.

THE pope, upon being informed of the proceedings of his legates, was greatly afflicted, as he foreſaw that he would not be maſter of the deliberations of the council. But as there was no means of receding, he went to *Placenza*, where he had a conference with the emperor; and proceeding from thence to *Lodi*, on the 10th of *December*, he publiſhed a bull, appointing a general council to be held at the time and place above-mentioned, not having been able to prevail with the emperor to agree to the nomination of any other city.

A.D. 1414. *Sigiſmund*, before he left *Italy*, wrote to the two antipopes, exhorting them to appear at the council, but both *Benedict* and *Gregory* proteſted againſt that aſſembly, and uſed their utmoſt endeavours to prevent its meeting. Mean while *John* having returned to *Bologna* from thence, wrote to the king of *France*, and to the univerſity of *Paris*, deſiring them to ſolicite the *Bohemian Huſſites* to forſake the hereſy of *Wickliffe*. But the entreaties of the univerſity were without effect, for the *Huſſites* every day more and more deteſted the *Roman* church; and *Peter* of *Dreſden*, having been obliged to quit his native country on account of his religious principles, inſinuated to *Sacobellus*, one of their preachers, eminent for his learning and probity [c], that the church of *Rome* deceived the people, by denying them the uſe of the cup in the ſacrament of the euchariſt, contrary to the words of our Saviour, who ſays, *Except ye eat the fleſh of the ſon of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you* [d]. This new opinion of the neceſſity of communicating under both kinds was received by the *Huſſites* with great applauſe, as they now thought they could plainly convict the *Roman* church either of ignorance or wickedneſs.

Ladiſlaus *dies at* Naples.

WHILE the moſt inveterate enemies of the apoſtolic ſee were ſtrengthening their party in *Bohemia*, the tranquillity of *Italy* was, in ſome meaſure, reſtored by the death of *Ladiſlaus*, he having died at *Naples* on the 6th of *Auguſt*. By his death *John* was delivered from a formidable enemy, and had now no great inclination to attach himſelf to the emperor; however, as every thing was ſettled for the meeting of the council at *Conſtance*, and as he was preſſed to go thither by the cardinal, on the 1ſt of *October* he ſet out for

[c] Æn. ut ſupra. [d] John vi. 53.

that

that city, the magiſtrates having previouſly ſworn to and ſigned ſome articles that he had propoſed to them for his ſecurity. *John* arrived at *Conſtance* on the 28th of *October*, accompanied with nine cardinals, and all his court; and on the 1ſt of *November*, after the celebration of maſs by the pope and cardinal of *Florence*, read a ſchedule concerning the celebration of the council, as a continuation of that of *Piſa* for the reformation of the ſtate of the church, to be opened on the 30th of the month. The council however was not opened till the 5th of *November*, when the firſt ſeſſion was appointed to be held on the 16th. On that day the pope made a diſcourſe to the ſynod; after which the ſame cardinal of *Florence* read the pope's admoniſion, concerning the moderation to be obſerved in the aſſembly, and about the conſideration of thoſe things that regarded the peace of the church, and the extirpation of the errors of *Wickliffe*; and to prevent any diſturbance about precedency, he declared that, with regard to the order of ſitting in the aſſembly, no prejudice ſhould ariſe to any perſon or church. The miniſters and officials of the council were then appointed; namely, four prothonotaries to inſpect and commit to writing all that ſhould be done in the ſynod, under whom were four notaries, one from each of the four principal nations of *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, and *England*. The guard of the council was committed to *Berthold Urſini* a *Roman*. Beſides, there were appointed four ſearchers of the votes, four doctors of law as advocates of the council, two procurators, and laſtly, four maſters of the ceremonies; after which proceedings the council was prorogued till the 17th of *December*.

The pope opens the council at Conſtance.

Two days before the opening of the council, *John Huſs* arrived at *Conſtance*, having left *Prague* in a triumphant manner on the 15th of *October*, and being received everywhere with great honours during his journey, not in conſequence of the ſafe conduct of the emperor, for that was not granted till the 18th of the month, and could not reach him till a few days after. Upon his arrival at *Conſtance*, he employed his time in preaching to the people; and refuſing to deſiſt at the deſire of the pope, he was apprehended and ſhut up in one of the chambers of the palace. The emperor being informed of this proceeding by one of *John*'s followers, ſent orders to enlarge the priſoner; but they were not obeyed by the pope, who inſiſted that he himſelf had not given *John* a ſafe conduct. However, his confinement was in ſome meaſure relaxed: he was committed to the keeping of the biſhop of *Lauſanne*; and four cardinals, with the generals of the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, and ſix archbiſhops and

John Huſs *arrives at that city, and is impriſoned.*

biſhops,

biſhops, were commiſſioned to examine him (S). During theſe tranſactions the emperor received the crown at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and having with great expedition prepared every thing for his journey, arrived in the evening of the 24th of *December* at *Conſtance*, with a grand retinue, and immediately went with the pope to the church, where, during the celebration of maſs by his holineſs, he aſſiſted in the habit of a deacon, according to cuſtom. As the ſecond ſeſſion, on account of the emperor's abſence, had been prorogued to the month of *March*, he in the mean time convoked a general congregation of the members of the council, and laid before them his negotiations with the antipopes, in order to terminate the ſchiſm. He then regulated what regarded the liberty, ſecurity, and ſubſiſtance, of the ſtrangers at that time in *Conſtance*, the number of whom amounted to about 100,000 [e]: he likewiſe, at the requeſt of the members, left the council at full liberty to deliberate and determine in matters of faith, thereby expoſing *John Huſs* to the reſentment of the fathers, in violation of his own ſafe conduct (T). Soon after ſome cardinals arrived from the antipopes, in quality of nuncios, and, after a diſpute, it was reſolved to admit them with the ornaments of their dignity. The nuncios of *Gregory* propoſed to proſecute on his part the means of ceſſion, and deſired that *John* might not preſide in the council, to the decrees of which they promiſed all obedience. But thoſe of *Benedict* only propoſed a conference with the emperor and *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon*, to be held in the city of *Nice*, on the *Genoeſe* coaſt [f].

The emperor comes to the council.

A.D. 1415.

[e] Vonder Hardt. l. ii. Victor & Diariis cerretani.

[f] Spond. Annal. ex act. Vict.

(S) *Spondanus* affirms, without mentioning his authority, that *John Huſs*, finding his adverſaries ready to proſecute him, attempted to make his eſcape from *Conſtance*, by concealing himſelf in a cart loaded with ſtraw; but that he was diſcovered, brought back to the city, and committed to priſon.

(T) *Naucler* relates, that *Sigiſmund* was aſſured he could not be accuſed of breaking his word, becauſe the council, which is above an emperor, not having given any ſafe conduct to *John Huſs*, the emperor himſelf had no right to grant him his protection, eſpecially in matters of faith; and that *Sigiſmund*, as a true ſon of the church, acquieſced in this deciſion (1).

(1) *Naucler*, p. 1049.

During

DURING the month of *February* several other congregations were held, in which it was determined, contrary to the inclination of the pope, that the lay deputies of the kings, republics, and universities, should be admitted as members of the council, and that in the public sessions the votes should be given not by particulars but by nations. About the same time a memorial was presented, containing a long accusation of *John* XXIII. which, according to *Niem*, was thought to have been presented by an *Italian, and included all the mortal sins, and an infinite number of abominations* [g]. The pope, terrified with this accusation, proposed to confess himself to the council; but he was in some measure freed from his apprehensions, for it was resolved to suppress the memorial. However, it was agreed among all the nations, that the abdication of the pope was the most proper means to terminate the schism: accordingly *John*, finding the council unanimously fix'd in that resolution, with great reluctance, and after many subterfuges, accepted of a form of resignation presented to him by the patriarch of *Antioch*. The next day, being the 2d of *March*, was held the second session of the council in the cathedral church, where the pope, after the celebration of mass, read aloud the form of his abdication, by which he promised, vowed, and swore, before God, the church, and the council, to give peace to the church, by his resignation of the pontificate, on condition that the two antipopes would do the same, or in any case wherein his abdication might be of service to the church. He had no sooner read this form, than the emperor took off his crown, threw himself on his knees, and embraced his feet: the patriarch of *Antioch* likewise thanked him in the name of the whole council. Then, according to *Spondanus*, *Sigismund* and the whole council promised, that, if the other two popes did not likewise resign, they would stand by him, and assist him against them with all their temporal forces [h].

The pope is accused of several crimes.

He promises to abdicate;

SIGISMUND having agreed to a conference with *Benedict* at *Nice*, in the month of *June*, mean while assembled another congregation; and on the 15th of *March*, by their advice, demanded of the pope, 1. That the council should not be dissolved till the union was effected: 2. That it should not be transferred elsewhere: 3. That the pope should not leave *Constance*: 4. That he should name a proxy, who should abdicate in his name: 5. That he should confirm the above propositions by his bulls: and, lastly, That

[g] NIEM, ap. Vonder Hardt. t. ii. p. 291, & t. iv. p. 41, 42.
[h] SPOND. ex act. Victor.

the

the prelates and others, ſummoned to the council, ſhould not depart, unleſs on account of ſickneſs or poverty. The pope granted the firſt demand; as to the ſecond, he declared, that it ſeemed more convenient to transfer the council to ſome place in the neighbourhood of *Nice*; to the third, that it would be more expedient that both he and the council ſhould go towards *Nice*; to the fourth, that he choſe rather to abdicate perſonally than by proxy; and to the laſt, he returned no anſwer. The council were not at all ſatisfied with theſe anſwers; and being apprehenſive leſt the pope ſhould delay his abdication under various pretenſions, they again ſolicited him to name the emperor, and thoſe prelates that were to accompany him to *Nice*, as his proxies. *John* ſtill refuſed to conſent, as being ſenſible that, if he once named proxies, he had then no opportunity to recede; and finding that the council was reſolved to oblige him to abdicate, he aſked leave of the emperor to quit *Conſtance*, pretending that the air of the city was prejudicial to his health [1]. *Sigiſmund*, who had placed guards at the gates of the city to prevent any one from leaving the council, was ſo far from giving him liberty to depart, that he obliged him to promiſe not to quit the city till the council was diſſolved. *John*, however, having concerted his retreat with the duke of *Auſtria*, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the emperor, on the 20th of *March* eſcaped from *Conſtance*, diſguiſed in the habit of a groom, and fled to *Schaffhauſen*, about four miles diſtance, from whence he wrote to *Sigiſmund*, declaring that he had not retired with the intention of avoiding to fulfil his promiſe of abdication, but that he might execute it with liberty and ſecurity.

but flies from Conſtance.

THIS ſudden flight of the pope occaſioned great diſputes among the members of the council; ſome affirming, that, as he had retired, the council was thereby diſſolved, while others maintained that the authority of a council, in the neceſſities of the church, was ſuperior to that of a pope. Theſe laſt were ſupported by *Sigiſmund*, who, with the nobles of his court, went through the city, and with great prudence and firmneſs quieted the diſturbances; and calling the four different nations together, aſſured them that he would protect the council, and, with the hazard of his life, would procure the union of the church. Accordingly, to ſupport the authority of the council in the third ſeſſion, which was held on the 26th of *March*, it was decreed, that as the council had been legally aſſembled in *Conſtance*,

The council continues.

[1] Roo hiſt. Auſt. l. iv. p. 136. STUMPHIUS, p. 38.

it

it was not diſſolved by the retreat of the pope or any other prelates; that it ought not to be diſſolved till the church was reformed in faith and manners, both in the head and members; nor ought it to be transferred elſewhere without mature deliberations; and that no members ought to retire till it was diſſolved, unleſs their reaſons for removing were approved by the council, and that then they ſhould be bound to leave their proxies with thoſe who remained. The next day three cardinals that had been to the pope returned to *Conſtance*, with a letter and mandate from him, declaring that he was willing to appoint proxies for his abdication, and deſiring that the king of the *Romans* and the council would provide for his ſecurity, and that of the duke of *Auſtria*, who had been put to the ban of the empire for aſſiſting him to make his eſcape. What reception theſe offers of the pope met with does not appear; but two days after he proteſted before a notary and ſeveral witneſſes, that he was not bound to perform what he had promiſed and ſworn at *Conſtance*, as he was influenced by fear and force. He then left *Schaffhauſen*, and proceeded, in the midſt of a heavy rain, to the caſtle of *Louffenberg*. The fourth ſeſſion of the council was held the next day, which was the 30th of *March*, in which it was decreed, that the council, having been legally aſſembled, repreſented the catholic militant church, and received its authority immediately from Chriſt; and that every one, of what dignity ſoever, the pontifical not excepted, was bound to obey its decrees, regarding the faith and extirpation of ſchiſm; that all the cenſures of the pope againſt any prelates or eccleſiaſtics ſhould be null and void; and that none ſhould be accounted cardinals, but thoſe who were acknowleged ſuch before the ſucceſſion of *John* [k].

Its authority is declared ſuperior to the pope.

In the fifth ſeſſion, which was held on the 6th of *April*, the council explained and confirmed their former decrees: they then reſolved, that *John* was bound to reſign, in any caſe whatever, that would promote the union of the church; that if he refuſed he ſhould be reckoned depoſed; and if he would not return to *Conſtance*, the council ſhould proceed againſt him as a perſon ſuſpected of hereſy, and author of ſchiſm. After theſe determinations ſome overtures were read, regarding the condemnation of *Wickliff*'s doctrine, and for regulating the manner of proceeding in diſcuſſing the cauſe of *John Huſs*, to examine which ſeveral doctors of divinity and law were appointed. Mean while the pope re-

[k] Marten Anec. l. ii. p. 1618, 1620.

tired from *Louffenberg* to *Friburgh*; but before he left that caſtle he wrote to the different princes of *Europe*, and to the univerſity of *Paris*, excuſing his flight from *Conſtance*, alleging that the emperor had deprived the council of liberty, by ſhutting the gates of the city, and that he had preſumed, on different occaſions, to preſide at their deliberations; that although in general councils no difference of nations ought to be obſerved, yet it had been ordained, that each nation ſhould have but one voice, although from *France* and *Italy* there were preſent 200 prelates, and only three from *England*, with nine other eccleſiaſtics; and that in the aſſemblies, laymen as well as clergymen had been admitted to give their votes, although by the canons the right of voting in general councils only belonged to cardinals, patriarchs, archbiſhops, and biſhops. The council, in their own juſtification, publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the faithful, wherein they declared, that the pope had prohibited any one to leave the council, under pain of excommunication; that, nevertheleſs, the city being daily deſerted, he had deſired the emperor to provide againſt the evil, who thereupon had not ſhut the gates, but only guarded them for part of a day; that, for diſpatch of buſineſs, the council had appointed the form of deliberating by nations, but, nevertheleſs, in the ſeſſions every member had a liberty of ſpeaking what he pleaſed; that *John* had acted contrary to the example of former popes, particularly of *Symmachus* and *Sixtus*, who did not ſeek to diminiſh the authority of the council by their flight, but ſubmitted hmmbly to its decrees: they then concluded, with teſtifying their deſire that *John* would return to their council.

On the 17th of *April*, a few days before they publiſhed this letter, the ſixth ſeſſion of the council was held, wherein it was decreed, that *John* ſhould be obliged to appoint proxies for his reſignation, according to a form then read, and that an honourable embaſſy ſhould be ſent to him to inform him of this decree, and to invite him to return to the neighbourhood of *Conſtance*. *Jerome* of *Prague*, the aſſociate of *John Huſs*, was likewiſe ſummoned to the council, and a ſafe-conduct granted to him; but, according to *Spondanus*, it was mentioned as an exception, in as far as the catholic faith admitted. A few days after the ambaſſadors of the council found the pope at *Briſac*, from whence, after their arrival, he fled to *Neuenburgh*, with the deſign of putting himſelf under the protection of the duke of *Burgundy*. But he was prevailed upon to return to *Friburgh*, where he had a conference for three days with the ambaſſadors, and promiſed

to

to reſign, on condition of impunity for his paſt and future proceedings, and that he ſhould ſtill continue cardinal, and be appointed *Legate à latere* for his life in *Italy*, with ſeveral other extravagant articles. The legates giving an account of their embaſſy in the ſeventh ſeſſion, held on the 2d of *May*, the council then ſummoned the pope to appear at *Conſtance* within nine days, to anſwer for his flight and other matters, and granted him a ſafe-conduct, which was confirmed by the emperor. *Jerome* of *Prague* was likewiſe declared contumacious, for not having appeared according to his former citation. Two days after was held the eighth ſeſſion, wherein the writings of *Wickliffe* were prohibited, and ordered to be burnt; a great many of his propoſitions were condemned, and his bones were ordered to be dug up and thrown into profane ground. The day following, by the advice of the council, *Sigiſmund* was reconciled to the duke of *Auſtria*, who finding himſelf unable to preſerve his dominions, in conſequence of the ban, came and ſubmitted in a moſt humble manner, promiſed to bring the pope back to the council, and as a ſecurity reſigned, by a ſolemn act, all his poſſeſſions into the hands of the emperor. Immediately upon this agreement, *Sigiſmund* ſent two archbiſhops, and a body of 300 men, to *Friburgh*, to ſeize the pope, who ſeemed not diſpleaſed to return to *Conſtance*, but, while he protracted the time, he ſent a proxy to two cardinals to plead his cauſe before the council. This bull, however, was rejected at the ninth ſeſſion, which was held on the 13th of *May*, the council inſiſting that proxies could not be admitted, as the citation was perſonal. Accordingly the next day, in the tenth ſeſſion, *John* wtih his followers were declared contumacious, and a ſentence of ſuſpenſion from the pontificate was denounced againſt him, as guilty of ſimony and many other ſcandalous vices. A few days after the pope arriving, under a guard, at *Rateffcell*, within two leagues of *Conſtance*, five cardinals were ſent to him to inform him of the proceedings of the council; to which he declared his ſubmiſſion, but wrote to the emperor and the council, entreating them to have ſome regard to his honour, his perſon, and his eſtate. In the following ſeſſion, which was held on the 29th of *May*, fifty-four articles were read againſt the pope, accuſing him of various crimes, for the proof of which the witneſſes were mentioned: three other articles were likewiſe added, concerning his poiſoning his predeceſſor, and denying the reſurrection of the dead and a future life; but for theſe no witneſſes could be produced. The articles for which there was proof were carried to the pope, A.D. 1415.

The council depoſes the pope. and he was deſired to anſwer them; but he ſtill declaring his willingneſs to ſubmit to the council, on the 29th of *May*, in the twelfth ſeſſion, a definitive ſentence of depoſition was denounced againſt him, which he next day confirmed by a public inſtrument, and immediately laid aſide all the pontifical ornaments.

John Huſs deſires his doctrines to be examined. THIS affair of the depoſition of the pope being terminated, to the ſatisfaction of the council, they proceeded next to decide the cauſe of *John Huſs*. On the 7th of *June* he was called before a private aſſembly, where the emperor was preſent, who exhorted him to ſubmit to the authority of the council, and promiſed, from a regard to his brother *Wenceſlaus* and the kingdom of *Bohemia*, he would diſmiſs him ſafe; otherwiſe, inſtead of being a protector to him in his errors, he would, with his own hands, light the fire to which he would be condemned. *John* pleaded the ſafe conduct that he himſelf had given him, and declared, that he came to the council not to defend his doctrines with a perverſe obſtinacy, but to retract them if he ſhould be taught any thing that was better. The next day he was again called before the emperor and ſeveral prelates, and deſired to abjure twenty-ſix heretical articles, drawn from his treatiſe upon the church; *John* required of them not to be compelled to do any thing againſt his conſcience. He ſaid ſeveral of the articles he had never taught, and therefore could not renounce them; the reſt he was willing to forſake upon being inſtructed better. The emperor and the prelates not being ſatisfied with theſe conditional ſubmiſſions, *John* was reconducted to priſon; and in the thirteenth ſeſſion, which was held on the 15th of *June*, the proctors of the council deſired the condemnation of ſome errors concerning the euchariſt: accordingly it was decreed, that though Chriſt inſtituted and adminiſtered the ſacrament after ſupper under both kinds, of bread and wine, nevertheleſs, according to the laudable cuſtom of the church, and the authority of the ſacred canons, it ought not to be conſecrated after ſupper, nor received by the faithful, unleſs when faſting, except in caſe of ſickneſs, or of any other neceſſity admitted by the church; and although in the primitive church the ſame ſacrament was received by the faithful under both kinds, yet, to avoid ſeveral ſcandals, the cuſtom had been juſtly introduced, that the laity ſhould receive it under the bread alone, as it ought to be moſt firmly believed that the intire body of Chriſt is wholly contained under each kind ſeparately; and that thoſe who obſtinately aſſerted that the obſervation of this cuſtom was ſacrilegious and unlawful,

ought

ought to be punished by the ordinaries and inquisitors of heresy.

In the next session, which was held on the 4th of *July*, the emperor presided, till the deputies from pope *Gregory* had his bulls, approving the council, not as having assembled by order of pope *John*, whom he stiled *Balthasar Cossa*, but as summoned by the authority of *Sigismund*. The emperor then retired to his own place, and the council confirmed all the proceedings of *Gregory*, during his administration of the pontificate; received his six cardinals, and himself as a seventh, into the sacred college, and annulled all the censures that had been denounced by either party against the other. *Charles Malateſta*, lord of *Rimini*, as proxy for *Gregory*, then made a solemn renunciation of the pontificate in his name; upon which the council sung *Te Deum*, and decreed, that *Gregory* should be always accounted next to the pope in dignity and rank, and declared him perpetual *legate à latere* in the march of *Ancona*. Two days after, in the fifteenth session, *John Huſs* was introduced into the council, and placed upon a high seat in the view of the whole assembly, as a person convicted of heresy by those who had been appointed to examine him, altho' his judges had used no arguments to disprove his doctrines, but only insisted that he ought to submit his judgment to a general council. After he was seated, an order was read, enjoining the strictest silence, under pain of excommunication and two months imprisonment: then the propositions of *Wickliff* were read and condemned: *John Huſs* was declared an obstinate heretic; ordered to be degraded, and to be delivered to the secular court; and his writings to be burnt. In consequence of this sentence, he was stripped of his sacerdotal habit, a paper mitre, painted with devils, was put upon his head, and he was delivered to the magistrate of *Constance*, who the same day ordered him to be burnt alive without the city. *Ænæas Sylvius*, afterwards *Pius* II. in his history of *Bohemia*, relates, that he walked to the stake as chearfully as if he had been going to an entertainment, and, while he was burning, sung an hymn with a loud and strong voice [l]. Though his ashes were thrown into the lake, yet his disciples carried off the earth on which he suffered, which was distributed amongst his followers, and preserved by them as sacred relicks [m]. The news of his death no sooner reached *Bohemia*, than the nobles and barons, who had embraced his doctrine, wrote threatening letters to the council, and entered into an association for their mutual

Gregory XII. *abdicates the pontificate.*

John Huſs *is condemned and burnt.*

[l] Æn. hist. Boem. c. 36. [m] Idem ibid.

defence [n]. In the ſame ſeſſion the council condemned that opinion, "That it was lawful and meritorious to kill a "tyrant, by any means, notwithſtanding any alliance with "him, or oath of allegiance (U)."

The emperor goes to Perpignan, *where he has a conference with* Benedict;

THE council having now removed two popes, in the next ſeſſion, held on the 11th of *July*, appointed twelve proxies, to accompany the emperor to the conference with the king of *Arragon* and *Benedict* XIII. which was now to be held in *Spain*. Four days after, in the ſeventeenth ſeſſion, the emperor received the benediction of the council, and anathemas were denounced againſt any who ſhould interrupt his journey, and indulgences granted to thoſe who prayed for his ſucceſs. On the 18th *Sigiſmund* quitted *Conſtance*, with an eſcort of 4000 horſe, and arrived ſoon after at *Narbonne*; but, being obliged to delay his journey on account of the ſickneſs of the king of *Arragon*, he did not reach *Perpignan* before the 18th of *September*. *Benedict*, or *Peter de Luna*, at firſt refuſed to come to the conferences, unleſs the emperor would honour him as pope; but *Sigiſmund* abſolutely rejecting that demand, he at laſt arrived at *Perpignan*. However, he ſtill refuſed to abdicate, and inſiſted that, as he had now no competitors, the only way to terminate the ſchiſm was to acknowlege him as pope. The emperor, highly offended at this obſtinacy, threatened to compel him to a reſignation, and left *Perpignan*. After he had returned to *Narbonne*, being informed that *Benedict* had fled to the ſtrong city of *Peniſcola*, on the coaſt of *Valentia*, he invited him to return to *Perpignan*, but without effect. By this obſtinacy *Benedict* loſt all his adherents; the clergy of *Scotland* acknowleged the authority of the council of *Conſtance*, and the kings of

who refuſes to abdicate.

[n] In Paralip. ad Urſperg.

(U) The acts of council do not mention what it was that gave occaſion to this decree; but *Spondanus*, with great probability, refers it to the diſpute raiſed in *France*, on account of the murder of the duke of *Orleans* by his couſin the duke of *Burgundy*, in 1407. One *John Parvi*, a *Pariſian* divine, had juſtified this murder in eight articles he had publiſhed, alleging, that, as the duke of *Orleans* was a tyrant, above the reach of the laws, it was lawful and meritorious to kill him. Theſe articles were condemned by the biſhop of *Paris*, and by the inquiſitor; and, the affair being carried before the council, it was debated there with great warmth, and ſome of thoſe, who held the affirmative, were in hazard of their lives (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal. hoc an.*

Arragon,

Arragon, *Caſtile*, and *Navarre*, and the count of *Armagnac*, ſent deputies to the emperor at *Narbonne*, where a capitulation was concluded, under twelve articles, whereby it was agreed, that the prelates at *Conſtance* ſhould write circular letters to the princes and prelates hitherto in the obedience of *Benedict*, inviting them to the council; and that, upon their arrival, they ſhould conſult with the reſt about the union and reformation of the church, and the election of a new pope.

DURING theſe tranſactions of the emperor, the council aſſembled on the 17th of *Auguſt*, and appointed ſome biſhops from each of the nations to judge the cauſes and complaints that ſhould be brought before the council. In the next ſeſſion, which was held on the 23d of *September*, *Jerome* of *Prague*, a layman, and maſter of arts, publicly abjured the errors of *Wickliffe*, and acknowleged himſelf expoſed to the ſeverity of the canons if he ſhould ever teach any thing contrary to the catholic doctrine; which abjuration and profeſſion he delivered to the council written with his own hand. He, however, afterwards retracted, and endeavoured to eſcape; but was brought back from the confines of *Bohemia* by *John* duke of *Bavaria*, and ſhut up in a dark and loathſome dungeon in the bottom of a tower, in which ſituation he continued ſeveral months. In the ſame ſeſſion the council confirmed the decrees of the emperor *Frederic* II. and *Charles* IV. concerning immunity of eccleſiaſtics; and in the twentieth ſeſſion, held on the 29th of *November*, a monitory was publiſhed againſt *Frederic* duke of *Auſtria*, for his invaſion of the privileges and poſſeſſions of the church of *Trent*. There are no other proceedings of the council mentioned during this year; but on the 31ſt of *January*, in a general ſeſſion, the capitulation of *Narbonne* was confirmed, and a few days after letters of convocation to the *Spaniſh* princes and prelates were publiſhed, according to the form agreed to betwixt the deputies. Mean while *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon* prohibited, by a public edict, any of his ſubjects from obeying *Benedict*; who, in return, aſſembled his friends at *Peniſcola*, and demanded a ſentence of depoſition and excommunication againſt *Ferdinand*. After the publication of the citation for the *Spaniſh* prelates, the deliberations of the members of the council were not ſo frequent, as they waited for the arrival of the emperor, who had proceeded to *France*, and from thence to *England*, to reconcile theſe two kingdoms, and to aſk ſuccours againſt the *Turks*, who were then ravaging *Hungary*. In the twenty-firſt ſeſſion, which was held on the 29th of *May*, *Jerome* of *Prague*, after having,

Jerome *of* Prague *ſigns a recantation*;

A.D. 1416.

but retracts, and is condemned as a heretic, and burnt.

with great eloquence and intrepidity, defended his doctrines in ſeveral private audiences, was introduced into the council, and condemned as an obſtinate and relapſed heretic. He was then delivered to the ſecular magiſtrate, who ordered him to be burnt alive; which puniſhment he ſuffered with the greateſt conſtancy and firmneſs. When the executioner was going to light the fire behind him, he called out to him to light it before his face; for if he had been afraid of burning he never would have come to *Conſtance* (W).

ABOUT

(W) *Poggio* of *Florence*, ſecretary of *John* XXIII. who was then at *Conſtance*, gives an account of the behaviour of *Jerome* before the fathers, in an elegant letter to his friend *Leonardo* of *Arezzo*, and ſays, that, tho' he was ſhut up in a dark and naſty dungeon for 340 days, where he could not even ſee, yet, upon his trial, he cited ſo many learned and wiſe men, and ſo many doctors of the church, in defence of his opinions, that it would have appeared extraordinary, even tho' the whole time of his impriſonment had been ſpent in leiſure and ſtudy. He declares, that he had never ſeen any whoſe eloquence approached ſo near to that of the ancients; that he anſwered his accuſers with the greateſt wiſdom and confidence; and that, if his faith was the ſame with what he profeſſed, there could not be found againſt him the leaſt cauſe of offence: that he frequently anſwered the reproaches and railings of his opponents by a jeſt or ſarcaſm, which obliged many of the aſſembly to ſmile. On the laſt day of his audience, having with difficulty obtained leave to ſpeak, he mentioned many upright men that had been unjuſtly condemned by wicked judges, particularly *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Anaxagoras*, *Zeno*, *Rutilius*, *Boethius*; then, proceeding to the ſacred ſcriptures, he mentioned *Joſeph*, almoſt all the prophets, *Suſannah*, *John Baptiſt*, our Saviour, *Stephen the Martyr*; and all the apoſtles, he ſaid, had been condemned, not as being good men, but as deſpiſers of God, and ſeditious ringleaders of the people; that the moſt holy and learned fathers, *Auguſtine* and *Jerome*, had differed from one another without being ſuſpected of hereſy. He then mentioned his friend *John Huſs*, whom he praiſed as a good, juſt, and holy man, who had never preached againſt the doctrines of the church, but againſt the abuſes of the clergy, and the pride and pomp of the prelates, who waſted the patrimony of the church, deſigned for the ſupport of the poor and ſtrangers, upon whores and dogs, and in feaſting, gluttony, and vain apparel. As his diſcourſe was frequently interrupted by the captious objections of his opponents, there was none whom he did not anſwer, and either obliged all to bluſh or to be ſilent. When a noiſe aroſe in the aſſembly he ſtopt, without being diſconcerted,

ABOUT the ſame time the duke of *Auſtria*, having refuſed to obey the monitory, and having fled from *Conſtance*, the council informed the emperor of his flight; who immediately put him to the ban of the empire. A few months afterwards the twenty-ſecond ſeſſion was held, on the 15th of *October*, in which was regulated the order of ſitting to be obſerved by the deputies of *Arragon* and *Naples*, who had arrived at the council; and it was decreed, that the votes of the deputies of *Arragon*, together with thoſe of the deputies of *Portugal*, *Caſtile*, and *Navarre*, ſhould have the ſame authority as if all the biſhops of thoſe kingdoms were preſent: by which means a fifth nation was added to thoſe already appointed by the council. In the following ſeſſion, held on the 5th of *November*, twelve commiſſaries were nominated to determine the manner of proceeding againſt *Peter de Luna*; and in the next ſeſſion, which was held on the 18th of the ſame month, a form of citation was read, ſummoning the ſame *Peter*, as a ſchiſmatic and heretic, to appear within ſeventy days after intimation made to himſelf, or the publication of the ſummons in any church of the dioceſe wherein he reſided. In the two following ſeſſions, which were held on the 14th and 24th of *December*, the deputies of the count of *Foix* and of the king of *Navarre* were admitted into the council; and a decree was made, ordaining, that no honour or detriment ſhould accrue to any nation by the order of ſitting, debating, or ſubſcribing.

A FEW weeks after, the emperor returned to *Conſtance*; and in the twenty-ſeventh ſeſſion, held on the 20th of *February*, the duke of *Auſtria* was declared guilty of contumacy; and in the next ſeſſion, held on the 3d of *March*, *Frederic* and his adherents were excommunicated, for having invaded the poſſeſſions of the church of *Trent*, and violated his oath to the emperor. The twenty-ninth ſeſſion was held on the 8th of *March*, the day appoined for the appearance of *Peter de Luna*; but, as he had not obeyed the ſummons, the council declared him contumacious; and two days after, in the thirtieth ſeſſion, the deputies that had been ſent to *Spain*, informing the aſſembly that they had cited the ſaid *Peter* perſonally, and received from him an evaſive anſwer, the council immediately approved the withdrawing obedience from him. In the next

The emperor returns to Conſtance. A. D. 1417.

ed, and ſometimes even reproved the authors of the diſturbance, and intreated for leave to ſpeak, as it would be the laſt time they would ever hear him (1).

(1) *Pog. Flor. epiſt. ex rer. Boem. ſcript.*

Benedict XIII. *is deposed.*

session, held on the 31st of *March*, a monitory was published against *Philip Visconti* count of *Virtu*, who had thrust the bishop of *Asti* into prison; and the bishop of *Bayonne*, in *Guienne*, tho' appointed by *Benedict*, was confirmed by the council, because his competitor, who had been nominated by *John* XXIII. was lately dead. The five following sessions were wholly employed in the cause of *Peter de Luna*, who, after several citations, and examinations of witnesses against him, on the 26th of *July*, in the thirty-seventh session, was solemnly deposed, and all Christians were absolved from yielding him obedience. Before this definitive sentence was published, the emperor, with the princes of *Germany*, and the *English* deputies, had endeavoured to prevail with the council to proceed to the reformation of the church; and the marquis of *Brandenburgh* particularly proposed, that the clergy of *Germany* should be prohibited, by a canon, from purchasing any immoveable possessions. This motion for a reformation was, however, strenuously opposed by the cardinals and the other nations, who urged that it was first necessary to elect a pope; and, each party defending their opinion with great warmth, the council was on the point of being dissolved. The emperor at length calmed their spirits, and, after two sessions spent in frivolous disputes about precedency, in the thirty-ninth session, which was held on the 9th of *October*, a perpetual decree was made, that, fifteen years after the dissolving of the council of *Constance*, another should be held, and, within seven years after that should be dissolved, a third should be held, and for ever afterwards councils should be held every ten years; the place of meeting to be appointed by the pope, who should have liberty to contract, but not to lengthen, the term for their convocation; and if a schism should arise in the pontificate, within a year after the dissolution of the council, it should then assemble the year after without any citation. In the fortieth session, held on the 30th of *October*, it was decreed, that the future pope, before the dismissing of the council, should reform the church in the head and members; they then proceeded to regulate the form of the election, and ordained, that six deputies of each of the nations should enter the conclave, together with the cardinals; and whoever should be chosen, by two-thirds of the cardinals and deputies, should be accounted a true pope. Accordingly in the forty-first session, held on the 8th of *November*, thirty deputies were nominated, and entered the conclave with twenty cardinals of the three obediences. After great disputes, *Otho Colonna*, a *Roman*, and cardinal deacon of *St. George*, was chosen pope on the 11th of *November*; who, in honour of the saint whose

Martin V. *is elected pope by the*

whoſe feaſt was then celebrated, took the name of *Martin* V. Hiſtorians remark, that the emperor might have ſeized this opportunity to recover the right which his predeceſſors enjoyed, of confirming the popes before their coronation; but he dropt that pretenſion for the peace of the church; and when the conclave was opened he entered, and proſtrated himſelf at the feet of the pope, who was afterwards conducted to the cathedral church with the greateſt ſolemnity, the emperor and the elector of *Brandenburgh* holding the reins of his horſe, and a hundred princes, the ambaſſadors of twelve kings, and a whole council, following him. *Deputies and cardinals.*

MARTIN having notified his election to the Chriſtian princes, on the 28th of *December* preſided at the forty-ſecond ſeſſion, in which *Sigiſmund* and the duke of *Bavaria* petitioned to be freed from the keeping of the late pope *John*. During theſe tranſactions of the council, the *Huſſites* in *Bohemia*, in reſentment for the death of *John Huſs* and *Jerome*, having deſtroyed a great many monaſteries of the *Dominicans*, prevailed with the univerſity of *Prague* to approve their doctrine of communicating under both kinds. Accordingly *John*, cardinal rector of the univerſity, publiſhed a declaration in the name of the whole body, profeſſing, that they did not decide preſumptuouſly againſt the catholic apoſtolic *Roman* church, nor ſeek to introduce any novelty, but rather adhered to the aſſertion of the council of *Conſtance*, which had approved the communicating under both kinds, as inſtituted by our Saviour, and long practiſed by the primitive church: they therefore exhorted all thoſe, who were concerned for their ſalvation, to prefer the inſtitution of Chriſt to any edict of men. *Wenceſlaus* being unable, by his own authority, to quell the commotions raiſed by the *Huſſites*, wrote to his brother *Sigiſmund* for his aſſiſtance. *The doctrines of the Huſſites approved by the univerſity of Prague.*

MEAN while *Martin* ſent the cardinal of *Piſa* as his legate to *Peter de Luna*, to exhort him to reſign the pontificate; but *Peter*, tho' he was likewiſe ſollicited by ſome of his own cardinals to abdicate, would not conſent, but declared that he would confer with *Martin* about the means of reſtoring peace to the church [o]. The council again aſſembling on the 21ſt of *March*, publiſhed ſome decrees concerning exemptions, firſt fruits, diſpenſations, ſimony, tythes, and other eccleſiaſtical grievances, and concerning the lives and dreſs of the clergy; by which, and by ſome agreement with each of the nations which is not mentioned, the pope decreed, that the former ſtatute of the council, about reforming A.D. 1418.

[o] PLATINA.

the

the church, was fully executed (X). According to *Platina*, the pretence used for delaying to proceed to the reformation was the long continuance of the council, therefore, in the forty-fourth session, held on the 19th of *April*, according to a former decree, a future council was appointed to be held at *Pavia*. Three days after was held the forty-fifth and last session of the council, in which the deputies of the king of *Poland*, and of the waiwode or duke of *Lithuania*, having desired the pope to condemn a certain book containing a great many heretical doctrines, *Martin* took an occasion from thence of declaring, that he held, and would firmly observe, all the decrees of the council in matters of faith. This his declaration he ordered to be repeated by the advocate of the council, thereby, according to *Spondanus*, intending to elude giving his consent to those decrees made in the fourth and sixteenth sessions, concerning the superiority of a council above a pope, and its authority of reforming the church in the head and members; which doctrines, according to that writer, ought only to be admitted during a schism, when it is uncertain which of the pretenders to the pontificate is the real pope [p]. A bull, condemning the errors of *Wickliffe*, *John Huss*, and *Jerome* of *Prague*, was then read, together with a form of examining their adherents, and receiving the penitents. Lastly, *Martin* granted a plenary absolution to all those who had attended at the council, both masters and servants; after which it was dissolved by cardinal *Rainald*, who, by the order of the pope, pronounced these words, *Go in peace*; to which the whole assembly answered, *Amen*.

The council of Constance *is dissolved.*

[p] Spond. Annal. an. 1418.

(X) *Gobelinus Personа* relates, that, before the election of *Martin*, several learned men of each of the nations, by the appointment of the council, drew up a form of reformation of the church, which, after the election of the pope, some nations desired to be confirmed; but as they were not all equally zealous, and the cardinals appeared very backward in that affair, the *French* nation went to the emperor, and desired him to urge the pope to proceed to a reformation. *Sigismund* answered, that, while he was earnest that the reformation should precede the election of a pope, they opposed him; therefore, as he had not now the same authority as when the apostolic see was vacant, they ought to apply to the pope (z).

(z) *Gobel. Person. æt.* vi. *c.* 69. *Edit. Meibom. t.* i.

MARTIN

MARTIN ſoon after quitted *Conſtance*, and went to *Geneva*, where he continued till the month of *September*. He then paſſed the *Alps*, and was received with great honour by *Philip* duke of *Milan*, whom he reconciled to *Pandulphus Malateſta*, lord of *Breſcia*. From thence he proceeded to *Mantua*, where he continued four months, and ſent ſeveral legates to the cities of *Italy*, to reconcile their differences, and facilitate his own journey to *Rome*. In the beginning of *February* *Martin* left *Mantua*, and went to *Florence*, by *Ravenna* and *Forli*, to avoid *Bologna*, which had then revolted from the church. He was received by the *Florentines* with great honour, and continued upwards of eighteen months in that city, till he had eſtabliſhed his authority in *Italy*, and recovered the greateſt part of the territories of the church; for, at his arrival, the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, *Oſtia*, and *Civita Vecchia*, were garriſoned by the *Neapolitans*, and the *Romans* had ſubmitted to *Brachius* lord of *Perugia*, who had reduced that city and a great part of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and, as he had ſerved ſeveral years under *Balthaſar Coſſa*, the late pope *John*, was a great enemy to *Martin*. *Brachius* was ſoon after expelled from *Rome* by *Sforzia Vicanti*, then conſtable of *Naples*; but, ſtill refuſing to ſubmit to the church, he was excommunicated by *Martin*. However, the authority of the pope was at that time ſo weak, that *Brachius* and his adherents, in their turn, excommunicated his holineſs, who was likewiſe expoſed to the ſcoffs of the common people (Y). By the interceſſion of the *Florentines*, *Brachius* ſoon after ſubmitted, and came and threw himſelf at the pope's feet; who appointed him vicar over ſeveral of the cities he had formerly uſurped. The queen of *Naples* likewiſe reſtored the places which ſhe had ſeized, and ſent her ſeneſchal to *Florence*, deſiring the pope to ſend a cardinal to *Naples*, to perform the ceremony of her coronation. *Martin* granted her requeſt, on condition that ſhe ſet her huſband at liberty; who had been long confined in priſon, while ſhe indulged herſelf openly in laſciviouſneſs [q]. About the ſame time four cardinals, who had deſerted *Benedict*, came and ſubmitted to the pope; and ſoon after *Balthaſar Coſſa*, who had eſcaped from the guards that were conducting

The pope returns to Italy, *and* A.D. 1419. *reſides at* Florence.

[q] SUMMONT. Hiſt. Neap. l. iv. c. 3.

(Y) *Papa Martino non vale un quattrino*, pope *Martin* is not worth a farthing (3).

(3) *Leon. Aret. ap. Murator. t.* 19.

him

him into *Italy*, came and threw himself at his feet, and acknowleged him true pope, and canonically elected. His submission was very acceptable to *Martin*, who created him cardinal bishop of *Tusculum*, and dean of the sacred college: however, he did not long enjoy this return of prosperity, but died a few months after, and was most honourably interred at the expence of his friend *Cosmo di Medicis*; who, by his means, had raised his fortune to such a degree, as to be accounted, not only the richest citizen of *Florence* but of the whole world [r].

The Hussites commit great outrages in Bohemia. A.D. 1420.

DURING these transactions in *Italy*, the catholics in *Bohemia* were miserably oppressed by the *Hussites*, who had expelled them from *Prague*, and several other cities of the kingdom, and, since the death of *Wenceslaus*, had refused to acknowlege his brother *Sigismund* as their king; because he had previously refused to confirm to them liberty of conscience (Z). *Martin* being informed of their horrid outrages, at the entreaty of *Sigismund*, published a crusade against them on the 1st of *March*, with the usual indulgences [s], and sent legates into *Germany* to attend the emperor; who, being delivered from his apprehensions of the *Turks* in *Hungary*, had raised an army of 200,000 men, with which he entered *Bohemia*, and besieged *Prague*. But, not-

A crusade preached against them.

[r] PLATIN. [s] COLHLÆ.

(Z) Besides the *Hussites*, who were divided into two sects; namely, those who denied transubstantiation, and those who were called *Calixtins*, and communicated under both kinds, the sect of *Adamites* was at this time introduced into *Bohemia*, by one *Pikard*, from *Holland*, who quickly made a great many proselytes of both sexes; and, having taken possession of an island surrounded by a river, called himself *Adam*, the son of God, and asserted that all others, who were not of his sect, were children of the devil. His followers walked naked, and lived promiscuously; but, as they were obliged to plunder others for their subsistence, *Ziska*, the general of the *Hussites*, attacked their island, and put them to the sword. There was likewise another sect, who called themselves *Orebites*, from the mountain *Oreb*, on which *Moses* received the law from God. Tho' they did not entirely agree with the *Hussites*, yet they were equally zealous enemies to the catholics, plundering and destroying the monasteries, and burning the monks and priests, or exposing them naked in the middle of winter to the rigours of the season (4).

(4) *Æn. c.* 41, 42, 43. *Cath. in hist. Hussit.*

withstanding

withſtanding the great ſuperiority of his numbers, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and was defeated in five engagements, with the loſs of his baggage, proviſions, and artillery [t]. About the ſame time, the pope, having received an embaſſy from *Manuel* the *Greek* emperor, with an offer of embracing the *Latin* faith and rites, if reaſonable conditions were propoſed, he appointed cardinal *Fonſeca* as his legate *a latere* to go to *Conſtantinople*; but he firſt ſent the general of the *Dominicans* to ſound the real diſpoſition of the emperor. Soon after, having recovered *Bologna*, he erected the church of *Florence* into a metropolitan, in return for the kind reception he had met with from that city; which he quitted on the 9th of *September*, and proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy [u], the *Romans* appointing the day of his arrival to be obſerved as a holiday. *Martin* immediately cauſed the city to be repaired and decorated, and applied himſelf to humanize the *Romans*, who were become almoſt barbarous; he was, however, in ſome meaſure interrupted in theſe deſigns by *Brachius* of *Perugia*, who again revolted, and renewed his hoſtilities in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. A. D. 1421.

IN the mean time the *Huſſites*, to juſtify their proceedings, publiſhed a letter, accuſing the emperor of having violated their privileges, alienated the marquiſate of *Brandenburgh* without the conſent of the ſtates, plundered the churches, and carried off the archives of the kingdom: they then propoſed four articles, from which they declared they would never recede; namely, concerning the freedom of communicating under both kinds, the preaching of the goſpel without conſtraint, depriving the clergy of all ſuperfluous endowments, and extirpating, by a reformation, all mortal ſin in every rank and dignity. This letter was ſigned by *Conrad* archbiſhop of *Prague*, who had eſpouſed their party, and by a great many barons and deputies of the cities; who a few months afterwards held a diet, or *holy ſynod*, as they called it, at *Prague*, in which they publiſhed twenty-two articles explaining their faith. Ambaſſadors were likewiſe ſent to *Poland* to make an offer of their crown to *Uladiſlaus*, or *Jagellon*; but, he rejecting the offer, the *Huſſites* applied to the duke of *Lithuania*, who, being offended at *Sigiſmund*, ſent his brother *Coribut*, with a large body of *Lithuanians* and *Poles*, to the aſſiſtance of the rebels, at the ſame time A. D. 1422.

They publiſh a letter in juſtification of their proceedings.

[t] AVENT. Annal. Boior. l. vii. p. 652. See alſo the Hiſtory of the German empire. [u] LEON. ARET. ap. Murator. PLATINA.

informing

informing the pope of the reaſons why he had taken them into his protection. A few weeks afterwards *Martin* ſent cardinal *Branda*, biſhop of *Placenza*, as his legate into *Germany*, to proſecute the war againſt the *Huſſites*, and wrote to the waiwode, deſiring him to recall his troops from *Bohemia*; which requeſt was, after ſome time, complied with, in conſequence of a new accommodation betwixt the emperor and his couſin the king of *Poland*.

The Greek emperor deſires a general council to be held at Conſtantinople.

SOON after *Martin* received a letter from the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, expreſſing his deſire of an union with the *Roman* church, but refuſing to embrace that union by ſubmitting to the faith of the *Latin* church, as the nuncio declared his ambaſſadors had aſſerted at *Florence*. He requeſted only that an univerſal council might be called, after the manner of the ſeven ancient ones; that it ſhould aſſemble at *Conſtantinople*, as the *Greeks* were unable to go elſewhere on account of the incurſions of the *Turks*, and the poverty of the empire; that the pope ſhould furniſh the expences of thoſe who attended at the council, as the emperor, at whoſe charge they formerly aſſembled, was not able; and laſtly, that his holineſs would compel thoſe under his obedience, by ſevere cenſures, to aſſiſt the *Greeks* in their extremity. What was the conſequence of this letter is not mentioned; but the following year, according to *Onuphrius*, *Martin* celebrated a jubilee at *Rome*; however, as *Italy*, *Germany*, and *France*, were then the ſcenes of deſtructive wars, this ſolemn feſtival ſeems to have been but little attended to. Mean while, as the time for celebrating the council of *Pavia* now drew near, the pope, with the advice of the cardinals, ſent four prelates to that city; who, in the month of *May*, opened the aſſembly; at which were preſent only three other eccleſiaſtics, namely, two abbots from *Burgundy*, and a *Carmelite* friar from the clergy of *England*[w]. As the plague raged in *Pavia*, and the fathers did not attend, after two months the pope transferred the council to *Siena*, where the 1ſt ſeſſion was opened on the 8th of *November*. The four prelates, that were firſt ſent to *Pavia*, preſided in the name of the pope, and, with the conſent of the fathers, confirmed the ſentence of condemnation publiſhed againſt hereſy at *Conſtance*, and likewiſe made ſome additions to the bull of *Boniface* VIII. concerning heretics, ordaining, that whoever expelled them from their territories, or delivered them into the power of the ordinaries or inquiſitors, or, when deſired, puniſhed them with the ſecular arm, ſhould enjoy the

A general council at Pavia;

it is transferred to Siena.

[w] SPOND. Annal. ex act. Victor. PITHÆ de ſcript. Angl.

ſame

ſame indulgences as thoſe who perſonally viſited the *Holy Land*. As very few prelates came to this council, it was diſſolved in the month of *February*, another being appointed to be held ſeven years afterwards at *Baſil*, and the neceſſary reformations in the mean time being left to the pope and his cardinals. According to *Platina*, *Martin* diſſolved the council to prevent the intrigues of *Alphonſus* king of *Arragon*, who, being offended that his pretenſions to the kingdom of *Naples* were rejected, had ſent a deputy to *Siena* to renew the cauſe of *Peter de Luna*.

ABOUT the ſame time, a war ariſing betwixt the duke of *Milan* and the *Florentines*, *Martin*, in reſentment for the aſſiſtance given by that republic to *Brachius* of *Perugia*, declared for the duke. A few months after, having ſent an army to aſſiſt the queen of *Naples* againſt *Brachius*, who was beſieging *Aquila*, in an engagement, fought on the ſecond of *June*, *Brachius* was entirely routed, and mortally wounded. In conſequence of this victory queen *Jane*, and her adopted ſon *Lewis* III. duke of *Anjou*, remained in quiet poſſeſſion of *Naples*; *Martin* recovered *Perugia*, and the other places in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate that had been uſurped by *Brachius*, and the *Florentines* were deprived of their chief ſupport againſt the arms of duke *Philip*. Not long after the anti-pope *Benedict* died at *Peniſcola*, in the 30th year of his pontificate, having, on his death-bed, bound his followers to elect a ſucceſſor, under pain of eternal damnation. Accordingly the two cardinals of his obedience, after his deceaſe, choſe *Ægidius*, a canon of *Barcelona*, who was compelled by the king of *Arragon* to accept of the mock dignity, and aſſumed the name of *Clement* VIII. *Martin*, upon hearing of his intruſion, immediately denounced an anathema againſt him and his adherents, and cited them all to appear at *Rome*.

The pope joins in a war againſt the Florentines. A. D. 1424.

Peter de Luna *dies, and is ſucceeded by* Clement VIII.

MEAN while his legate cardinal *Branda*, having gone with the emperor and ſeveral other princes to *Preſburg*, to be preſent at the coronation of queen *Sophia*, prevailed with *Uladiſlaus* to grant 5,000 horſe to *Sigiſmund* againſt the *Huſſites*, and to confiſcate the poſſeſſions of *Coribut*, who had again entered *Bohemia*. *Eric* king of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, and *Peter*, brother of the king of *Portugal*, who were both preſent at the coronation, likewiſe granted ſuccours to the emperor; but, notwithſtanding all theſe reinforcements, the *Huſſites* were every-where victorious, and not only repulſed the imperialiſts and cruſaders, but, in their turn, invaded *Miſnia*, which they ravaged in a terrible manner [x]. They, however, this year ſuffered a conſiderable loſs

[x] COCHLÆ, l. v.

loſs in the death of their blind and valiant general *Ziſca*, who died of the plague, after he had agreed to a perſonal conference with the emperor. *Martin* in the mean time earneſtly ſollicited the *German* princes to a new expedition againſt the *Huſſites*, and wrote to the emperor, exhorting him to act with vigour againſt them. Being deſirous likewiſe to extirpate the remains of the ſchiſm, he ſent the cardinal of *Foix* as his legate *a latere* into *Arragon*, to prevail with *Alphonſus*, who was his relation, to deſert the antipope. The cardinal, having ſent a nuncio to inform the king of his commiſſion, ſet out on his journey; but at *Charpentiers* he received a letter from *Alphonſus*, who declared he could not acknowlege him as a legate, till *Martin* had granted him ſome things which he demanded of him by a ſpecial meſſenger. After two other probibitions to enter his kingdom, the king at laſt allowed him to act as legate, but under ſuch reſtrictions as were rejected by the cardinal; who left *Arragon*, and retired to the territories of his brother the count of *Foix*; from whence the following year he ſent frequent meſſengers to the king, deſiring a conference, and with propoſitions for an accommodation. The meſſengers returned without receiving any ſatisfactory anſwer from the king, who ſtill kept up his reſentment againſt *Martin*, and publiſhed an edict, prohibiting the prelates of his kingdom from receiving any apoſtolical letters, or from executing them or thoſe of the legate, under the penalty of forfeiting all their poſſeſſions. The cardinal legate proteſted againſt this edict, and informed the pope of the king's proceedings; who, on the 15th of *July*, publiſhed a moſt ſevere ſentence againſt him and his kingdom. About the ſame time he ſent cardinal *Nicolas Albergatus*, biſhop of *Bologna*, to mediate a peace betwixt *Philip* duke of *Milan* and the *Florentines* and their allies, who prevailed with each of the parties to ſend deputies to *Ferrara*; where, after three months ſpent in negociating, a treaty was concluded on the 1ſt of *January* [y].

Alphonſus *is entreated to deſert the antipope.* A. D. 1425.

MEAN while the ſeveral ſects of the *Huſſites*, namely, the *Calixtins*, *Taborites*, *Orphans*, and *Orebites*, having, ſince the death of *Ziſca*, conferred the chief command upon one *Procopius*, a prieſt, and for that reaſon called *the Shaven*, this general, no leſs intrepid than his predeceſſor, gained a ſignal victory over the duke of *Auſtria* in his own dominions, and a few months afterwards entirely defeated an army of 100,000 *Germans*, commanded by the counts of *Veideu* and *Schwartzenſburgh*; after which he made himſelf maſter of

The Huſſites *ravage ſeveral provinces of* Germany.

[y] Poc. Hiſt. Flor. ap. Murat. t. xx. p. 344.

ſome

ſome places on the borders of *Moravia*, and ravaged *Auſtria* in a terrible manner, as far as the *Danube*. The pope, greatly affected with the miſeries which the catholics ſuffered in *Bohemia* and *Germany*, and finding his endeavours to aſſiſt them hitherto ineffectual, on the 16th of *March* created cardinal *Henry*, biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and uncle of the late *Henry* V. of *England*, his legate in *Germany*, *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, with full power of cauſing a cruſade to be preached every where againſt the *Wickliffites* and *Huſſites*, with the ſame indulgencies as the cruſards againſt the *Saracens* had formerly enjoyed. As *Henry* had great authority in *England*, the pope expected large ſuccours from that kingdom; accordingly the cardinal, after ſome diſpute, having obtained leave from the regent of the kingdom to exerciſe his legatine authority [z], publiſhed a cruſade againſt the *Huſſites*; in conſequence of which he raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, with whom he marched the following year into *Bohemia* [a]. A. D. 1427.

The pope's legate treats with the king of Arragon *about abandoning the antipope;*

WHILE the cruſade was preaching in *England*, the king of *Arragon*, influenced by the cenſures of the pope, at length invited the cardinal of *Faxi* to enter his dominions; and, upon his arrival at *Valentia*, received him with the greateſt honour and reſpect, conducting him bare-headed into the city. Altho' two days after he oppoſed ſome proceedings of the legate by a public edict, yet he was prevailed upon to enter into a negociation with him, in which ſeveral articles were drawn up, containing the mutual demands of both parties; and it was agreed, that the legate ſhould carry them himſelf to the pope, and return afterwards to *Arragon* to terminate the differences. Accordingly, two gallies being provided, the cardinal embarked for *Rome*, where he arrived on the 8th of *January*. Immediately after, the demands of *Alphonſus* were taken into conſideration, and anſwers to each of them were drawn up and ſent to the king; which were not approved by him. As the plague at this time raged in *Rome*, and the cardinals were diſperſed, the accommodation of the differences was delayed, and the whole year was ſpent in reciprocal meſſages and objections [b]. *Martin* in the mean time publiſhed a bull, prohibiting lay officials from uſurping any authority over eccleſiaſtics [c]; and, as the *Bologneſe* had again revolted from the holy ſee, he ſent an army againſt them, and laid their city under an interdict. In the begin- 1428.

[z] BZOV. hoc an. HARPS. ſec. 15. c. 10 & 20. [a] MICHOV. Hiſt. Polon. l. iv. c. 52. [b] Act. Leg. ap. BZOV. hoc an. [c] SPOND. Annal.

ning of the following year, he again ſent the cardinal of *Thiſci* to *Arragon*, who arrived at *Barcelona* about the middle of *May*, where he was received by the king and the prelates with great honours. *Alphonſus* nevertheleſs delayed the conferences upon various pretences; but, at the entreaties of his brother the king of *Navarre*, he at length condeſcended to treat. However, after ſeveral diſputes, the legate refuſing to publiſh his abſolution, till he reverſed the decrees againſt the authority of the ſee of *Rome*, the conferences were broken off; and the king next day propoſed to ſet out on an expedition againſt the kingdom of *Caſtile*. On the morrow, the legate having obtained an audience, the king at laſt conſented to his demands; and his brother and himſelf, having received the benediction of the cardinal, immediately departed. Next day the revocation of the king's decrees was publiſhed; and two of his councellors, being appointed to act according to the directions of the legate, went to *Peniſcola*, where, on the 26th of *July*, the antipope *Clement* or *Ægidius*, in the preſence of his cardinals and court, voluntarily abdicated the pontifical dignity, confirming his abdication by a bull, and exhorting his cardinals to elect another. They accordingly proceeded to an election in the uſual manner, and unanimouſly choſe *Otho Colonna*, or *Martin* V. to whom, in the perſon of his legate, all the adherents of the late antipope ſubmitted, excepting two cardinals, who, for their obſtinacy, had been thruſt into priſon before the election; however, they ſoon after acknowleged their fault, and aſked pardon.

who, by his voluntary abdication, at laſt terminates the ſchiſm.

THE ſchiſm being thus terminated, after it had continued fifty years and ten months, the legate, before he left *Spain*, held a council at *Tortoſa* for the reſtoring of diſcipline, the ſeſſions being prorogued to the beginning of the following year. *Martin* ſoon after ſent one of the cardinals as his legate *a latere* to be preſent at the general chapter of the *Franciſcans*, held at *Aſſiſi*, with a full authority of reforming the order in the head and members, and to repreſs the power of the *Huſſites*; who, at different times, had made irruptions into *Miſnia*, *Sileſia*, *Moravia*, *Luſace*, and *Franconia*. The following year he created cardinal *Julian* his legate *a latere* in *Germany*, with a full authority of carrying on the ſacred war. As this cardinal was remarkably eminent for his prudence, eloquence, and learning, a few weeks afterwards *Martin* publiſhed another bull, appointing him to preſide, in his name, at the council to be held at *Baſil*, in conſequence of the decrees of thoſe of *Conſtance* and *Siena*. This bull was dated on the 1ſt of *February*, and twenty days after

A.D. 1431.

after the pope was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died, in the 63d year of his age, and 13th of his pontificate.

THE fourteen cardinals who were in *Rome* at the death of *Martin*, entered the conclave on the 1st of *March*, and next day elected *Gabriel Condelmero*, of an ancient *Venetian* family, cardinal priest and bishop of *Siena*, who, assuming the name of *Eugenius* IV. was consecrated on the 11th of the same month (A). Immediately after his election a *Franciscan* treacherously conspired against his life, by exciting animosities betwixt him and the *Colonnæ*, relations of *Martin*, and by endeavouring to seize the castle of *St. Angelo* by surprize, with the intention of delivering it to that family. The designs of the *Franciscan* being discovered, he was seized and put to death; after which *Eugenius* put an end to the tumults, by concluding an accommodation with the *Colonnæ*. During this intestine disturbance, the pope had written to cardinal *Julian*, confirming his legation in *Germany* against the *Bohemians*, and regulating what regarded the holding of the council at *Basil*. The cardinal, being desirous to proceed against the *Hussites* before he went to the council, earnestly solicited the *German* princes to send the quota of troops to the general rendezvous, which had been fixed upon the former year in a diet at *Nuremberg*. But altho' the expedition had been appointed for the 24th of *June*, yet, upon account of the delays of the allies, the army did not assemble before the 1st of *August*; when, according to some authors, it amounted to 40,000 horse and 50,000 foot, while others affirm, that it consisted of 130,000 men. *Julian* in the mean time sent the auditor of the sacred palace, and the general of the *Dominicans*, to *Basil*, to open the council in his name, and in that of the apostolic see, and soon after entered *Bohemia* with a *German* army, which, in return for the barbarities committed by the *Hussites*, ravaged their territories without mercy. But, after they had advanced a

Eugenius IV. is elected.

He confirms the legation of cardinal Julian;

(A) *Eugenius* came to *Rome* during the pontificate of his uncle *Gregory* XII. who made him his treasurer, and afterwards bishop of *Siena*, and then a cardinal.

Spondanus relates, upon the authority of an author of *Bourdeaux*, that the cardinals, before they proceeded to the election of *Eugenius*, drew up certain articles which they swore to observe; among those, that the pope should, for the future, insert in the apostolic letters, not only the words *by the advice*, but *with the consent*, of our brethren; that the pope should not create new cardinals, without the concurrence and approbation of the old; and that the cardinals should enjoy one half of the patrimony of the church.

who enters Bohemia with a German army, which is entirely defeated.

conſiderable way into the kingdom, *Procopius*, who had aſſembled his forces, attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity, that, after a weak reſiſtance, they were intirely defeated, with the loſs of their artillery, proviſions, and baggage; amongſt which was the pope's bull, and the legate's croſs and veſtments, which ſerved for ſubjects of deriſion to the victors [d]. After this victory the *Huſſites* ravaged *Moravia*, *Auſtria*, and *Sileſia*, and likewiſe made an irruption into *Hungary*. Cardinal *Julian*, deſpairing to reduce them by force, upon his return to *Nuremberg*, propoſed to the emperor to invite them to the council of *Baſil*; and, ſoon after arriving at that city, he wrote to the *Bohemians* from thence, offering them a ſafe conduct, and a free conference upon the articles of their faith, before the general council.

A general council held at Baſil;

THIS council, according to the decrees of that of *Conſtance* and *Siena*, ought to have aſſembled on the 2d of *March*, without any citation: accordingly, on that day, a *Benedictine* abbot, with ſome other clergy, aſſembled at *Baſil*, and declared that they were ready to wait for other prelates, and in the mean time would conſult together for the ſafety of the Chriſtian people. On the 23d of *July*, the two deputies ſent by *Julian* ſolemnly opened the council, and the cardinal himſelf arriving in *October*, by the authority of the fathers then aſſembled, wrote to the catholics in the neighbourhood of *Bohemia*, not to enter into any treaty with the *Huſſites*. The offering a free conference to the *Bohemian* ſecretaries, and ſome other proceedings of the council, began already to give umbrage to the pope; therefore, on the 12th of *November*, he ſent a full power to *Julian* to diſſolve the council, and to ſummon another to meet at *Bologna* within eighteen months (B), alleging, as his reaſons for this tranſlation,

which the pope deſires to be diſſolved.

[d] COCHL. Hiſt. Huſſ. l. vi.

(B) *Martin*, a little before his death, had created four cardinals, who were then abſent from *Rome*. As *Eugenius* ſuſpected they were not in his intereſt, he endeavoured to exclude them from the college, and for that purpoſe, on the 23d of *October*, publiſhed, that thoſe, who were promoted to the cardinalſhip in a private conſiſtory, ſhould not be accounted cardinals, till they had received the enſigns of their dignity; namely, the red hat, the title, and ring, and that even then they could not have an active voice in the election of a pope, or in any other public affair, till the pope had granted them leave, and ſolemnly opened their mouth. In conſequence of this bull, *Dominicus Capranica*, one of the new promoted cardinals, was not allowed to enter *Rome*; but being,

tranſlation, that he was informed few prelates had arrived at *Baſil*; that there was not a ſafe acceſs to the city, on account of the war betwixt the dukes of *Auſtria* and *Burgundy*; that many of the citizens were *Huſſites*, and perſecuted the catholics; and that the *Greek* emperor and patriarch, who propoſed to treat of an union with the *Latin* church, had deſired that the council might be transferred to *Bologna*. The pope wrote on the ſame ſubject to the emperor; but *Sigiſmund*, who had entered *Lombardy* with the intention of receiving the *Italian* and imperial crowns, returned an anſwer to the reaſons alleged by the pope, and declared, that the reformation of manners, and re-union of the *Huſſites* to the church, ought to precede any treaty with the *Greeks*, who would even deſpiſe the *Latin* church when they obſerved it corrupted and divided; that, if the council was diſſolved, the *Huſſites* would triumph; and that all *Germany* would be infected with their doctrines, ſeveral of which already began to meet with approbation from ſome princes and ſtates, who had concluded a truce with the ſectaries. Cardinal *Julian* likewiſe heſitated to execute the pope's orders; but, conſidering that the number of prelates and deputies of the kings and princes was daily increaſing, and that the continuation of the council was abſolutely neceſſary to quiet the troubles in *Germany* and *Bohemia*, he determined to proceed, as the pope had not peremptorily required him, but only given him a power to diſſolve the council: he accordingly appointed the firſt ſeſſion to be held on the 14th of *December*, and informed the pope and the emperor of his proceeding; the laſt of whom wrote to the cardinal and the fathers, exhorting them to perſevere in their deſign, and to cut off as rotten members all thoſe who ſhould endeavour to defer or diſſolve the council. *Sigiſmund*, before he had paſſed the *Alps*, had ſent his deputies to *Baſil*, and had appointed the duke of *Bavaria* as protector and defender of the council. They having arrived at that city, the firſt ſeſſion was held according to appointment; in which, after the celebration of

Cardinal Julian continues the council.

ing, nevertheleſs, received as a cardinal by the council of *Baſil*, *Eugenius* began to be apprehenſive leſt his authority ſhould be attacked by the fathers, and himſelf treated in the ſame manner as *John* XXIII. had been by the council of *Conſtance*. This ſhutting of the mouth has ſince been declared to be only a ceremony, to teach the new cardinals modeſty and reſerve at their firſt entrance into the conſiſtory (5).

(5) *Spond. Annal.*

maſs, and the performance of the uſual prayers and ceremonies, the biſhop of *Coutances* aſcended the pulpit, and read the decree of the council of *Conſtance* for the celebration of general councils, and other writings confirmed by the authority of the popes *Martin* and *Eugenius*, appointing the city *Baſil* for the place of convocation of the preſent council. He then proceeded to declare the purpoſes for which the preſent aſſembly had met, and read ſeveral decrees of former councils for the ſecurity of the members, for regulating the manner of proceeding in the ſeſſions, and for preventing diſturbance and diſputes about precedency. The miniſters and officials of the council being then appointed, the ſeſſion was diſmiſſed.

The emperor is crowned at Milan.

MEAN while the emperor, having received the iron crown at *Milan*, proceeded to *Parma*, where he ſpent the winter. *Eugenius* likewiſe, continuing fix'd in his reſolution to remove the council from *Baſil*, on the 18th of *December* publiſhed a bull, with the conſent of the ten cardinals who were with him, diſſolving that council by the plenitude of the apoſtolic authority, and appointing another to be held eighteen months afterwards at *Bologna*. The reaſon he gave for this proceeding, was the invitation given to the *Bohemians* to confer upon the diſputed articles, which he alleged was injurious to the apoſtolic authority, and to the councils of *Conſtance* and *Siena*, by which theſe ſame *Bohemians* had been already ſolemnly condemned, and therefore, according to the canons and decrees of the fathers, ought to be denied all farther audience. *Eugenius* was intreated by the emperor, and *Henry* king of *England*, to revoke this decree; and a certain doctor publiſhed a treatiſe, juſtifying the invitation given to the *Bohemians*. Cardinal *Julian* likewiſe wrote with great freedom to the pope, urging the neceſſity for celebrating the council at *Baſil*, declaring that it could not be diſſolved without the greateſt ſcandal, and that it ought to be ſupported, even tho' *Rome* and the patrimony of the church were ſure to be loſt; that to raiſe 30,000 crowns, that were demanded for the *Bohemian* war, he ought to ſell the croſſes and chalices; and that, if he did not revoke his bull, there was very great danger of a ſchiſm, as the fathers at *Baſil* were determined to continue the council. Accordingly, the fathers that were there aſſembled, on the 21ſt of *January*, publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the faithful, informing them that they were firmly determined to continue the council which had been lawfully aſſembled, and would not leave *Baſil* till they had completed the work for which they had come together, deſiring all men to aſſiſt them, and enjoining the prelates, under the penalties of the canons, to haſten to the council,

The pope diſſolves the council by the plenitude of his power. A. D. 1432.

The fathers at Baſil *refuſe obedience to his bull.*

Ln

In consequence of this letter, the clergy of *France* assembled at *Berry*; and having declared, in several propositions, that the council was lawfully assembled, and ought not to be transferred, they exhorted the king to send ambassadors to the pope, to intreat him to order the council to be continued, and in their own name appointed the archbishop of *Lyons* to sollicit the pope. They likewise intreated the king to allow the prelates of his kingdom to go to the council, and to send his deputies thither, granting a fourth part of a tythe of the ecclesiastical revenues for their expences. A few days before the prelates of *France* had published their propositions, the second session of the council was held at *Basil*, on the 14th of *February*, in which, after mass, and the usual prayers, the bishop of *Periqueux* ascended the pulpit, and read the decrees of the council; among which there was one, declaring that, upon the authority of the apostolic see, and the decrees of the councils of *Constance* and *Siena*, the synod of *Basil* was lawfully assembled. That no doubt of its authority might remain, he then read two propositions from the decrees of the council of *Constance*; the one, that a general synod, lawfully assembled, received its authority immediately from Christ, and ought to be obeyed by the highest dignity, the pontifical not excepted; the other, that whoever, of whatever dignity, should refuse obedience to its decrees, ought to be punished. In the third session, which was held on the 29th of *April*, the proceedings of the council with *Eugenius* and the cardinals were read; how that, upon hearing that the pope, moved by false information, had by a bull ordered it to be dissolved, they had sent several nuncios to his holiness, petitioning, but without effect, the revocation of that bull; the fathers, therefore, upon the authority of the decrees published in the former session, warned the pope to revoke the said bull, and to come personally to the council within three months, or, upon a lawful impediment, to send his legates with a full power; they likewise cited the cardinals to come to *Basil* within the same time, otherwise they would provide for the necessities of the church as the Holy Spirit should direct.

The prelates of France declare for the council;

who summon the pope and cardinals to come to Basil.

During these proceedings of the council, their legates, who had been sent to *Germany* to invite the *Bohemians* to send deputies to the synod, after several difficulties, at length prevailed with the *Hussites* to appear at the diet at *Egra*, which was held on the 27th of *April*. The *Bohemians*, after complaining of the unjust war which they had been obliged to sustain for so many years, declared their willingness to appear at the council of *Basil*, to prove their four propositions by

The deputies of the council have a conference with those of Bohemia at Egra.

by the authority of the ſcripture and the doctors of the church; but they demanded ſeveral princes and nobles as hoſtages for the ſecurity of their deputies at the council. The catholics thought the demand of hoſtages diſhonourable, and inſiſted that it was a preſumption in the *Huſſites* to undertake to reform the church; but that they ought implicitly to ſubmit in every thing to the deciſion of a general council; which laſt propoſition was rejected with diſdain by the *Huſſites*, who thought it abſurd, that divine and ſelf-evident truths ſhould be ſubject to human deciſions, or that they ſhould chuſe their moſt bitter enemies for their judges, who had already unjuſtly condemned them and thoſe truths unheard [e]. At length it was agreed, that, for the ſecurity of the *Bohemian* deputies, the council ſhould grant a ſafe conduct, in the moſt ample terms, and the princes and deputies of the cities then preſent ſhould engage their word of honour for their ſafety.

The council grants a ſafe conduct.

THE council being informed of the proceedings of their deputies at *Egra*, on the 20th of *June*, held the fourth ſeſſion, in which they granted a ſafe conduct to the *Bohemians* (C),

[e] Epiſt. Boem. & Morav. ad Chriſt. fid. ap. rer. Boem. ſcrip. p. 233.

(C) The ſafe conduct granted to the *Bohemians* was expreſſed in the moſt ample terms. The council ſolemnly engaged the public faith for the ſecurity of all thoſe who ſhould be ſent from *Bohemia* and *Moravia* to the ſynod, to the number of 200 perſons; they were allowed to celebrate the ſervice after their own manner in their houſes, provided divine ſervice, according to the catholic form, was not interrupted by them, neither in *Baſil* nor on the road; and if any of the retinue committed any thing to violate the ſafe conduct, the criminal ſhould be judged by themſelves. On the other hand, if the catholics ſhould do any thing to the prejudice of the ſafe conduct, the council ſhould judge them, with the conſent of the deputies: the catholics ſhould not, in their ſermons or conferences, declaim againſt the four articles of the *Bohemians*; and the deputies ſhould be allowed freely to give their proofs from ſcripture and the holy doctors in defence of the ſaid four articles; namely, that the euchariſt ought to be adminiſtered under both kinds; that the goſpel ſhould be preached freely and publicly; that the clergy ſhould be deprived of all civil dominion; and that public and heinous crimes ought to be extirpated from the faithful, by thoſe to whom it belongs (1).

(1) *Theob. Bell. Huſſ. c.* 79. *Conc. Labb. t.* xii. *p.* 482 & 484.

and

and appointed a nuncio to go to the emperor in *Italy*, to deſire him to grant them his imperial protection. As *Eugenius* at this time was dangerouſly ill, the council decreed, that, if the ſee ſhould happen to become vacant, the future pope ſhould be elected no where elſe but at *Baſil*, and that the pope, during the continuance of the council, ſhould create no new cardinals; they then ordered a bull or ſeal to be made for the letters and acts of the ſynod, and, as they did not approve of the nomination of the cardinal of *Foix* by *Eugenius* to be vicar and governor of *Avignon*, they granted that commiſſion to *Alphonſus*, cardinal of *St. Euſtachius*. In the 5th ſeſſion, which was held on the 9th of *Auguſt*, the judges were appointed for the cauſes relating to the faith, and a decree was made, prohibiting the members to be called from the council to the *Roman* court. A few days after, four nuncios arriving from the pope, they were admitted to a public audience; and after enlarging upon the advantages of peace and union, and the authority of a pope above a council, they then declared, that, as *Eugenius* could not, on account of his bad health and other reaſons, quit *Italy*, he offered the council the choice of any city in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate for holding their ſeſſions, and, upon their fixing the place, he would not prorogue their meeting, but would immediately go thither himſelf. The council refuſed to comply with the pope's requeſt, and affirmed that their authority was ſupreme, and that thoſe, who endeavoured to diſſolve them, ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and created a ſchiſm in the church. In the next ſeſſion, which was held on the 6th of *September*, and at which were preſent, beſides the legate, two cardinals and thirty-two mitred prelates, the proctors of the council ſtood up, and accuſed the pope of contumacy, becauſe he had not revoked the bull for diſſolving the council, nor had appeared perſonally, or by others, within the time appointed at the third ſeſſion. The council, however, at that time deferred any further proceedings againſt the pope and the cardinals, as the nuncios of *Eugenius* declared that they could produce reaſons juſtifying their abſence.

due to the Bohemians.

THE ſeventh ſeſſion was held on the 6th of *November*, in which was renewed the decree of the fourth ſeſſion, prohibiting the election of a pope to be made but at the place of the council's reſidence. In the eighth ſeſſion, which was held on the 18th of *December*, ſixty days more were granted to *Eugenius*; within which time, if he did not revoke his bull for diſſolving the council of *Baſil* and convoking another, the fathers would proceed againſt him without any farther warning or citation. They then declared all his promotions and

Several decrees againſt the authority of the pope.

ordinations

ordinations of churches to be null; ordered the patriarchs and biſhops to come to the council under the penalties of the canons, and the cardinals under the pain of loſing their benefices; and decreed, that, during the continuance of the council of *Baſil*, no other council could be convoked, and that the pope could not deprive thoſe of their benefices who adhered to, or were preſent at, the council of *Baſil*, nor lay new taxes on the territories of the *Roman* church or others, under any pretence, nor alienate or mortgage them; and any ſuch acts were declared null. It is probable the council was encouraged to theſe proceedings by the countenance of the emperor; who, on the 22d of *November*, publiſhed a bull, declaring, that, as he had from the beginning favoured the council of *Baſil*, ſo he would ſtill protect it to the utmoſt of his power. This bull was dated from *Siena*, where *Sigiſmund* had reſided ſeveral months, having been occupied the whole ſummer in ſmall ſkirmiſhes with the forces of the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, the pope himſelf favouring them, being apprehenſive leſt the emperor, after his coronation, ſhould exert himſelf ſtill farther in defence of the council of *Baſil*[f].

The deputies of the Huſſites *arrive at* Baſil. A.D. 1433.

WHILE the emperor was ſoliciting the pope by letters and meſſengers to agree to his coronation, the deputies of the *Huſſites* ſet out from *Bohemia* for *Baſil*, where they arrived on the 4th of *January* with great pomp, being attended by 300 armed gentlemen, and the people running out without the city, and crouding the walls and the ſtreets through which they were to paſs, and looking with aſtoniſhment at their fierce and martial appearance[g]. They were received with great hoſpitality: a few days after, being introduced to the council, cardinal *Julian* made a long diſcourſe to them, recommending peace and union; and as the catholic church, which could be no-where better repreſented than in a general council, could not err in the faith, he exhorted the *Bohemians*, as ſons of the church, to hearken to her voice, by ſubmitting to the decrees of the council of *Baſil*. *Rockyſanus*, one of their deputies, anſwered in a few words, and, after expreſſing his gratitude to God for his favours, and to the legate and council for their hoſpitality and kindneſs, he aſked a day when they might be heard upon their four articles. The council aſſigned the 16th of the month, when *Rockyſanus* began his diſcourſe on the firſt article, which he continued for three forenoons ſucceſſively; *Nicolas*, the

[f] BLOND. Dec. iii. l. 9. RAINALD, ad an. 1432, n. 20.
[g] ÆNE. Hiſt. Boem. c. 49.

Taborite,

Taborite, diſcourſed upon the ſecond article for two days; and *Udalricus*, a prieſt of the *Orphans*, upon the third article for other two days. Laſtly, *Peter Payne*, an *Engliſhman*, illuſtrated the fourth article in three forenoons. The catholics then proceeded to their defence, and *John de Raguſa*, general proctor of the *Dominicans*, ſpent eight days in anſwering to the firſt article; *Ægidius Carlerius*, dean of *Cambray*, diſcourſed four forenoons on the ſecond article; and *Heny Kalteiſen*, a *Dominican*, employed three days in diſcuſſing the third article. Laſtly, *John Palomar*, archdean of *Barcelona*, diſcourſed three days on the laſt article. The *Huſſites* not being convicted by theſe anſwers of the catholics, *Rockyſanus* impugned the diſcourſe of the *Raguſan* for ſix days; and, one diſpute begetting another, they debated fifty days without any appearance of an accommodation [h]. At length the duke of *Bavaria*, the protector of the council, propoſed to terminate their differences by a friendly conference; but this method alſo failing of ſucceſs, the *Bohemians* urging to return, both parties agreed, that the council ſhould ſend deputies to treat with the *Huſſites* in a diet to be held on the 7th of *June*. Accordingly the fathers named ten of their moſt learned brethren, who, on the 14th of *April*, ſet out for *Prague* with the *Bohemian* deputies [i].

BESIDES theſe proceedings with the *Huſſites*, the council, in the ninth ſeſſion, which was held on the 22d of *January*, had ſolemnly taken the emperor under their protection; declaring all the cenſures publiſhed againſt him by the pope to be null and void, and ordering all his ſubjects to obey him as formerly. In the following ſeſſion, which was held on the 19th of *February*, the proctors of the council again accuſed the pope of contumacy, and ſome prelates were appointed to draw up the proceſs againſt him. Tho' no perſons appeared at this ſeſſion for the pope, yet a few days after three legates arrived at *Baſil* from him, with propoſals to transfer the council either to *Bolonga* or to ſome other city of *Germany*, which the council would not agree to. He himſelf in the mean time, after the departure of theſe legates for *Baſil*, had thought proper to confirm the council by a bull, which he publiſhed two days before the ſixty days were elapſed. Notwithſtanding this condeſcenſion, in the next ſeſſion, which was held on the 27th of *April*, the council publiſhed ſeveral decrees to the prejudice of the papal authority. They confirmed the decrees of the council of *Conſtance* for holding of ſynods, and determined that the pope was bound to come

The pope is accuſed of contumacy.

[h] COCHL. Hiſt. Huſſit. [i] ÆNEA. Hiſt. Boem. c. 50.

to

to the council in perſon, or by his legates, as well as all others who had that privilege, under pain of being, *ipſo facto*, ſuſpended from the pontificate, and other benefices and dignities, unleſs they repented within four months; that a council could not be transferred or diſſolved by a pope, without the conſent of two-thirds of the members; and that, for the future, the popes ſhould be obliged to ſwear to obſerve theſe decrees. A few weeks after, the ſynod received a letter from the emperor, dated at *Viterbo*, informing them that the pope had appointed legates to preſide at the council in his name; but as ſome interruption had prevented their journey, he had ſent others in their room, whom *Sigiſmund* entreated the council to receive with reſpect. Notwithſtanding this letter, the fathers at *Baſil* rejected the pope's bull confirming the council to be captious and deceitful, and would not admit the deputies appointed by him to preſide; alleging, that, by their commiſſion, they came rather to hold a new council than to confirm that which was already held.

The emperor is crowned at Rome.

MEAN while in *Italy* a peace was concluded betwixt the duke of *Milan*, and the *Florentines*, *Venetians*, *Lucceſe*, and other allies on both ſides; and *Sigiſmund* having ſworn to two cardinals at *Viterbo* to defend the catholic faith and the holy ſee, not to make any treaty with heretics, ſchiſmatics, *Turks*, and pagans, and to renew the privileges and donations granted by his predeceſſors to the *Roman* church, the pope at length conſented to his coronation. He was accordingly received at *Rome* with great pomp, and crowned on *Whitſuntide* with the uſual ceremonies. Having continued ſome time in that city, and created ſeveral knights, he returned through the territories of the *Venetians*, to whom he was now reconciled; and, croſſing the *Alps*, arrived at *Baſil* on the 11th of *October*.

The deputies of the council arrive at Prague.

DURING theſe proceedings in *Italy*, the deputies of the council arrived at *Prague*, and, in a numerous aſſembly of the *Bohemian* nobles, clergy, and commoners, which was held on the 7th of *June*, propoſed an union with the clergy, previous to the diſcuſſion of the four articles. But the *Bohemians* abſolutely refuſing to agree to this propoſal, the deputies then required that they would draw up the articles in what manner they thought proper to be ſent to the council. This requeſt was complied with, and, on the 11th of *Auguſt*, the *Bohemians* delivered their four articles to the deputies, together with the conditions of the union; namely, that they would obey their legal governors in every thing as far as they were bound by the law of God; but if a council, a pope, or the prelates, ſhould command what was pro-

prohibited by God, or omit what was written in the canon of the Bible, they would not obey; and that, after the concluſion of the union, the council ſhould prohibit all princes and prelates to ſcandalize the *Bohemians* as heretics, or to commit hoſtilities againſt them. The deputies having departed from the council, the *Bohemian* nobles, during their abſence, rejected the arbitrary authority of *Procopius*, and, by the advice of *Mainard* of *Newhouſe*, choſe one of the nobility as their annual governor, and appointed ſeveral others as his councellors, to whom they truſted the adminiſtration of the government. The *Taborites* and *Orphans* in the mean time ſtill acknowleging *Procopius*, under his command beſieged *Pilſen*, while ſome of them ravaged *Hungary*, and others aſſiſted the *Poles* in their war againſt the *Teutonic* knights. Soon after the deputies returned to *Bohemia* with the remarks of the council upon the four articles. In the laſt, inſtead of the words, *by thoſe to whom it belongs*, they had ſubſtituted, *according to the law of God and the inſtitutions of the holy fathers*; and to that about preaching the goſpel they had added, *by proper perſons ſent and approved by their ſuperiors, freely but not irregularly, and ſaving the authority of the pope*. As to what regarded the dominion and ſecular poſſeſſions of the clergy, the council had altered that article, and declared, *that eccleſiaſtics, who are adminiſtrators of the poſſeſſions of the church, ought to adminiſter faithfully, but theſe poſſeſſions cannot be uſurped without ſacrilege*. As the *Bohemians* were leſs anxious about theſe articles, they inſiſted upon having the explication of the council upon the article concerning the euchariſt before they would give their anſwer. The deputies then declared, that the council gave permiſſion to the *Bohemians*, namely to thoſe who had arrived at the years of diſcretion, to communicate under both kinds, on condition that their prieſts ſhould always declare to the communicants, *that they ought firmly to believe, that the fleſh of Chriſt is not under the bread alone, nor his blood under the wine alone, but that he is wholly under each kind ſeparately*. After much diſpute on both ſides, theſe alterations in the articles were at length agreed to by the *Bohemian* nobles, who ſent three deputies to *Baſil* to inform the council of their ſubmiſſion. The fathers received this news with great joy, and drew up the treaty of peace under the title of *Compactata*; which was agreed to by the nobles, and ſome years afterwards received by all the *Huſſites*.

The council make alterations in the articles of the Bohemians;

who at length ſubmit to the church.

THE council of *Baſil*, during theſe tranſactions with the *Huſſites*, were not unmindful to ſupport their authority in oppoſition to the pope, and being informed that he had publiſhed

liſhed a bull, declaring all their proceedings null and void, excepting in thoſe things which he had allowed them to treat of in the twelfth ſeſſion, which was held on the 13th of *July*, they intended to proceed to his depoſition: but, in regard to the emperor's requeſts, they granted him ſixty days more, within which time if he did not revoke his proceedings againſt the council, they declared him, *ipſo facto*, ſuſpended from all adminiſtration of the pontificate in ſpirituals and temporals. A decree was likewiſe made for the legal election and confirmation of biſhops and prelates, without any reſervations, and according to the eccleſiaſtical canons, concerning age, learning, and manners, thereby putting a ſtop to annates. In the next ſeſſion, which was held on the 11th of *September*, the proctors of the council again accuſed the pope of contumacy; but the fathers, at the interceſſion of the duke of *Bavaria*, granted him thirty days more. At this ſeſſion two nuncios appeared from the pope, who brought with them two bulls from his holineſs. By the one, *Eugenius* confirmed the council from its firſt opening for the extirpation of hereſies, wars, and bad morals, as though no tranſlation or diſſolution of it had ever been ordained, on condition that the legates, whom he had appointed, ſhould preſide at the ſeſſions; and all decrees made by the council, againſt the authority of the pope, cardinals, or others adhering to him, ſhould be reverſed. The ſecond bull gave authority to three prelates to demand the ſaid revocation of the proceedings of the council, and to revoke and declare null all that had been done againſt the council by the pope.

The pope annuls the proceedings of the council.

As the fathers at *Baſil* ſtill inſiſted, that nothing that they had done could or ought to be revoked, *Eugenius* annulled their decree, made in the twelfth ſeſſion, againſt the pope and the cardinals; and ſoon after a long letter was publiſhed, addreſſed to all the faithful, in defence of the pope, aſſerting that the fathers at *Baſil* were greatly deceived, when they imagined that a general council was ſuperior in every thing to a pope; and concluding with an exhortation to the princes and faithful, to adviſe the council at *Baſil* to admit his legates, and, in caſe they ſhould refuſe to comply, to oppoſe them to the utmoſt of their power. The pope afterwards diſowned this letter; but the fathers judging it, as well as others, to be genuine, on the 11th of *October* aſſembled in the church to proceed finally againſt the pope, when news being brought of the arrival of the emperor, they deferred the affair for ſome days, and went out to meet him. In the fourteenth ſeſſion, which was held on the 7th of *November*,

vember, and at which the emperor was preſent, the term for proceeding againſt *Eugenius* was again prorogued ninety days, on condition, nevertheleſs, that within that time he ſhould adhere to the council, and revoke all that he had decreed againſt it, eſpecially the laſt three letters, and likewiſe confirm all its proceedings. On the 26th of the ſame month was held the fifteenth ſeſſion, in which ſeveral decrees were made, appointing provincial ſynods to be celebrated every three years, and dioceſan aſſemblies twice or thrice, or at leaſt once, in a year. The manner of celebrating thoſe ſynods was likewiſe determined, and matters about which they were to deliberate was ſpecified, particularly the cenſure of manners both in eccleſiaſtics and regulars. At this or the preceding ſeſſion, muſt have happened what we find related by *Krantz*, namely, that the king of the *Turks*, having not only concluded a truce but agreed to a perpetual peace with the emperor, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the council to have the treaty confirmed. The ambaſſadors brought very rich preſents for the emperor, who, after the buſineſs for which they had come was concluded, diſmiſſed them with magnificent gifts for their maſter [k].

The emperor receives an embaſſy from the Turks *at* Baſil.

MEAN while the duke of *Milan*, imagining that the pope had favoured the *Florentines*, and his own countrymen the *Venetians*, in the late war, and finding that his authority was greatly leſſened by the oppoſition of the council, he ſent all the biſhops in his dominions to *Baſil*. Under pretence of marching an army into *Apulia*, he ſeized the *Picene* territory, and ſeveral other places of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, pretending that he had received a letter from the council, conſtituting him their vicar in *Italy*. He likewiſe ſent another army, under the command of *Fortebrace*, who took poſſeſſion of *Tivoli*, and made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of *Campania*. Very few cities of the patrimony continuing faithful to the church, and the *Romans* ſeeming to threaten a revolt [l], *Eugenius* in this extremity at laſt conſented to adhere to the council, and about the middle of *December* publiſhed a bull, according to the form preſcribed in the fourteenth ſeſſion, revoking all his procedings againſt the council, and declaring it lawfully aſſembled. This bull being read in the ſixteenth ſeſſion, which was held on the 5th of *February*, the fathers declared that the pope had thereby ſatisfied the citation and requeſt of the council; and on the 24th of

The duke of Milan *ſeizes the church patrimony.*

The pope adheres to the council.

[k] Saxon. KRANTZ, l. ii. c. 22. an. 1433. [l] RAIN. Annal. Eccleſ. t. xviii. an eod. BLOND. Dec. 3. l. 5. PLATINA in vit. Eugen. POGG. Hiſt. Flor. ap. Murator. t. xx. p. 384. LEON ARET. Comment. ut ſupra.

April,

A. D. 1434. *April*, the legates of the pope incorporated with the other members of the council, but not in their public character: they were likewise obliged to swear to act faithfully, for the honour of the council, and to defend its decrees, particularly that of the synod of *Constance*, about the superiority of a council over a pope, and not to depart from *Basil* without leave. Accordingly in the next session, which was held on the 22d of the same month, the legates, together with cardinal *Julian*, were allowed to preside, but without any coactive jurisdiction, and saving the manner of proceeding hitherto observed in the council, and that all acts should be passed under the council's seal. The eighteenth session was held on the 24th of *June*; and the emperor being absent, the fathers renewed the decree of the council of *Constance*, concerning the authority of a general council over a pope; and, at the same time, received a treatise composed by the patriarch of *Antioch* in support of that doctrine.

Is obliged to fly from Rome *in disguise.*

MEAN while the pope was harrassed by various misfortunes, which are minutely related by his secretary the historian *Blondus* [m]. *Fortebrace* having, by the assistance of the *Colonnæ*, taken possession of *Ponte Molo* and the *Flaminian* gate [n], the *Romans* were prevailed upon to revolt, and had resolved to seize the pope. *Eugenius*, being informed of their design, disguised himself in the habit of a benedictine, and embarking on board a small vessel sailed down to *Ostia*, but not without great danger from the *Romans*, who pursued him, and shot several arrows into his vessel. At *Ostia* he went on board a galley, and sailed from thence to *Pisa*, and afterwards to *Florence*; from whence, on the 20th of *June*, he wrote to the council, informing them of what he had suffered, and confirming his former purpose of countenancing their proceedings. The *Romans* in the mean time plundered all his effects, imprisoned his nephew cardinal *Condelmero*, and endeavoured to get possession of the castle of *St. Angelo*, but without effect. The council having received the pope's letter, soon after sent two cardinals, as their legates, into *Italy*, to accommodate all differences betwixt *Eugenius* and the duke of *Milan*, and to prevail with the revolted cities to renew their allegiance [o]. About the same time three deputies having arrived at the council, from the emperor and patriarch of *Constantinople*, to treat of an union with the *Latin* church, after several private conferences betwixt them and the legates, and other members of the coun-

Deputies arrive at Basil *from the* Greek *emperor.*

[m] BLOND. Dec. iii. l. 5 & 6. [n] RAIN. Annal. Eccles. *ut supra.* [o] SIGON. vit. Nicol. Alberg. c. 14.

cil,

cil, it was agreed, that an œcumenical council ſhould be held in the eaſt, namely, in *Calabria*, *Ancona*, or any other maritime city, at *Bologna*, or *Milan*, or *Buda*, *Vienna*, or, laſtly, in *Savoy*; and if the *Greek* emperor could not be prevailed upon to come to *Baſil*, then the fathers of the council ſhould go to any city the *Greeks* ſhould chuſe, within a month after the arrival of the eaſtern prelates: that thoſe of *Baſil* ſhould ſend 8000 ducats for defraying the expences of aſſembling the eaſtern prelates at *Conſtantinople*; that the weſtern church ſhould ſupport thoſe of the eaſt at the council, to the number of 700 perſons, and bear the expence of their voyage both in coming and returning. Theſe, and ſome other leſs material articles, being agreed to, were approved and confirmed by the council in the nineteenth ſeſſion, which was held on the 7th of *September*, and afterwards ratified by the pope. In the ſame ſeſſion a decree was publiſhed, whereby the *Jews* were compelled to hear ſermons, and ſeveral former decrees were renewed, prohibiting all communication with them in faith, manners, converſation, commerce, dreſs, or lodging. A decree of the council of *Vienne*, about the ſtudy of the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Greek*, and *Chaldaic* languages, was ordered to be obſerved.

The Huſſites, who had agreed to the compactata, defeat the Taborites.

DURING theſe proceedings, the ſynod having been informed that the *Orphans* and *Taborites*, who had refuſed to agree to the compactata, had been attacked and entirely defeated by the other party, under the command of *Mainard*, together with the catholics, they ſent twelve deputies to *Ratiſbon*, who had ſeveral diſputes with thoſe of *Bohemia* of the party of the *Taborites*, who inſiſted that, for the ſake of uniformity, the catholics ſhould be compelled to communicate under both kinds; but their demand was rejected by the emperor, and the other deputies.[P]. *Sigiſmund* at the ſame time complained to the deputies of the council againſt ſome proceedings of the fathers, that were derogatory to his authority; namely, that, while he was in *Italy*, they had written to the duke of *Milan* to reſtore the patrimony of the church, and not to the emperor, although it was the emperors who had granted that donation to the popes; that, while he was at *Baſil*, the council had ſent a cardinal to *France*, and others to the pope, without acquainting him; and that they had aſſumed the cognizance of cauſes that did not belong to their juriſdiction, particularly the diſpute between the two pretenders to the duchy of *Saxony*. As he could not allow of theſe proceedings, he declared he had therefore left *Baſil*, but

[P] WINDEC. c. 102. ÆNE. Hiſt. Boem. c. 51.

A. D. 1435. if the council would diligently attend to the reformation of manners, he would come moſt willingly, even from paradiſe, to aſſiſt at their deliberations [q].

Several decrees againſt the concubinage of the clergy.

WHAT ſatisfaction the emperor received from the council is uncertain; but the following year we find he deſired the fathers again to appoint deputies to treat with the *Bohemians*. His requeſt was complied with; and on the 23d of *January* the deputies departed from *Baſil* for *Beronne* in *Bohemia*, the place fix'd for the congreſs. The day before they departed the twentieth ſeſſion was held, in which ſeveral decrees were made againſt the concubinage of the clergy. Thoſe who were publickly convicted of keeping concubines, or refuſed to diſmiſs thoſe women with whom they were ſuſpected to have an unlawful commerce, were deprived of their revenues for three months; and if, after that, they neglected to turn off their concubines within a limited time, they were, *ipſo facto*, deprived of their benefices, and rendered incapable of ſucceeding to others. Mean while *Eugenius*, being informed of the death of the queen of *Naples*, he ſent a nuncio immediately into that kingdom, requiring the nobles and people not to give their allegiance to any prince, but to him who ſhould be confirmed by the apoſtolic ſee. This meſſage was not agreeable to the *Neapolitans*, who declared that they would accept of no king but *René*, duke of *Anjou*, who, upon the death of his brother *Lewis*, had been adopted by the late queen, and was at this time a priſoner to the duke of *Burgundy*. Before his arrival, *Capua*, and ſome other places in that kingdom, were ſeized by *Alphonſus*, king of *Arragon* and *Sicily*, who on this occaſion renewed his pretenſions to the crown of *Naples*. Hoſtilities in the mean time ſtill continuing betwixt the troops of the duke of *Milan* and thoſe of the pope, and the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, *Picininus*, the duke's general, had formed a plot with the biſhop of *Novara* to ſeize *Eugenius*, when he ſhould go to the country for the ſummer [r]; but their deſign being diſcovered, the biſhop was apprehended and ſent back to *Milan*, his life having been ſpared at the interceſſion of the cardinal *Albergatus*, who ſoon after paſſed the *Alps*, to be preſent at the famous congreſs held at *Arras*, for negotiating a peace between the kings of *France* and *England* and the duke of *Burgundy*. The general council likewiſe ſent ſome cardinals and prelates to be preſent at this congreſs; and on the 21ſt of *May* gave a mandate to the cardinal of *Arles*, who was commiſſioned by the pope to go to

[q] SPOND. Annal. ex act. Binian. l. 6.

[r] BLOND. Dec. iii.

Arras,

Arras, ordering him to cauſe the libraries and archives of the univerſities, churches, and monaſteries, to be ſearched for books relating to the conception of the bleſſed virgin, and to ſend ſuch as he could find to the council.

THE twenty-firſt ſeſſion was held a few weeks after, on the 9th of *June*, in which a decree was made, prohibiting for the future the payment of any money, under any pretence or name whatever, for the confirmation of elections, admiſſions, *&c.* or for the proviſion, collation, or inveſtiture, of any churches, monaſteries, dignities, benefices, or eccleſiaſtical offices, or for a benediction, pall, or ordination, allowing only a competent ſalary to the writers, abbreviators, and regiſters of the letters, for their trouble: whoever acted otherwiſe were declared to incur the penalty of ſimony, and ordered to be puniſhed by their ſuperiors; and, if the decree was violated by any pope, a complaint was ordered to be made to a general council. Decrees were likewiſe made in the ſame ſeſſion, about the modeſty and gravity to be obſerved in celebrating the divine ſervice, about the decency of apparel, and the puniſhment of thoſe who were negligent or abſent on that occaſion. Beſides the above-mentioned decree, aboliſhing annates or firſt fruits, others were made in the general congregations, ordering the collectors of the revenues of the apoſtolic chamber to come to the council, to give an account of their receipts and diſburſements, and annuling all appeals of cauſes that had been decided by the council. Theſe decrees were not paſſed without long and warm diſputes, the legates of the pope proteſting againſt the injuſtice of the proceedings of the fathers, in not previouſly acquainting the pope: but their oppoſition was without effect; for the council having publiſhed the decrees, ſent two legates to *Florence* to obtain the concurrence of *Eugenius*. *John de Bachenſtein*, one of the legates, declared, that if the pope would acquieſce in the demands of the council, they would provide for his holineſs and the cardinals, by ſome more honourable means; but if he would not concur, they would, nevertheleſs, cauſe their decrees to be inviolably obſerved. *Eugenius* ſent his anſwer to the council by two nuncios, who diſcourſed warmly in favour of the apoſtolic ſee, and remonſtrated againſt the injury done to it by aboliſhing annates; but they were anſwered by cardinal *Julian*, in the name of the council, who refuſed abſolutely to revoke the decrees, which were the occaſion of a new breach betwixt the fathers and the pope. About this time the council ſent nuncios to *Conſtantinople*, to intreat the emperor to agree to the articles that had been concluded with his deputies, and

Annates are aboliſhed by the council.

Their decree is oppoſed by the pope.

to prevail with him, if poſſible, to conſent to celebrate the œcumenical council at *Baſil*. During their abſence the twenty-ſecond ſeſſion was held, on the 15th of *October*, in which the council condemned a treatiſe of an *Auguſtine* monk, concerning Chriſt and the church, as containing many erroneous and ſcandalous propoſitions (D); but they did not proceed againſt the author, though he did not appear, as he alleged canonical excuſes for his abſence. The council having, about this time, taken cognizance of a diſpute betwixt the republic of *Venice* and the patriarch of *Aquileia*, ordered the republic to reſtore all the poſſeſſions which it had uſurped from the patriarchate, under pain of an interdict againſt the ſtate, and a ſentence of excommunication againſt the doge, ſenate, and nobles; but, notwithſtanding this ſentence, the republic neglected to make any reſtitution.

The Venetians *contemn their authority;*

which is courted by the king of Arragon.

WHILE the authority of the council was contemned by the *Venetians*, it was on the other hand courted by *Alphonſus*, king of *Arragon*, who not being able to prevail with the pope to favour his pretenſions to the kingdom of *Naples*, in reſentment reſolved wholly to addict himſelf to the council: he therefore wrote to the fathers, deſiring them to ſend one to take the government of *Rome*, and of the patrimony of the church, as he was reſolved to reconquer and reſtore both. At the ſame time he charged *Eugenius* to adhere to the council, and not to oppoſe him in taking poſſeſſion of *Naples*, otherwiſe he muſt blame himſelf for the conſequences. Whether the council was influenced by theſe declarations of *Alphonſus* is uncertain; but in the twenty-third ſeſſion, which was held on the 24th of *March*, they altered the bulls then in force, with regard to the manner of election of a pope and conclave, preſcribing a form of an oath to be taken by the pope at his election, to be renewed every year on the ſame day, or the day of his coronation. By this oath the pope obliged himſelf to obſerve the decrees of all general councils, particularly that of *Baſil*, and to endeavour to the utmoſt of his power to extirpate the hereſies, reform the manners, and

A. D. 1436.

New reſtrictions laid upon the pope

(D) Theſe were ſome of his propoſitions, namely, that Chriſt ſinned daily, and always had ſinned, not aſſerting this of our Saviour in his perſon, but in his members, which, being united to the head, he affirmed made one Chriſt; that all thoſe who were juſtified were not members of Chriſt, but only elect; that the human nature in our Saviour was real Chriſt, and the perſon of the word (1).

(1) *Trithem. & Bellarm. de Script. Eccleſ.*

pro-

procure peace to Chriſtendom, and the frequent celebration of general councils. Several other articles were added, preſcribing the manner of reforming the pope's family, and the *Roman* court; and concerning the adminiſtration of the patrimony of the church, particularly that the pope ſhould not appoint his own relations or kindred within the third degree, as dukes, counts, governors, generals, *&c.* of provinces and cities of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; that the half of the revenues of all the poſſeſſions of the church ſhould belong to the cardinals, by whoſe advice all ſerious and important matters ſhould be tranſacted, and whoſe number ſhould not exceed twenty-four, to be elected from all the provinces of Chriſtendom by the other cardinals, after a ſtrict examination of their morals and learning; and that they ſhould not be relations either of the pope, or of thoſe cardinals already in the college: laſtly, the decrees concerning the liberty of elections, and the total annulling of papal reſervations, were confirmed. In the next ſeſſion, which was held on the 12th of *April*, one of the nuncios having returned from *Conſtantinople*, and informed the council that the emperor had at length agreed to hold the œcumenical council in ſome maritime city of *Italy*, the fathers publiſhed a ſafe conduct for all the *Greeks* who ſhould come to that aſſembly; and at the ſame time granted plenary indulgences, with full remiſſion of all ſins once in life, and at the point of death, to all thoſe who ſhould grant one week's expences of their family towards the holy purpoſe of the union of the *Greeks*. But that the indulgences might not ſeem to be given away entirely for money, ſome pious works were alſo enjoined; nevertheleſs the legates of the pope exclaimed againſt the decree as a baſe and venal proſtitution (E). A few weeks afterwards *Eugenius* ſent two cardinals, as his legates, to *Baſil*, to make freſh remonſtrances againſt the decrees concerning elections, confirmations, annates, and indulgences, and to deſire the fathers to appoint the place for celebrating the council with the *Greeks*, offering, if they would agree with him as to the nomination of the place, and transfer themſelves thither directly, to give 60,000 crowns towards the expences of the eaſtern prelates; which ſum he affirmed was more than the indulgences would raiſe. This offer however was rejected by the council, who perſiſted in their own juſtification, and

and cardinals by the council.

Indulgences granted by the council, to defray the expences of the Greeks.

(E) According to one of the editions of the acts of the council, there were preſent at this ſeſſion only ten biſhops and thirty abbots (1).

(1) *Act Patrician.*

anſwered, that it was not yet proper to determine the place for the œcumenical council.

An entire reconciliation is effected betwixt the Huſſites *and the emperor,*

DURING theſe diſputes with the fathers at *Baſil*, *Eugenius* had again got poſſeſſion of *Bologna*, and by the prudence of the archbiſhop of *Florence*, who commanded his troops, had recovered ſeveral places that had been ſeized by the king of *Arragon*. About this time likewiſe the deputies of the council, who had been ſent the former year into *Bohemia*, and had broke off the conferences upon a diſpute about ſettling the article concerning the uſurped church-lands, now aſſembled, with thoſe of *Bohemia*, at *Iglavia*, where a complete reconciliation was effected betwixt the *Huſſites* and the church. Tho' one of the deputies had brought with him from the council a mitigation of the article rejected the year before by the *Bohemians*, yet, from *Æneas Sylvius*, one of the members of the council, it would appear, that the reconciliation was chiefly owing to a private treaty between the *Huſſites* and the emperor, which laſt promiſed that the church-lands ſhould be poſſeſſed by the preſent occupiers, till they were redeemed by money; that the exiles, monks, and nuns, ſhould not be permitted to return to *Bohemia*; that the pope ſhould have no authority to diſpoſe of the churches in that kingdom; and that *Rockyſanus* ſhould have the archbiſhoprick of *Prague* [s]. The *Bohemian* deputies were diſmiſſed with magnificent preſents, and the emperor ſoon after proceeding to *Prague*, was crowned in that city with great ſolemnity; but he quickly violated the private treaty, by recalling and protecting the monks, expelling *Rockyſanus* from *Prague*, and acting by force againſt the remains of the *Taborites*, to whom he had granted a five-years protection [t].

who is crowned at Prague.

A. D. 1437. WHILE *Sigiſmund*, by his perfidy, was rendering himſelf odious to the *Bohemians*, the diſſenſions revived with great warmth betwixt the council and the pope, about determining the place for celebrating the œcumenical council. *Eugenius* wanted to fix upon ſome city in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, or in *Tuſcany*: but in the twenty-fifth ſeſſion, which was held on the 7th of *May*, the majority of the fathers decreed, that the council ſhould be celebrated, if poſſible, at *Baſil*, or at *Avignon*, or, laſtly, in *Savoy*; and for the ſupport of the *Greeks*, all eccleſiaſtics, even the pope and cardinals, ſhould give a tenth of their revenues: and as the city of *Avignon* offered to lend 70,000 florins of gold, they mortgaged ſo much of the money, to be raiſed by the indulgences

[s] ÆNE. SYLV. Hiſt. Boem. c. 52. [t] Idem ibid. SPOND. Annal. hoc an.

for their payment. Theſe decrees were publiſhed by a factious party of the council, who had ſeceded from the preſidents, and celebrated the ſeſſion by themſelves. They were by far the moſt numerous, but among them there were very few prelates of any rank. As they had refuſed to be preſent at the deputations and general congregations, the other party, who adhered to the preſidents and legates, fixed upon *Florence*, or *Utinum*, in *Friuli*, for the reſidence of the council, or any other ſafe place mentioned in convention betwixt the pope and the *Greeks*, which could ſooneſt furniſh the money, and fit out the gallies, for tranſporting the eaſtern prelates. Both parties perſiſting obſtinately in their opinions in the above ſeſſion, they ſat apart, and each ratified their own previous reſolutions; but the decree of the minority was confirmed by *Eugenius*, who appointed a nuncio to to go, with two others of that party of the council, to *Conſtantinople*.

The council at Baſil divided into factions, who publiſh ſeparate decrees.

About a month after their arrival, the nuncios, of the factious part of the council, landed from two gallies of *Avignon*, and intreated the emperor to come to that city, or *Baſil*, or *Savoy*, declaring, that, before he could arrive at *Italy* in the ſhips of *Eugenius*, that pope would be depoſed; but if he would agree to ſail with them to any of the three places above-mentioned, the princes, whoſe letters they brought, would furniſh ſuccours againſt the *Turks*. The *Greek* emperor however, notwithſtanding theſe declarations, adhered to the other party, and in the end of *November* embarked, with ſeveral prelates, for *Venice*, on board nine gallies furniſhed by the pope. During theſe proceedings at *Conſtantinople*, the factious party of the council having been informed that *Eugenius* had confirmed the decree of the minority, they were greatly irritated againſt him; and in the twenty-ſixth ſeſſion, which was held on the 31ſt of *July*, they publiſhed a monitory, accuſing him of ſeveral crimes, and citing him and his cardinals to appear within the ſixty days. In the following ſeſſion, which was held on the 25th of *September*, they declared the late creation of the archbiſhop of *Florence* to the cardinalate to be void, as being contrary to a decree of the council; they likewiſe annulled the decree appointing *Florence*, or *Utinum*, for the reſidence of the œcumenical council, as being ſealed clandeſtinely, and againſt the appointment of the council; and to procure the favour of the emperor, they wrote to him, informing him of their proceedings againſt *Eugenius*, and deſiring him to protect the council by his authority. *Sigiſmund*, who was then languiſhing in his laſt illneſs, and died a few months afterwards,

Nuncios ſent by each party to Conſtantinople.

in the 70th year of his age, wrote to the fathers to act with more moderation, to ceaſe their proceedings againſt the pope, and to take care leſt, inſtead of uniting the *Greeks*, they ſhould occaſion a ſchiſm among the *Latins*. Notwithſtanding this advice, the ſixty days granted to the pope being elapſed, the council, in the next ſeſſion, which was held on the 1ſt of *October*, declared *Eugenius* guilty of contumacy, the other party proteſting againſt their proceeding, and the deputies of *Spain* declaring their diſſent, in the name of their king and the prelates of their nation.

Eugenius *transfers the council of* Baſil *to* Ferrara;

MEAN while *Eugenius*, being encouraged by the ſucceſs of his nuncios at *Conſtantinople*, on the 16th of *September* publiſhed a bull, wherein, after recapitulating the violent proceedings of the council, he transferred it, by the plenitude of his power, immediately to *Ferrara*, which city he aſſigned for the future œcumenical council. The fathers at *Baſil*, inſtead of giving obedience to this bull, in the twenty-ninth ſeſſion, which was held on the 12th of *October*, publiſhed a decree, wherein, having accuſed the pope of being the author of the diſſenſion, they declared the tranſlation and diſſolution of the ſynod to be null, and charged the pope to revoke his bull, which if he did not do within four months, they declared him, *ipſo facto*, ſuſpended: they likewiſe prohibited, under pain of excommunication and interdict, any one from going or ſending to *Ferrara*, or from acting contrary to the decrees of the council of *Baſil*. A few days after they publiſhed a letter in juſtification of their former monitory againſt the pope; and in the thirtieth ſeſſion, which was held on the 21ſt of *December*, they publiſhed ſome explications of the article concerning the euchariſt, in the treaty formerly concluded with the *Bohemians*; but theſe explications were not different from what had been already agreed to by the *Bohemian* deputies.

A. D. 1438.

THE following year was remarkable, not only for the diſſenſions betwixt the pope and the council of *Baſil*, but alſo on account of the warm diſputes in the council of *Ferrara*. On the 22d of *January* the fathers at *Baſil* celebrated the thirty-firſt ſeſſion, in which they publiſhed three decrees; by the firſt, they annulled all frivolous appeals to the *Roman* courts, and ordained, that thoſe who were above four days journey from *Rome* ſhould terminate all their ſuits at their proper reſidence, and all legal appeals ſhould be carried to *Baſil*, and not to the pope. By the ſecond, they prohibited the pope from granting any reſervations of benefices, and ordained that livings ſhould be given only to prudent and learned men. The third was expreſly againſt *Eugenius*,

genius, whom they ſuſpended from the pontificate, aſſuming the adminiſtration thereof to themſelves, and appointing three perſons out of each of the nations as adminiſtrators of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. At this ſeſſion, and ſome weeks before, there were great conteſts and confuſion among the fathers. Cardinal *Julian*, and the other cardinals, being apprehenſive of a ſchiſm, left *Baſil* about the beginning of *January*. The cardinal of *Arles*, who was the only one that remained, was created preſident by the fathers, who cited the archbiſhop of *Tarantaiſe*, and the two nuncios that had been ſent by the minority to *Conſtantinople*; the firſt for having put to the torture a deputy of the duke of *Savoy*, ſent by the council into *Greece*, and the two laſt for having falſely called themſelves nuncios of the council to the *Greek* emperor.

he is ſuſpended by the council of Baſil.

In the mean time ſeveral prelates having aſſembled at *Ferrara*, in conſequence of the citation of *Eugenius*, cardinal *Albergatus*, who had been appointed legate *à latere* by the pope, preſided at the firſt ſeſſion, which was held on the 10th of *January*, and in which it was decreed, that the council of *Ferrara* was lawfully aſſembled, as that of *Baſil* had been transferred for neceſſary and juſt reaſons; that it ought to endeavour to procure the union of the *Greeks*, and to accompliſh thoſe matters which had been begun, but not finiſhed, by the council of *Baſil*; all the tranſactions of which, after the tranſlation, were declared null, excepting thoſe which regarded the *Bohemians*, if they were confirmed by the council of *Ferrara*; laſtly, all were abſolved from the oaths they had taken to the council of *Baſil* [u]. A few weeks after *Eugenius* came to *Ferrara*, and having in a general congregation complained of the injurious proceedings of the council of *Baſil*, he declared, that if he had done any thing amiſs he ſubmitted himſelf willingly to the correction of the fathers. Two days after he regulated the order of ſitting in the aſſemblies; and preſiding in the ſecond ſeſſion, which was held on the 15th of *February*, he not only declared the ſeditious decrees of the council of *Baſil* to be null, but alſo that thoſe who continued at that aſſembly had incurred the penalties of excommunication, and privation of dignities and benefices, which they were rendered incapable of poſſeſſing for the future. All thoſe who were aſſembled at *Baſil*, under pretence of the council, were ordered to depart, under pain of excommunication, within thirty days, after which time the magiſtrates of the city were ordered to expel them, under the ſame penalty; which was alſo denounced againſt

[u] Spond. Annal. ex Cod. Vatic. & Act. Patrician.

thoſe

thoſe who ſhould carry any merchandize or proviſions into the city, if the above-mentioned perſons ſhould continue contumacious. The *Greek* emperor and patriarch, with the prelates of that church, having about this time arrived at *Venice*, ſent five deputies to the pope to inform him of their arrival; and ſoon after ſailing up the *Po*, they landed at *Ferrara*, where they were received with the greateſt honours by *Eugenius* and the cardinals [w] (F). The pope, at the intreaty of the emperor, ſent nuncios and letters to the kings and princes of chriſtendom, exhorting them to ſend their deputies to the council within four months. In the mean time the fathers at *Baſil*, in their thirty-ſecond ſeſſion, which was held on the 22d of *March*, condemned the conventicle, as they called it, at *Ferrara*, and declared, whatſoever ſhould be done in it by the ſuſpended pope, or in his name, to be null and void, at the ſame time denouncing penalties againſt thoſe who repaired to *Ferrara*.

The Greek emperor, with the eaſtern prelates, arrive at Ferrara.

The œcumenical council is opened in that city.

THEIR decrees, however, were deſpiſed by the other council, who appointed the œcumenical council to be opened at *Ferrara* on the 9th of *April*, on which day, both the *Latins* and *Greeks* having aſſembled in the church of *St. George*, and being ſeated according to the order previouſly agreed upon (G), a decree of the patriarch of *Conſtantinople* was firſt

[w] CHALCOND. l. i. & vi. PHRANZ, l. ii. c. 14. SPOND. Annal. ex act. Concil.

(F) The *Greek* prelates would not condeſcend to kiſs the pope's feet; ſome of them gave him only a common ſalutation, and others kiſſed his hand and cheek (1).

(G) There were great diſputes betwixt the *Greeks* and *Latins* about the order of ſitting. The pope propoſed that the *Latins* ſhould ſit on one ſide of the church, and the *Greeks* on the others, and that he himſelf ſhould be ſeated at the head before the altar, in the middle betwixt both; but this was objected to by the *Greek* emperor, who claimed that place as due to him. At length it was agreed that the pope ſhould ſit at the head of the *Latins* on the right ſide of the church, and the emperor at the head of the *Greeks* on the other, and that the book of the goſpels ſhould be placed, with lighted tapers, betwixt the heads of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, upon a throne erected before the altar.

Beſides the proxies of the eaſtern patriarchs, there were preſent, according to *Krantz*, the metropolitan of *Kiovia* and of all *Pruſſia*, with ſeveral *Muſcovite* and *Ruſſian* prelates, and a retinue of 200 horſe. The metropolitan of the *Georgians* was likewiſe ſaid to be preſent,

(1) *Spond. Annal.*

and

firſt read, by which he declared that he conſented to the celebrating of an œcumenical council at *Ferrara*, to which aſſembly he ordered all who were concerned either to come or ſend, within four months, under pain of excommunication. Another decree of the pope was then read to the ſame purpoſe, and both received the aſſent of the fathers (H). After *Eaſter*, the *Latin* fathers propoſed to employ the time, till the arrival of the deputies of the princes, in examining the controverted doctrines betwixt them and the *Greeks*; to this the eaſtern prelates, after ſome difficulty, aſſented, and twelve perſons were choſen on each ſide, who aſſembled twice a week, and diſputed about purgatory and the bleſſedneſs of ſaints; but, after they had ſpent two months in thoſe diſputes, they left the queſtion undecided.

The emperor Albert *and the* German *princes agree to a neutrality, with regard to the diſputes betwixt the pope and the council of* Baſil.

MEAN while the *German* electors, having aſſembled at *Frankfort*, choſe *Albert*, duke of *Auſtria*, as emperor. After his election, a general diet being held in the ſame city, it was agreed to adhere both to the pope and the council of *Baſil*, but not acknowlege the decrees of either party againſt the other. This determination, which was called the *German* neutrality, offended both *Eugenius* and the fathers of *Baſil*: however, as *Albert* renewed the ſafe conducts, granted by his predeceſſors to the council, they, in return, gave him all the money raiſed in *Auſtria* by the indulgences, for the journey of the *Greeks*. At the ſame time they proceeded with their uſual violence againſt the pope; and having confirmed their former decrees, and thoſe of *Conſtance*, concerning the power of a general council above a pope, and that thoſe who aſſerted otherwiſe were heretics, the proctors of the council then produced 150 articles of accuſation againſt *Eugenius*, which they offered to prove by witneſſes and public documents. Notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the deputies of the kings of *France*, *Spain*, *England*, and other princes, theſe articles of accuſation were received in a general congregation, and ordered to be proved by witneſſes within thirty days, but, before that time was elapſed, twenty-

and deputies from the emperor of *Trebiſond*, and from the *Iberians* and *Walachians* (2).

(H) The *Patrician* acts call this the third ſeſſion, counting the two that preceded the coming of the *Greeks*; but others begin the firſt ſeſſion only at the 8th of *October*, when the diſpute commenced about the proceſſion of the holy ſpirit. The council itſelf is known by the name of the *Florentine*, having been transferred to that city on account of the plague, which raged in *Ferrara*.

(2) *Krantz* 12. *Wendal* 7. *Spond. Annal.*

two

two witneſſes were admitted to prove the articles of accuſation. The king of *France* in the mean time, being uncertain what courſe to take in the diſputes betwixt the pope and the council of *Baſil*, aſſembled the nobles and prelates of his kingdom at *Berry*, and by their advice publiſhed the pragmatic ſanction, by which he acknowleged the legality of the council of *Baſil*, and in ſome meaſure its authority. We ſay, in ſome meaſure, for they did not receive its decrees abſolutely, but with certain modifications, to render them more accommodated to the cuſtoms and uſages of the kingdom; all thoſe however were received ſimply that tended to retrench the authority of the pope. The king, by an edict, ordered this pragmatic ſanction to be obſerved inviolably thro' his dominions; but as the clergy of *France* thereby uſurped an authority, not only above a pope but alſo above a general council, it was ſoon after abrogated both by *Eugenius* and the king [x].

A neutrality alſo obſerved by the Gallican *church.*

DURING theſe tranſactions in *France*, the *German* princes, in a diet held at *Nuremberg*, propoſed to the deputies from the council of *Baſil*, that, to determine all diſputes, a third place ſhould be choſen for holding a general council, at which ſhould aſſemble the prelates from *Baſil* and *Ferrara*, with the pope and the *Greeks*. The deputies of the council declared that they had no authority to agree to that propoſal, but demanded only that the diet would approve of the decrees of the council againſt *Eugenius*. The princes refuſed to grant their requeſt; but declared, that they would ſtill adhere to the neutrality concluded at *Frankfort*. The deputies of the kings of *France*, *England*, *Arragon*, and *Portugal*, and of the duke of *Milan*, were of the ſame opinion [y]; and the deputies of the council ſtill refuſing all the terms of accommodation that were offered, another diet was appointed to be held on the 1ſt of *March* at *Frankfort*, which aſſembly, on account of the plague, was afterwards held at *Mentz* [z].

Diſputes between the Greek *and* Latin *fathers.*

MEAN while the *Greeks*, finding that none of the prelates came from *Baſil*, and that few or none arrived from any other place, made ſome objections to the council of *Ferrara*; but theſe ſcruples being removed by *Eugenius*, who aſſerted that, where he was with the cardinals, and the emperor and patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, with the legates of others, there was an univerſal ſynod, they agreed to celebrate the ſeſſions, and to diſpute, in the firſt place, upon two points, namely,

[x] GAGUINI Hiſt. Franc. l. x. 48. DUPIN, tit. xii. p. 54. de geſt. Conc. Baſil.

[y] DUMONT, t. iii. p.

[z] ÆNE. SYLV. Comment.

whether

whether it was lawful to add any thing to the creed, and whether the addition, *and from the ſon*, was juſt. As the pope was diſtreſſed with the gout, the firſt ſeſſion was held on the 8th of *October*, in a large chapel of his palace, and ſix diſputants being appointed by each party, *Beſſarion* of *Nicea*, one of thoſe on the ſide of the *Greeks*, made a long and eloquent harangue, which is ſtill extant, wherein, after invoking the protection of God, he commended the emperor, the pope, and the fathers, for their pious intentions, and exhorted them to conſtancy and perſeverance, till the union was accompliſhed. Nothing elſe was done in this ſeſſion; and in the ſecond, which was held three days after, the archbiſhop of *Rhodes*, for the *Latins*, made another ſpeech in praiſe of the pope, the emperor, and the whole council: after which it was ordained, that the diſputes ſhould be carried on by ſyllogiſms, and the option being given to the *Greeks* either to impugn or defend, they choſe the firſt, and left the *Latins* to anſwer their objections. The five following ſeſſions, which were all held in the ſame month, and ſeveral other private congregations, were ſpent in debating upon the expreſſion *and from the ſon*. The *Greeks* oppoſed that addition, as contrary to the decrees of the firſt general councils, which prohibited any addition to the creed; but the *Latins* aſſerted, that it was not ſo much an addition as an explanation of the words *from the father*, and urged that the *Nicene* fathers had taken the liberty to add explications to the apoſtles creed, and other councils had done the ſame to the *Nicene* (I). The ſame diſpute was continued in the five following ſeſſions, which were held in the month of *November*, and in which the *Greeks* at laſt granted that it was lawful to explain the words of the creed, but not to add that explanation to the creed itſelf. The ſame diſpute was the ſubject of the three following ſeſſions; at the firſt of which arrived the deputies from the duke of *Burgundy*; but as they neglected to ſalute the emperor, that prince threatened to diſſolve the council if they did not give ſatisfaction for the inſult; wherefore, at the interceſſion of the fathers, they were prevailed upon, at the next ſeſſion, to pay their compliments to the emperor. At the following ſeſſion, *Mark* of *Epheſus* endeavoured to conclude the diſpute by a very long diſcourſe; but ſtill the matter was left undecided, cardinal *Julian* declaring, that, if the *Greek* ſhould produce ten arguments, he would advance ten thouſand.

(1) This whole diſpute is contained at full length in the acts publiſhed at *Rome* and in *Germany* by *Binius*.

THE

THE *Greeks* being unmoved by the arguments of the *Latins*, and finding them equally uninfluenced by theirs, began to think of returning home, and propoſed, as their final conceſſion, that the words in diſpute ſhould be admitted in a definition apart; but the *Latins* refuſed to agree to this propoſal, urging that, ſince the words were admitted as orthodox, they ought not to be expunged from the creed.

The councils tranſferred to Florence. A. D. 1439.

As the plague raged at this time in *Ferrara*, the pope propoſed to tranſfer the council to *Florence*, but to this the *Greeks* made great objections; at laſt, however, they gave their conſent, on theſe conditions: that the council ſhould not be tranſferred from *Florence*, but be concluded within four months; that they ſhould be furniſhed with proviſions; and that eight months ſtores ſhould be ſent by the pope to *Conſtantinople*. Accordingly, in the ſixteenth ſeſſion, which was held on the 11th of *January*, the tranſlation of the council was publiſhed, and the fathers immediately after proceeding to *Florence*, held the ſeventeenth ſeſſion in that city, on the 26th of *February*, in which, after a long diſpute betwixt the emperor and cardinal *Julian*, it was agreed, that the two parties, for the future, ſhould diſpute in private aſſemblies; but this method was obſerved only a few weeks; for in the ſix following ſeſſions, which were held in the month of *March*, the public diſputations were again reſumed, firſt concerning the meaning of the word *proceſſion*, and afterwards about the acceptation of the words *nature*, *eſſence*, *ſubſtance*, *ſubſiſtentia*, and *hypoſtaſis*, in the divine perſons, how far they meant the ſame thing, and in what reſpects they differed. After theſe ſeſſions the emperor aſſembled all the *Greek* metropolitans in the lodgings of the patriarch, who had been confined for ſome time by ſickneſs, and laid before them the calamities which would befal the *Greek* empire, if the ſchiſm was not terminated: he therefore exhorted them to lay aſide their diſputes, and find out ſome method for an agreement, eſpecially as the *Latins*, by the addition of the words *and from the ſon*, did not acknowlege two principles. The greateſt part of the *Greeks*, being influenced by this exhortation of the emperor, did not diſpute in the two following ſeſſions, but only attended to the diſcourſes of the *Latins* in proof of their doctrine; and afterwards holding a great many conferences in the lodgings of the patriarch, they at length unanimouſly agreed, that the holy ſpirit proceeded from the father and from the ſon, as from one principle and one ſubſtance. This opinion being committed to writing and delivered to the pope, was approved

proved by him and the *Latins*, who, as a teſtimony of their joy, embraced the *Greeks* with great affection.

EUGENIUS then propoſed to terminate the other points wherein the two churches differed, namely, concerning the fire of purgatory, and uſing leavened or unleavened bread in the ſacrament of the euchariſt, and the ſupremacy of the *Roman* ſee. Their deliberations were interrupted by the death of the patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, which happened on the 9th of *June*; but a few days after, the debates being reſumed, an union was likewiſe effected in theſe points. The *Greeks* agreed as to the pains of purgatory, but would not determine abſolutely whether it was fire, darkneſs, a whirlwind, or any thing elſe; they allowed that either leavened or unleavened bread may be conſecrated in the euchariſt; they likewiſe acknowleged in general the ſupremacy of the pope, but would not allow of appeals to him from other patriarchal ſees, or that he had a power of celebrating œcumenical councils without the emperor and patriarchs. In the next ſeſſion a decree was drawn up, wherein theſe reſtrictions were mentioned in general terms, which was ſubſcribed by the pope, the cardinals, and ſeveral *Latin* prelates, and by the emperor, the proxies of ſeveral patriarchs, and fourteen metropolitans. The pope then deſired that the *Greeks* would chuſe a ſucceſſor to the patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, whom he might confirm, and to whom he would give a large ſum to ſupport his dignity, promiſing likewiſe to remove the *Latin* patriarch of that title; but the *Greeks* refuſed abſolutely to agree to that propoſal, alleging that the patriarch muſt be choſen at *Conſtantinople*, by the whole province. The union being thus accompliſhed, the pope publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the faithful, informing them of the tranſlation; and beſides what had been ſtipulated with the emperor, he promiſed, upon an emergency, to furniſh twenty armed gallies for ſix months for the defence of *Conſtantinople*, and to ſolicit the Chriſtian princes to ſend him ſuccours by land. Before the departure of the emperor, which happened towards the end of *July*, deputies arrived at *Florence* from the patriarch of *Armenia*, to treat of an union. *Eugenius*, with the approbation of the ſynod, appointed three cardinals, and ſome doctors, to confer with the deputies; and, after frequent conferences, the *Armenians* profeſſing to hold and approve the doctrines that were held and taught by the *Roman* church, *Eugenius* delivered to them a decree, containing a ſummary of the *Roman* faith.

The union is accompliſhed with the Greeks.

DURING

DURING theſe proceedings at *Ferrara*, the *German* princes, in a diet held at *Mentz*, propoſed to oblige the council of *Baſil* to put a ſtop to the proceedings againſt *Eugenius*. Although this propoſal was approved by the deputies of ſeveral princes of *Europe* who were there preſent, yet thoſe from *Baſil* would not conſent to it, and left the city. After their departure the legates of the pope arrived, and ſollicited the princes to reject the council of *Baſil*; but their ſollicitations not being hearkened to, they proteſted againſt the proceedings of the diet, and departed. Mean while the fathers at *Baſil*, to ſtrengthen the articles againſt *Eugenius*, drew up eight propoſitions, which they called *the truths of the catholic faith*, tending to prove that the pope was a heretic, becauſe he had preſumed to diſſolve the council, contrary to the monitory of the fathers. Theſe propoſitions occaſioned great clamour and uproar in the council, ſo that the confuſion and noiſe reſembled the concourſe of two armies in an engagement. After long and vehement debates, which are mentioned at large by *Æneas Sylvius*, one of the members [a], the violent party found means by fraud to publiſh the articles in a general congregation. The cardinal of *Arles* then appointed the thirty-third ſeſſion to be held on the 14th of *May*, at which none of the prelates of *Spain*, and only about twenty-one of the other nations, would conſent to be preſent; but as there were a great many prieſts, the cardinal cauſed them to bring the relics of the ſaints into the aſſembly, and ordering them to ſupply the place of the abſent biſhops, he read the decree, confirming the above propoſitions. The deputies of the emperor, and of other princes, appeared a few days afterwards at the general congregations, and deſired the fathers to agree to ſome third place for the council; but their requeſt was denied, and *Eugenius* was ordered to be cited againſt the 23d of *June*, to hear his ſentence. The thirty-fourth ſeſſion was celebrated on that day, and *Eugenius* being called by two biſhops, and not appearing, was declared guilty of contumacy, and depoſed from the pontificate; all Chriſtians were abſolved from his obedience, and prohibited from adhering to him, under the pains of hereſy and ſchiſm, and the loſs of all their honours, benefices, and dignities (K). The ſame day the fathers deliberated whe-

Great confuſion in the council of Baſil;

which depoſes Eugenius.

[a] ÆNEAS ibid.

(K) According to *Patricius* there were preſent at this ſeſſion only ſeven biſhops, whereas for depoſing a private biſhop twelve are neceſſary. About this time the emperor, and the kings

whether they ſhould immediately proceed to an election of another pope; but, notwithſtanding the plague raged at that time in *Baſil*, it was reſolved to delay the election for two months: accordingly a decree for that purpoſe was publiſhed in the thirty-fifth ſeſſion, held on the 8th of *July*; and it was added, that, by the departure of any prelates from *Baſil*, the council ſhould not be reckoned diſſolved, without the conſent of two-thirds of thoſe that remained. *Eugenius* in the mean time, being informed of their proceedings, renewed his former decree againſt them; and in a general ſeſſion, held on the 5th of *September*, condemned the truths of the catholic faith, in the ſenſe they were taken in by the council of *Baſil*, as being contrary to the ſcriptures, the fathers, and the council of *Conſtance*.

THE fathers at *Baſil*, before they were informed of theſe decrees of *Eugenius*, celebrated their thirty-ſixth ſeſſion on the 16th of *October*, in which they publiſhed a decree confirming the immaculate conception of the bleſſed virgin (L). Although the diet of *Mentz* had appealed from their decree againſt the pope to a future general council, and the emperor *Albert* had propoſed a reconciliation, yet they reſolved immediately to proceed to a new election; and in the thirty-ſeventh ſeſſion, which was held on the 22d of the ſame month, they decreed, that the election ſhould be made in the council by the cardinal of *Arles*, and thirty-two other eccleſiaſtics, whether prelates, prieſts, or deacons; that the election ſhould not be valid, unleſs two thirds of the electors concurred; and that the perſon elected ſhould ſwear to believe and maintain the catholic faith, and to obſerve and execute the decrees of the councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*. The thirty two electors being accordingly nominated in the thirty-eighth ſeſſion, which was held on the 27th of *October*, they entered the place aſſigned for the conclave; and nine days after, upon a ſcrutiny, *Amadeus*, duke of *Savoy*, was found to be duly elected. This prince, five years before, had reſigned his dominions to his two ſons, and, with ſix of the nobles, had aſſumed the habit of a pilgrim, and had choſen a moſt elegant retreat at *Ripallia*, upon the banks of the lake of *Geneva*. Although he was ſtill a layman, had been married, and was not dignified with the title of doctor, yet, in the

The duke of Savoy *is elected pope at* Baſil.

kings of *England* and *France* expoſtulated with the council in behalf of the pope (1).

(L) *Spondanus* relates, that, upon publiſhing this decree, ſo great was its efficacy, the plague immediately ceaſed at *Baſil*!

(1) *Epiſog. Act. Patricium. Spond. Annal. ex cod. S. Victor.*

thirty-ninth session, the council confirmed his election, and appointed the cardinal of *Arles*, with twenty-five others, as their legates, to carry their decree to the duke, who, with great difficulty, was prevailed upon to give his consent. At their earnest intreaties he at length submitted; and assuming the name of *Felix* V. laid aside his beard and pilgrim's habit, and being dress'd in the pontifical ornaments, was consecrated in the church of the monastery of *St. Maurice*, on the 17th of *December*. *Eugenius*, upon hearing of the intrusion of *Felix*, thought proper to strengthen his own party by a new creation of cardinals: accordingly in the general council and public consistory, he nominated seventeen from the different nations of *Europe*, two of whom were *Greeks*, who had continued in *Italy* after the conclusion of the union.

and takes the name of Felix V.

Frederic III. *is elected emperor.* A.D. 1440.

ABOUT this time the emperor *Albert* having died in *Hungary*, the following year the electors, being assembled at *Frankfort*, chose *Frederic*, duke of *Austria*, as his successor. The legates of the council at *Basil* appeared at that diet, and intreated the new emperor and the *German* princes to renounce the neutrality, and acknowlege *Felix*; but the *Germans* still adhered to their former resolutions, and declared that they would endeavour to procure the peace of the church. Mean while the fathers at *Basil* in the fortieth session, which was held on the 25th of *February*, published the consent of *Felix*, and ordered all Christians to yield him obedience. That their new pope might come to *Basil*, with some appearance of dignity, they granted him a power to create nine cardinals, even before his coronation; nevertheless they found fault with his bull, appointing the cardinal of *Arles* legate *à latere* and president of the council, and ordered it to be erased from the registers, and to be drawn up in other terms. *Eugenius* in the mean time, in a public session held on the 21st of *March* at *Florence*, denounced an anathema against the duke of *Savoy* and all his adherents, as heretics and schismatics, if they did not repent within fifty days. The fathers at *Basil*, in their forty-first session, held on the 21st of *July*, condemned this sentence of *Eugenius* as scandalous, schismatical, and heretical, and prohibited any one, under severe penalties, from receiving or publishing it. The next day *Felix*, who a few weeks before had arrived at *Basil*, was ordained bishop by the cardinal of *Arles*, and afterwards crowned with great solemnity. In their forty-second session, which was held on the 5th of *August*, they ordained, that, for the support of *Felix* and his court, the fifth penny of the real value of all benefices, both secular and

Eugenius *denounces an anathema against* Felix *and his adherents.*

regular, ſhould be paid to his collectors for five years, and for five years more the tenth penny, under pain of ſuſpenſion and interdict. In favour of *Germany* they exempted all benefices that did not exceed five marks of ſilver, and allowed, that if any nation found themſelves aggrieved by the above tax, they might make a compoſition with *Felix*. Soon after, in a general congregation, they publiſhed a long letter, addreſſed to all the faithful, ſupporting, by many arguments, the authority of a council above a pope, and urging them to yield obedience to *Felix* [b] (M).

The Greeks renounce the union concluded at Florence.

DURING theſe proceedings in the weſtern parts of *Europe*, the *Greek* emperor having returned to *Conſtantinople*, the clergy, the monks, and the reſt of that city, refuſed to celebrate divine ſervice with thoſe who had returned from *Italy*, or to mention them in their prayers, which cauſed great confuſion in that church, and occaſioned a delay in electing the patriarch, none being found who would accept of that dignity [c]. Other authors relate, that, by the perſuaſions of *Mark* of *Epheſus*, who never aſſented to the propoſitions concluded upon at *Florence*, the *Greeks* would not accept of the union; and that even thoſe, who had been in *Italy*, quickly renounced the articles to which they had aſſented in the œcumenical council, notwithſtanding the endeavours of cardinal *Condelmero*, who had been ſent as legate to *Conſtantinople* [d]. The metropolitan of *Ruſſia*, who had been created a cardinal by *Eugenius*, upon his return was likewiſe treated with indignity, and impriſoned at *Moſcow* [e]. Mean while *Eugenius*, having received an accuſation againſt his general cardinal *Vitelleſchi*, that he had entered into a ſecret treaty with the duke of *Milan*, and intended to ſurprize *Florence*, and ſeize the pontificate, he ſent orders to the governor of the caſtle of *St. Angelo* to entice him within the

[b] MONSTRELET, vol. ii. ad. an. 1439. [c] TURCOGREC. THEODOS. ZYGOMALÆ, l. i. [d] CHALCOND. l. vi. ANTON. tit. xxii. c. 2. [e] MICHOV. rer. Polon. l. iv. c. 57.

(M) Both *Eugenius* and *Felix*, at this time, were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to have their authority acknowleged by the different princes of *Europe*. According to *Æneas Sylvius*, *France*, *England*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and *Hungary*, ſubmitted to *Eugenius*; *Savoy*, *Switzerland*, *Baſil*, *Straſburg*, *Camin* in *Pomerania*, and *Albert*, one of the dukes of *Bavaria*, adhered to *Felix*. The king of *Arragon*, the *Poles*, and thoſe of *Bretagne*, only acknowleged the council; and *Germany* embraced a neutrality, neither abſolutely acknowleging the council, nor the two competitors for the pontificate.

fortreſs, and to detain him a priſoner. He was accordingly ſurpriſed, but, endeavouring to defend himſelf, he received ſome wounds that occaſioned his death. His ſucceſſor was *Lewis*, archbiſhop of *Florence*, and patriarch of *Aquileia*, who having defeated and entirely routed the general of the duke of *Milan* at *Anglaria*, was created a cardinal [f] (N).

The Jacobines *in* Egypt, *embrace the* Roman *faith*;

ABOUT this time an abbot arriving at *Florence*, from the patriarch of the *Jacobines* in *Egypt*, to treat of an union, he was heard in a general congregation on the laſt of *Auguſt*; and, after ſeveral other conferences, a decree was drawn up and publiſhed in the twenty-ninth ſeſſion, held on the 5th of *February*, containing an expoſition of the *Roman* faith, which, by a public inſtrument written in *Arabic* and *Latin*, the abbot accepted, and received in the name of the patriarch and all the *Jacobines* [g]. Soon after *Eugenius* ſent legates to the diet, which was convoked at *Mentz*, to conſult about means to terminate the ſchiſm. At this aſſembly likewiſe arrived the cardinal of *Arles*, and two other new cardinals of *Felix*; but the princes declared that they would not acknowlege the cardinals, nor admit the cardinal of *Arles* as legate *à latere*, to which dignity he pretended. After long diſputes, the deputies from *Baſil* at length conſented to drop their pretenſions, and to act only as legates of the council. Both parties were then heard by the diet for ſeveral days alternately; but as they propoſed no means of union, the diet, together with the ambaſſadors of the emperor, the king of *France*, and other princes, reſolved that, to procure the

[f] ARETIN. Comment. ap Murator, t. xix. p. 942. VOLATER. l. xxii. [g] SPOND. Annal. ad an. 1441.

(N) This year cardinal *Branda* made an attempt at *Milan* to aboliſh the office of St. *Ambroſe*, and to introduce the *Roman*. To forward his deſign he expelled the *Ciſtertian* monks, and introduced the *Carthuſians*; but the citizens complaining to the duke, the *Ciſtertians* were reſtored. The cardinal nevertheleſs, having got into his poſſeſſion the book of the *Ambroſian* rites, ſuppoſed to be written by that ſaint's own hand, and carefully preſerved in the church of *St. Thecla*, on *Chriſtmas* day he cauſed divine ſervice to be celebrated according to the *Roman* office; which proceeding ſo exaſperated the citizens, that they ran with torches to his houſe, and threatened to ſet it on fire, if he did not reſtore the book. The cardinal, greatly terrified with their menaces, threw the manuſcript to them from the window, and next day fled from *Milan* (1).

(1) *Corius*, p. 5.

peace

peace of the church, a general council ought to be convoked in ſome other city than *Baſil* or *Florence*; and if either of the popes refuſed to name the place, the emperor ſhould appoint ſix cities in *Germany* and ſix in *France*, one of which ſhould be choſen for the place of the council, which ſhould abſolutely meet on the firſt of *Auguſt* of the following year.

THE council of *Baſil*, after the return of their deputies, held their forty-third ſeſſion on the 1ſt of *July*, in which they publiſhed a decree, appointing the celebration of the feaſt of the viſitation of the bleſſed virgin. They had warm diſputes for a long time among themſelves about the form of this decree. As the firſt decree for this feſtival was made by *Boniface* IX. during the grand ſchiſm, and was never received by thoſe who followed the antipope, ſome of the members propoſed that the bull ſhould now be publiſhed in the name of *Felix*, with the approbation of the ſacred council, or, at leaſt, with the addition of the words, *pope* Felix *preſiding*; but the other party prevailed, that the decree ſhould be publiſhed in the name of the ſynod alone. About the ſame time *Eugenius* received a letter from an *Ethiopian* abbot ſettled at *Jeruſalem*, profeſſing the ſubjection of his church to that of *Rome*; and informing him that the emperor of *Abiſſinia*, commonly called *Preſter John*, propoſed to ſend ambaſſadors to the council of *Florence*, not with an intention to diſpute, but to receive the judgment of the pope in matters of faith [h]. In conſequence of this letter, *Eugenius*, in the thirtieth ſeſſion, which was held on the 24th of *April*, transferred the council, with the conſent of the members, from *Florence* to *Rome*, to be continued in the *Lateran* church within fifteen days after his return to that city. The fathers at *Baſil* took an occaſion from this new tranſlation to accuſe the pope, alleging, that he had returned to *Rome* to prevent his being compelled to celebrate a council in *Germany*. Soon after they celebrated the forty-fourth ſeſſion on the 9th of *Auguſt*, in which they publiſhed a decree, concerning the entire reſtitution of all thoſe who had been robbed of their benefices on account of the council, ordering the uſurpers and detainers to be expelled by the aſſiſtance of the ſecular arm.

which it also received by the Abiſſinians. A. D. 1442.

MEAN while the cardinal of *Arles* and two cardinals of *Felix* appeared as their deputies at the diet held at *Frankfort*, where the emperor preſided. *Frederic*, propoſing to go to *Aix-la-Chapelle* to receive the *German* crown, appointed ſeveral biſhops to hear the arguments of the deputies of both

The pope and the council of Baſil *ſend deputies to*

[h] Idem ad an. 1442.

the diet of Frankfort.

parties. Upon his return, the diet finding that the deputies only renewed the arguments uſed the former year at *Mentz*, reſolved ſtill to adhere to the neutrality, and propoſed the celebration of a council in ſome other city than *Baſil* or *Florence*. The emperor a few weeks afterwards arriving in the neighbourhood of *Baſil*, after ſeveral conferences prevailed with the fathers to agree to a tranſlation of the council. He then entered the city, and had an interview with *Felix*, to conſult of the means to procure the peace of the church [i]; and departing after three days, *Felix* likewiſe quitted the city, and went to *Lauſanne*, on pretence of re-eſtabliſhing his health, promiſing to return to the council in the ſpring. *Eugenius* in ſome meaſure likewiſe complied with the demands of the emperor, declaring, that, tho' to doubt the authority of the council of *Florence* was to oppoſe the catholic faith, yet in regard to the *German* princes, upon his arrival at *Rome* he would aſſemble a greater number of prelates to conſult whether it was expedient to celebrate another council, and in the mean time would ſend his legates into *Germany*.

The pope recovers ſome of the patrimony, and

A. D. 1443.

THE pope about the ſame time ſent cardinal *Julian* as his legate into *Hungary*, to mediate a peace betwixt the party that adhered to the infant, ſon of the late emperor *Albert*, and the other faction, who had conferred their crown upon the king of *Poland*; and to excite them both againſt the *Turks*, who were then beſieging *Belgrade* with an immenſe army. He likewiſe denounced an anathema againſt *Francis Sforza*, who had uſurped ſeveral places in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; but, this cenſure being deſpiſed by his adverſary, he had recourſe to temporal arms, and in a ſhort time recovered the territory of *Picenum* [k]. In the beginning of the following ſpring, he left *Florence* and proceeded to *Siena*, where he continued ſix months. During his reſidence in this city, *Alphonſus* king of *Arragon*, who the year before had conquered *Naples*, propoſed a reconciliation with him, on condition that he confirmed his new conqueſts. The king at the ſame time was negociating with *Felix*, who, on condition that he adhered to the council of *Baſil*, promiſed to confirm his adoption by queen *Jane*, and the title of his kingdom, and to give him 200,000 crowns to recover the patrimony of the church. *Alphonſus* accepted of theſe conditions; but his ambaſſadors in the mean time obtaining better terms from *Eugenius*, he again ſtarted new difficulties with *Felix*, and,

[i] GOLDAST de Stat. Imper. p. 303. [k] RAG. Hiſt. l. viii. *ap. Murat.* t. xx. p. 415.

on

on the 14th of *June*, concluded a treaty with the pope, who offered to give him the kingdom of *Naples* with the same forms and rights as had been used by former popes, and to absolve him from the payment of all the money which he owed to the apostolic chamber, on condition that *Alphonsus* took the oath of allegiance to him, restored the towns belonging to the church which he had seized, and sent six gallies against the *Turks*, and 4000 horse against *Francis Sforza*. Some other articles were agreed upon, with regard to the liberty of ecclesiastics, and the privileges of the subjects, as they had been settled by *William* II. The pope likewise legitimated *Ferdinand*, the king's natural son; but, to prevent his being reproached with such a concession, he stipulated that the bull should not be published during his life[1]. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, *Alphonsus* published a letter, declaring, that he acknowleged *Eugenius* as the undoubted vicar of Christ, and ordering all his subjects to yield him obedience. He likewise wrote to the prelates of his dominions who were at *Basil*, desiring them to quit that city; and, according to the acts of *Patricius*, he, together with the *Venetians*, *Florentines*, and other *Italians*, exhorted the emperor to agree to the celebration of a general council at the *Lateran*.

gives the investiture of Naples to Alphonsus.

THE council of *Basil* in the mean time sollicited the return of *Felix*; but he replied, that he found it more for the advantage of his cause to reside at *Geneva* or *Lausanne*, and at the same time entreated them to relax the decree against the creation of cardinals. After much dispute, the fathers at last granted his request, and in the forty-fifth session, which was held on the 13th of *May*, they decreed, that another general council should be celebrated after three years in the city of *Lyons*, which city had been chosen by *Felix*, to whom they granted a power of shortening the term. Nevertheless, they ordained that the council of *Basil* was not thereby dissolved, but that they intended to continue it in that city, provided the magistrates did not violate the safe conduct which they had formerly granted. This is generally reckoned the last session of the council of *Basil*, both the printed and manuscript acts concluding at this period. Nevertheless some prelates remained five years longer both at *Basil* and *Lausanne*, altho' there is scarce any author that takes the least notice of their proceedings. Several of their decrees tended to remove the gross corruptions and abuses that at that time deformed the Christian religion; but, in their proceedings against *Euge-*

The council of Basil consent to a translation to some other city.

[1] SURIT. Hist. l. xv. c. 18. 32.

nius, they ſeem to have been influenced more by faction and reſentment than by motives of piety. Not long after *Eugenius* proceeded from *Siena* to *Rome*; but, inſtead of being received with acclamation, the day after his arrival the people threatened to mutiny, as the taxes had lately been doubled, and a new duty laid upon wine. To appeaſe their murmurs, the pope called out in the ſtreet, declaring that he aboliſhed the late exactions, and a few days after he wrote to the princes of *Europe*, informing them of his intention to celebrate a general council in the *Lateran* church [m].

The pope returns to Rome.

A cruſade preached againſt the Turks.

HAVING this year ordered a cruſade to be preached againſt the *Turks*, many volunteers went into *Hungary* from *France* and *Germany*, by whoſe aſſiſtance *Uladiſlaus* gained a ſignal victory over the infidels, and purſued them as far as the confines of *Thrace*, gaining ſeveral other advantages over them. On the news of theſe ſucceſſes, great preparations were made by the pope in *Italy* to carry on the war, and in conjunction with the *Venetians*, *Genoeſe*, and the duke of *Burgundy*, he ſent a fleet of ſeventy gallies to the *Helleſpont*, under the command of cardinal *Condelmero*, to prevent the infidels from receiving any ſuccours from *Aſia*. *Amurath* being informed of the great preparations againſt him in *Europe*, and hearing likewiſe of the revolt of ſome provinces in *Aſia*, prevailed with the king of *Hungary* to agree to a truce for ten years; after the ratifying of which he paſſed the *Helleſpont*, and marched againſt the rebels. *Eugenius* was greatly offended with the king for agreeing to any treaty with the infidels, and abſolved him from the oath, which he affirmed he was not at liberty to take without his permiſſion. Cardinal *Julian* likewiſe inſiſting that now was the time for extirpating the *Turks* from *Europe*, *Uladiſlaus* was prevailed upon to renew the war, and marched with his army into *Lower Mæſia*; but *Amurath*, having bribed the *Genoeſe* to tranſport his army over the *Helleſpont*, attacked the *Hungarians* at *Varna*, and gained an entire victory, *Uladiſlaus* and cardinal *Julian* being among the number of the ſlain [n]. *Eugenius* in the mean time ſent deputies to the diet of *Nuremberg*; but, tho' others appeared likewiſe for *Felix*, the *German* princes ſtill adhered to their former reſolution, and propoſed a council to be held either in *Germany* or *France*. About this time *Abdalla*, archbiſhop of *Edeſſa*, arriving at *Rome*, in the name of the *Syrian* patriarch and nation, to treat of an union, the pope celebrated the thirty-firſt ſeſſion in the

A.D. 1444.

[m] PLATINA in Vit. Eugen. ÆNEAS SYLV. Europ. c. 5.

[n] GOBEL. Comment. l. i.

Lateran,

Lateran, in which a decree was publiſhed, explaining the three doctrines in which the *Syrians* differed from the *Roman* church, namely, concerning the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt, and the two natures and two wills in Chriſt. This decree was accepted in the public ſeſſion by the *Syrian* deputy, in the name of his nation.

THE following year *Æneas Sylvius* arrived at *Rome* as an ambaſſador from the emperor, and in an elegant diſcourſe, having aſked pardon for what he had done and written againſt *Eugenius* at *Baſil*, he explained the purport of his embaſſy; which was to deſire the celebration of a council in *Germany*. The pope refuſed to grant his requeſt, and ſoon after, deputies arriving from the *Maronites* and *Chaldeans* in *Cyprus*, profeſſing their ſubmiſſion to the *Roman* church, in a general congregation he publiſhed a decree in their behalf. Theſe different ſects of eaſtern Chriſtians had been prevailed upon to ſend their deputies to *Rome* by the archbiſhop of *Coloſſe*, or *Rhodes*, who had been ſent into the eaſt by *Eugenius*, to ſollicit their ſubmiſſion to the *Roman* ſee; however the authority of the apoſtolic ſee was not thereby greatly enlarged, but the vanity of the pope was gratified by the empty ceremony. While *Eugenius* was receiving the ſubmiſſion of the *Maronites* in *Cyprus*, his authority was oppoſed by the catholics in the ſame iſland, the king not only refuſing to grant the archbiſhopric of *Nicoſia* to the perſon appointed by the pope, but even expelling him the iſland, and throwing the pope's nuncio into priſon. However, ſoon after, at the ſollicitation of the maſter of the knights of *Rhodes*, the king admitted the archbiſhop, and ſet the nuncio at liberty [o].

The emperor ſends an embaſſy to the pope; A. D. 1445.

ABOUT this time, the pope having depoſed the electors of *Cologn* and *Triers*, in reſentment for their adherence to the council of *Baſil*, the other electors, offended with his proceeding, aſſembled at *Frankfort*, and entered into a treaty of union, that, if *Eugenius* did not annul the ſentence of depoſition, aboliſh the grievous taxes with which he oppreſſed *Germany*, and acknowlege the ſupremacy of councils, according to the decrees of that of *Conſtance*, they would then adhere to *Felix*. They deſired the emperor to accede to their treaty; but he refuſed, and only conſented to petition the pope to reverſe the ſentence. *Æneas Sylvius* accordingly having repreſented to the pope the danger of a general ſchiſm in *Germany*, he agreed to revoke his decree, and ſent two legates to another diet, held in the ſame city, in the month of *September*, with a full authority to grant every thing to

who depoſes the electors of Cologn *and* Triers. A. D. 1446.

[o] Bos. Hiſt. Rhod. t. ii. l. 6.

the

the *Germans* that might facilitate the union, without prejudice to the apoſtolic ſee. The fathers, who ſtill remained at *Baſil*, likewiſe ſent their deputies to this diet, and before their departure they declared in a public aſſembly, that they would convoke a general council, and would transfer themſelves to whatever city the emperor and electors, or their ambaſſadors, ſhould name in the approaching aſſembly. Great diſputes aroſe in the diet upon ſeveral points, but chiefly with regard to the treaty of union betwixt the electors, which the legates inſiſted upon being annulled, before they would begin the negociations. The *German* princes refuſing abſolutely to comply with their demand, *Æneas Sylvius* propoſed ſome articles as a medium, by which the intereſts of *Germany* and the pretenſions of the pope might be reconciled. Theſe propoſitions were embraced by the diet, who appointed ambaſſadors to proceed to *Rome* to obtain the approbation of the pope. The ambaſſadors, upon their arrival, were received with great honour, and three days afterwards had an audience in a private conſiſtory, where *Æneas Sylvius*, in the name of the reſt, propoſed the four articles agreed to in the diet; firſt, that a general council ſhould be convoked, and the place and time for its meeting determined; that the pope ſhould confirm by a bull the declaration of his legates concerning the pre-eminence and authority of general councils; ſhould redreſs the grievances of the *German* nation; and laſtly, ſhould revoke what had been been done to the prejudice of the two electors. The reconciliation being effected in a few other conferences, during the abſence of *Eugenius*, who was ſick, the ambaſſadors were admitted into his bed-chamber, and, after they had made their ſubmiſſion to him as pope, he delivered the bull into the hands of *Æneas*, by which he confirmed a great many things concerning benefices and annates which had been decreed by the council of *Baſil* after the ſchiſm, abſolving all thoſe who had adhered to that council after its diſſolution, if they returned to the obedience of the apoſtolic ſee within ſix months. He promiſed to convoke a general council within ten months, provided he could obtain the conſent of the ſovereigns of *Europe*; if not, he offered to aſſemble another within eighteen months in a city that ſhould be judged convenient. He acknowleged the authority of councils truly œcumenical, without declaring whether they were ſuperior to a pope or not, and he received that of *Conſtance* in the ſame manner as it had been received by *Martin* V. and his ſucceſſors; and laſtly, he promiſed to redreſs the grievances of the *German* nation, and to re-eſtabliſh the archbiſhops and electors.

The Germans *renounce the neutrality, and adhere to* Eugenius; A. D. 1447.

electors [p]. *Eugenius* ſurvived the publication of this bull but ſixteen days, and died on the 23d of *February*, in the ſixteenth year of his pontificate. He is ſaid, by *Platina*, to have been a great patron of ſchools and learned men, tho' not very learned himſelf; to have favoured the monks, to whom he granted many privileges; but he is accuſed of inconſtancy, and a love for war [q]. *who dies a few days after at* Rome.

On the eleventh day after the death of *Eugenius*, eighteen cardinals entered the conclave, and unanimouſly choſe *Thomas* of *Sarzana*, ſo called from a little town in the territory of *Lucca* where he was born. He had been created a cardinal a few months before by *Eugenius*, upon his return from the laſt diet of *Frankfort*, and is ſaid at firſt to have refuſed the pontifical dignity; but, at the intreaty of all the cardinals, he ſubmitted, and aſſuming the name of *Nicolas* V. in memory of cardinal *Albergati*, who had been his great patron, and in whoſe family he had lived ſeveral years [r], he was conſecrated on the 16th of *March*. While the cardinals were in the conclave, one *Stephen Porcaro*, a *Roman* knight, aſſembled ſeveral citizens in one of the churches, and exhorted them to aſſert their liberty, or, at leaſt, to limit the power of their governors; but the archbiſhop of *Benevento* oppoſing his propoſal, the ſedition was prevented. *Eugenius* having for ſome time before his death been engaged with the duke of *Milan*, and the king of *Naples*, in a war againſt the *Florentines*, *Alphonſus* had arrived with his army at *Tivoli*, on his way to *Tuſcany*; but, hearing of the pope's death, he deliberated whether he ſhould advance or return. At length, *Nicolas* having ſent a cardinal to *Ferrara* to treat of a general peace, *Alphonſus*, the duke of *Milan*, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines*, ſent their deputies thither; but their conferences were broke off by the ſudden death of the duke of *Milan*. *Nicolas* in the mean time ſent cardinal *Carvajal* as his legate into *Germany*, to notify his election to the emperor, who aſſembled the ſtates of the empire at *Aſchaffemburgh*, where the neutrality was finally aboliſhed, and *Nicolas* acknowleged as lawful pope [s], the emperor ſoon after publiſhing a decree for that purpoſe. About the ſame time the king of *France*, who likewiſe deſired to acknowlege *Nicolas*, held a congreſs at *Lyons*, at which were preſent the archbiſhops of *Cologn* and *Triers*, the deputies of the other Nicolas V. *is elected,* *and acknowleged by the empire,*

[p] Comment. Pii II. l. i. Anton. l. xxii. c. 11. Rer. Mogun. t. i. p. 762. Rainald. ad an. 1446. [q] Platin. in Vit. Eugen. [r] Idem in Vit. Nicol. [s] Leibn. par. i. p. 77. Cochl. l. ix. in fin.

electors,

electors, with those of the kings of *England* and *Sicily*, and the cardinal of *Arles*, with others from *Felix*. After some conferences they proceeded to *Geneva*, where *Felix* was; and, with his consent, composed some articles, which, if *Nicolas* would agree to, *Felix* promised to abdicate.

and the Poles, who send an embassy to Rome. A. D. 1448.

MEAN while *Nicolas* received an embassy from *Poland*, desiring a tax of ten thousand florins to be raised upon the ecclesiastics for a war against the *Tartars*; the hundredth penny was likewise demanded, and a remission of St. *Peter*'s pence, and the right of conferring all the benefices in *Poland*. The pope only granted their first demand, and allowed the king to supply ninety vacancies in the province of *Gnesna*. Soon after he confirmed, by a bull, some articles that had been agreed upon betwixt his legate and the emperor, with regard to the method of provision of vacant benefices in the empire (O); and, being informed of the disturbances in *Bohemia*, he appointed the same cardinal as his legate in that kingdom. The cardinal, upon his arrival at *Prague*, was received with great respect by *Mainard* of *New-house*, the administrator of the kingdom, and by the clergy and university. The states of the kingdom being then assembled, the *Hussites*, who were the most powerful party, demanded of the legate to confirm the compactata concluded at *Basil*, and to confirm the archbishopric of *Prague* upon *Rockysanus*.

His legate is obliged to quit Bohemia.

The legate, refusing to grant these two points, was immediately obliged to quit the kingdom; and *Mainard*, being accused of an intention to destroy their privileges, and subject them to the emperor and the pope, they formed a conspiracy against him, and admitted *George Podiebrad*, the chief of the *Hussites*, into *Prague*; who, having imprisoned *Mainard*, assumed the administration of the government, in which he was afterwards confirmed by the young king *Ladislaus*. During these proceedings in *Bohemia*, the deputies from the king of *France* and the other princes arrived

(O) See a translation of this bull or concordat at the end of the History of the *German* Empire. Its regulations have not been exactly observed by the following popes, since, upon the complaint of the states of the empire, the emperors have always promised, in their capitulations, not to allow the concordat to be violated. The vacant benefices in *Germany* at this day are conferred according to its regulations, and the bishoprics of *Toul*, *Metz*, and *Verdun*, have been comprehended in it by particular bulls (1).

(1) *Sebil. de Libertate Eccles. Germ. t.* i. *l.* vii. *p.* 929.

at

at *Rome*, with the articles agreed to at *Geneva*. *Nicolas* received them with great honour, but refuſed to confirm all the articles. However he agreed to ſeveral of them, which being afterwards preſented to *Felix*, he conſented to abdicate.

THE remains of the council of *Baſil*, which had been obliged to quit that city and retire to *Lauſanne*, determined to ſhew their authority in terminating the ſchiſm; accordingly, on the 23d of *April*, they publiſhed a decree, permitting *Felix* to reſign the pontificate, and, as a grateful acknowlegement for the aſſiſtance he had given to the perſecuted church, they created him a cardinal and biſhop of *Subino*, and perpetual vicar and legate of the apoſtolic ſee in the territories of the duke of *Savoy*; that he ſhould enjoy the next rank to the pope, ſhould uſe every-where enſigns of his legation, and ſhould not be obliged to appear perſonally at the court of *Rome* or general council. They then ordered all Chriſtians to obey *Nicolas*, after which they diſſolved the council. This news was received at *Rome* with great joy, the people the following night riding through the ſtreets with torches, and calling out, *Long live* Nicolas. The pope likewiſe ordered ſupplications in the *Vatican*, and, on the 16th of *June*, publiſhed three bulls; by the firſt of which he confirmed all promotions, elections, or ſettlements whatever, formerly approved by *Felix*, or the councils of *Baſil* and *Lauſanne*; by the ſecond he reſtored all thoſe who had been deprived of their dignities or benefices by *Eugenius* for adhering to the council of *Baſil*; and by the third he declared null and void all that had been done and written againſt *Felix* and his adherents, and ordered all ſuch writings to be aboliſhed, and expunged from the regiſters of *Eugenius* and all other places. As the duke of *Milan* had died without a will, or any lawful heir, his dominions became immediately the ſubject of diſpute, and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt endeavours of *Nicolas* to procure a peace, hoſtilities ſtill continued betwixt the *Venetians* and *Francis Sforza*, the laſt of whom, having married the natural daughter of the late duke, pretended to be his heir. *Francis*, having ſtormed *Placenza*, and obliged the *Venetians* to agree to a peace, turned his arms againſt the *Milaneſe*; and in the beginning of the following year, having obliged the city of *Milan* to ſurrender, he was ſoon after acknowleged as duke [t].

A.D. 1449. Felix *abdicates, and the council of* Baſil *is diſſolved.*

[t] ANTON. t. xxii. c. 12. POG. Hiſt. Flor. ap. Murat. t. xx. p. 424, 425.

NICOLAS

A jubilee celebrated at Rome. A.D. 1450.

NICOLAS was chiefly desirous of pacifying *Italy*, that the pilgrims, who should visit *Rome* on account of the jubilee, might meet with no interruption. In consequence of his bull for that purpose, this festival began to be celebrated at *Rome*, with great solemnity, at *Christmas*. Immense crouds of people, of both sexes, and all ranks, arrived at that city during the whole year; the pope, who, with his cardinals, visited the sacred places almost every day, being obliged frequently to shorten the term of fifteen days visitation appointed for foreigners; by that means to lessen the great concourse of strangers, who were frequently trampled to death [u]. Towards the end of the jubilee, *Æneas Sylvius* arrived at *Rome* from *Naples*, and in a public consistory declared the intentions of the emperor to come the following year to *Italy* to receive the imperial crown. He likewise desired the pope to agree to celebrate a general council in *Germany*, and informed his holiness, that, at *Naples*, he had concluded a treaty of marriage betwixt the emperor and *Eleonora*, the niece of *Alphonsus*, and sister to the king of *Portugal*. The pope, having received a bad impression of the designs of the emperor, did not seem to relish his journey into *Italy*; but, *Æneas Sylvius* dispelling his apprehensions, he agreed to the A.D. 1451. proposal of the emperor, and created *Æneas* bishop of *Siena* [w]. The bishop, soon after his return to *Germany*, was sent by the emperor into *Bohemia*, as his ambassador to the states, who had assembled at *Beneschaw*, and threatened to elect another king, as *Frederic* had refused to part with his pupil *Ladislaus*. *Æneas*, by his eloquence, had such an influence upon the states, that they not only declared themselves satisfied with the proceedings of the emperor, but appointed several nobles of their kingdom to accompany him in his journey to *Italy* [x].

The indulgencies of the jubilee year sent to Germany *and* Poland.

ABOUT the same time the pope sent cardinal *Cusanus* as his legate into *Germany*, to dispose of the indulgencies of the jubilee year, to raise money for the *Turkish* war. For the same purpose he sent another legate into *Poland*, ordering that every one should put the half of that money which he would have expended in his journey to *Rome* into a public coffer, and that the half of the money so collected should be given to the king as a subsidy for the war against the *Turks*; that one half of what remained should be given to the queen to be bestowed in dowries to poor maidens, and

[u] ANTON. ut sup. PLATIN. in Vit. Nicol. [w] Raynal. Annal. ad an. 1451. [x] ÆNEAS SYLV. Hist. Boem. c. 58. ejusd. Epist. 129. ad Card. Carvajal.

the

the other half ſent to the pope to repair the churches of *Rome* [y]. Upon the murmurs of the people, he afterwards reduced his ſhare to an eighth of the whole. Being likewiſe informed of the death of *Amurath*, emperor of the *Turks*, and the ſucceſſion of his ſon *Mohammed* II. a young prince of great ambition, and an implacable enemy of the Chriſtians, he wrote to *Conſtantinople*, reproaching the *Greeks* with the breach of the union concluded at *Florence*, and requiring them to abandon the ſchiſm, if they expected any aſſiſtance from the weſtern princes [z]. The *Greeks*, notwithſtanding the calamities with which they were threatened, ſeem to have had no inclination to unite with the *Roman* church; for this ſame year they wrote to the *Bohemian Huſſites*, commending them for rejecting the *Roman* innovations, and preſerving the ancient faith, in which they exhorted them to perſevere; at the ſame time deſiring them to unite with them, not according to the pretended and erroneous union concluded at *Florence*, but according to the immutable decree delivered by the fathers, and obſerved by the *Greeks* [a].

The emperor enters Italy and is crowned at Rome.

MEAN while the emperor, having ſettled the affairs of *Germany*, entered *Italy* with the young king of *Bohemia*, and a large body of nobility; who, to prevent giving umbrage to the pope and the ſtates of *Italy*, came with a very ſmall military eſcort. He was received every-where with great honour, and at *Siena* he was joined by the young empreſs, who had arrived by ſea from *Liſbon*. Proceeding with her to *Rome*, he arrived at that city on the 9th of *March*, where he was received by thirteen cardinals, all the clergy and magiſtrates, with great ceremony, and conducted to the ſteps of *St. Peter*, where the pope waited for him in his pontifical ornaments. *Nicolas*, a few days after, by the plenitude of his power, conferred upon him the crown of *Lombardy*, and, on the 16th of *March*, he was ſolemnly crowned emperor of the *Romans*, after taking the uſual oath to the pope. The empreſs being likewiſe crowned, *Frederic* proceeded with her to *Naples* to viſit her uncle *Alphonſus*, who entertained them for two weeks with great magnificence. Upon his return he created the marquis of *Ette* duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, at *Ferrara*; and, proceeding from thence to *Venice*, was received with great magnificence by that republic, and ſoon after returned to *Germany*.

A. D. 1452.

[y] MICHOV. l. iv. c. 59, & 65.
[z] SPOND. Annal. hoc an.
[a] Ext. apud Rerum Boem. ſcript.

FREDERIC,

FREDERIC, during his residence at *Rome*, proposed a general expedition against the *Turks*, for the assistance of the *Greeks*, against whom *Mohammed* was making immense preparations [b]. This motion, however, produced no good effect; for, excepting a few auxiliaries from the *Venetians* and *Genoese*, the *Greeks* received no assistance from any other *European* states, and the *Turkish* emperor advancing against *Constantinople* in the beginning of *April*, with an army of 250,000 men, and a fleet of 320 great and small ships, on the 29th of *May* took that city by storm, killing 40,000 men, and taking 60,000 captives, and thereby putting an end to the *Greek* empire [c]. After the city had been pillaged for three days, *Mohammed* published an edict, promising his protection to the Christians who should return to *Constantinople*. He not only allowed them to elect a new patriarch, but, according to the custom observed by the emperors, presented the person elected with a golden pastoral staff enriched with diamonds, and conducted him, with acclamations, to his palace. The pope, upon hearing of the loss of *Constantinople*, renewed his exhortations to the Christian princes to unite their arms against the infidels. For this purpose, the following year, a diet was held at *Ratisbon*, at which was present the duke of *Burgundy*, who was very zealous for the expedition; but, the emperor not seeming to interest himself with warmth in the design, nothing material was effected [d]. It was only agreed to hold another diet at *Frankfort* in the month of *September*, to apply to the *French* for a body of horse, and to request the *Italians* to fit out a fleet for *Greece* and *Asia*. Almost all the kings and princes of *Europe* were invited to send their deputies to the diet at *Frankfort*. In the mean time, one *Simonetus*, an *Augustine* friar, by his frequent exhortations, at length prevailed with *Sforza*, the *Venetians*, and *Florentines*, to conclude a peace, which was afterwards ratified at *Naples* by *Alphonsus*, and *Dominicus Capranius*, cardinal of the holy cross, an alliance being likewise concluded betwixt all the states of *Italy*, except the *Genoese*, for twenty years, each party agreeing to refer their future disputes to the decision of the pope, and not to renew hostilities against one another, unless authorized by an apostolic bull [e]. During the negociations at *Naples*, the diet was celebrated at *Frankfort*, and, by the persuasions of *Æneas Sylvius*, the assembly agreed to grant 10,000 horse

Constantinople is taken by the Turks. A. D. 1453.

The Germans *promise to*

[b] ÆN. Epist. 399. [c] PHRA. l. iii. & alii plur. [d] Comment. Pii II. l. 1. [e] POG. Hist. apud Murat. ut sup. PLATIN. in Vit. Nicol. V.

and

and 32,000 foot to the *Hungarians*; after which reſolution, the electors of the empire, and the princes of *Germany*, had a conference with the emperor at *Neuſtadt*, to conſult of the means for raiſing the troops; but their deliberations, when they were almoſt brought to a concluſion, were interrupted by the news of the death of the pope, which happened on the 22d of *March*. *Nicolas* is celebrated by the hiſtorians of thoſe times for his great liberality, eſpecially to learned men. He was at great pains and expence in procuring the ancient *Greek* authors, and cauſing them to be tranſlated into the *Latin* tongue; and likewiſe ſent learned men into all the kingdoms of *Europe*, to ſearch the monaſteries and churches for the manuſcripts of the *Latin* authors [f].

ſend auxiliaries into Hungary. A.D. 1455. *Their march is prevented by the death of the pope.*

A FEW days after the death of *Nicolas*, the eighteen cardinals who were at *Rome* entered the conclave, and, according to *Æneas Sylvius*, the greateſt number of them propoſed to elect cardinal *Beſſarion*, one of the *Greeks* who had remained in *Italy* after the council of *Florence*; but the archbiſhop of *Avignon* objecting to him as a neophyte, or new convert, and urging the danger of a ſchiſm, he was ſet aſide, and *Alphonſo Borgia*, a cardinal prieſt, was elected, who took the name of *Calixtus* III. *Alphonſo* was born of a noble family, at *Sativa* in *Spain*, and having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by procuring the abdication of *Ægidius*, the ſucceſſor of *Peter de Luna*, he was created biſhop of *Valentia* by *Martin* V. *Eugenius* IV. promoted him to the cardinalate for his ſervices in procuring a peace betwixt him and *Alphonſus* king of *Naples*, and at his promotion to the pontificate he had now entered the 77th year of his age, and was very decrepit. However, immediately after his coronation, he engaged by a ſolemn vow to make war upon the *Turks*, and, to execute that deſign, acted with great ſpirit and vigour. He ſent legates and preachers into the different provinces of *Europe*, to excite the Chriſtians to a cruſade againſt the infidels, impoſed a tythe upon all eccleſiaſtical perſons of whatever dignity for the ſupport of that war, wrote to the king of *Perſia* and to the king of the *Tartars* to attack the *Turkiſh* provinces in *Aſia*, and, ordering ſixteen gallies to be built and fitted out at *Rome*, ſent them, under the command of cardinal *Lewis*, patriarch of *Aquileia*, to attack the iſlands and maritime places in the *Archipelago*. In conſequence of his ardour, ſeveral princes of *Europe* likewiſe expreſſed their fondneſs for that expedition. The king of *Naples* and the duke of *Burgundy* took the croſs, promiſing either to go in perſon, or to

Calixtus III. *is elected.*

He acts with great vigour againſt the Turks.

[f] Idem ibid. SPOND. Annal.

ſend a body of troops againſt the infidels. The emperor about the ſame time ſent *Æneas Sylvius* to *Rome* to congratulate the pope upon his promotion, and to promiſe his aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*. This embaſſy, however, was not without great oppoſition from the *German* princes, who inſiſted that the pope ought to confirm the concordata that had been ratified by his predeceſſor, before the emperor yielded him obedience; but their remonſtrances were over-ruled by *Æneas*.

Difference between him and the king of Naples.

In the mean time the king of *Naples* and *Arragon*, inſtead of fulfilling his vow againſt the *Turks*, quarrelled with *Calixtus*, whom he did not find ſo compliable with his inclinations as he expected. As the pope had formerly been his counſellor, and had obtained the cardinalate by his intereſt, the king imagined that his demands would meet with no denial, and therefore deſired not only the eventual inveſtiture of *Naples* for his natural ſon *Ferdinand*, but alſo the poſſeſſion of the march of *Ancona*, and ſeveral other places in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The pope refuſing to grant theſe demands, *Alphonſus* conceived a great reſentment againſt him, which

A. D. 1456. continued during his whole life [h]. *Calixtus*, notwithſtanding the enmity of the king of *Naples*, did not abate in his zeal againſt the *Turks*; and, in the beginning of the following year, ordered proceſſions to be made, and prayers to be uſed, over all *Europe* againſt the infidels, with the offer of large indulgencies. Soon after he had the ſatisfaction to find that his endeavours were not altogether unſucceſsful; for, tho' the Chriſtian princes gave little attention to the cruſade, yet *John Capiſtran*, a *Franciſcan*, who had made himſelf famous by his preaching in *Germany*, marched from thence at the head of 40,000 cruſaders, and, joining the *Hungarian* army under the command of *Hunniades*, raiſed the ſiege of *Belgrade*, killing 40,000 of the enemy, and

1457. taking 200 pieces of cannon. Not long after the pope created nine cardinals, among whom was *Æneas Sylvius*; and the following ſpring, having received a letter from *Hungary*, informing him that *Mohammed* had entered into an alliance with the ſoltan of *Egypt*, and was aſſembling an immenſe army to renew the ſiege of *Belgrade*, and had ſworn not to retire till he had taken the city, altho' he ſhould hear of the loſs of half of *Aſia*, he wrote to the emperor and the king of *Naples*, urging them to ſend ſuccours to the *Hungarians*.

An army of cruſaders marches to the relief of Belgrade.

[h] Comment. Pii II. l. ii. SPOND. Annal. RAINALD ad an. 1456.

He

His information, however, was false, for the *Turkish* emperor marched into *Albania* against *Scanderbeg*. But, if the *Hungarians* had been invaded, the Christian princes were not at all in the humour of giving them assistance. *Alphonsus* king of *Naples* fitted out a considerable fleet, under pretence of joining that of the pope, but he employed it in invading the territories of *Genoa*. The kings of *Castile*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*, allowed the pope's collectors to carry off one half only of the tax raised by the tythe and indulgencies, and retained the other as a supply against their particular enemies [i]. The king of *France* is accused by S. *Antoninus* and *Æneas Sylvius* of having totally misapplied the money that was raised against the *Turks*. *Antoninus* affirms, that he ordered it to be deposited with some faithful persons, to be afterwards expended in paying the *French* soldiers that should engage in the crusade; but, in reality, he fitted out a small fleet, and made a descent on the *English* coast at *Sandwich* [k]. According to *Æneas*, the son of *René* duke of *Anjou* employed twenty-four gallies, that had been built at *Avignon* by the cardinal legate, in an expedition against the kingdom of *Naples* [l]. The *Germans* likewise, thinking themselves greatly aggrieved, made loud complaints against the proceedings of the pope; they accused him of violating the concordata, and quite exhausting the kingdom by his excessive taxes. Several princes and prelates had therefore proposed to enter into a pragmatic sanction, the chief articles of which were, that the *Germans* should not be obliged to obey the apostolic see, and that no money should be carried from thence to the court of *Rome*. *Calixtus* ordered *Æneas Sylvius* to justify his proceedings to the *Germans*. The cardinal accordingly wrote not only to the emperor, but to the chancellor of the archbishop of *Mentz*, answering particularly all the articles of their grievances. As to the excessive taxes, he declared that the pope had exacted no money from *Germany*, excepting the annates which were of great antiquity; what had been offered for the *Turkish* expedition, which indeed required vast sums, he had not avariciously hoarded, or lavished in luxury, but employed in subsidies to *Scanderbeg* and the *Greeks* in the *Archipelago*, and in fitting out a fleet against the *Turks*, by which he might justly boast that he had done more for the common cause than all the princes of *Europe* besides. By the concordata he insisted that the

The Christian princes do not second the efforts of the pope.

The Germans make great complaints against him, and

[i] Marian. l. xxii. c. 18. Krantz, 8 Dan. 30 & 33. Idem 12, Wandal. 33. [k] Anton. t. xxii. c. 16. sect. 1. [l] Comment. Pii II. l. 4. in prim.

pope was not bound to confirm all elections, but only ſuch as were canonical, and that, altho' by the plenitude of his power he had a right even to ſet aſide a canonical election, yet he had not hitherto uſed that privilege; that, whatever were their grievances, to pretend to oppoſe the apoſtolic authority by any pragmatic ſanction was iniquitous, or to appeal from that ſee to a general council was abſurd, being a confounding and perverting of the whole ſtate of the catholic religion [m]. The *Germans*, however, ſtill remained diſſatisfied; one *James Wimpheling* publiſhed an anſwer to the letters of *Æneas* [n], and the biſhop of *Wurtzburgh* not only took the money from the collectors, but expelled the pope's nuncios from his territories, in which proceeding he was countenanced by the archbiſhop of *Mentz* [o].

expel his nuncios.

THE pope in the mean time ſent other two gallies to join thoſe under the command of the patriarch of *Aquileia*, who had recovered ſeveral iſlands from the *Turks*, and taken and ſunk a great many of their ſhips. About the ſame time the peace of *Rome* being greatly diſturbed by the family of the *Urſini*, who had had recourſe to arms to aſſert their right to a certain territory, *Calixtus* appointed his nephew *Borgia* governor of *Rome*, and general of the church forces. Soon after, being informed of the death of *Alphonſus* king of *Naples*, he immediately conferred ſeveral wealthy biſhoprics in that kingdom, which authority he durſt not uſe during the life of the king. He likewiſe declared the kingdom of *Apulia* vacant by his death, and to have fallen to the apoſtolic ſee, charging *Ferdinand*, under pain of excommunication, not to concern himſelf with it, or aſſume the name of king; and warning the princes and ſtates of the kingdom, under the ſame penalty, not to adhere to him. *Ferdinand* at firſt endeavoured to ſooth the mind of the pope by letters and embaſſies; but, finding him inflexible, he appealed to a future council, and aſſembled an army, with which he propoſed to march to *Rome*; but he was quickly freed from his inveterate enemy by death, which happened to him on the 7th of *Auguſt*, in the third year and fourth month of his pontificate [p] (P).

A. D. 1458.

The pope, upon the death of the king of Naples, *claims that kingdom;*

but dies at Rome.

CALIXTUS

[m] ÆN. Epiſt. 305. 334, 335, &c. [n] Extat. t. 2. rer. Ger. edit. Freher. [o] ÆN. Epiſt. 337. [p] SURIT. l. xvi. c. 48, & ſeq. PLATINA.

(P) *Calixtus*, during his ſhort pontificate, was very earneſt in promoting his relations, having on the very day of his election created two of his nephews cardinals, one of whom was afterwards

CALIXTUS being interred with the uſual ceremonies, a few days after the cardinals entered the conclave, and on the third day choſe for his ſucceſſor *Æneas Sylvius Picolomini*, who took the name of *Pius* II. and was conſecrated on the 5th of *September* (Q). He immediately wrote to all the Chriſtian

Pius II. *is elected.*

terwards pope, by the name of *Alexander* VI. The brother of this laſt he created duke of *Spoleto*, and appointed him governor in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, propoſing likewiſe to give him a large poſſeſſion in the kingdom of *Naples*. But, being prevented by death, the *Romans* obliged his nephew, the duke, to fly to *Civita Vecchia*, where he ſoon after died (1).

(Q.) *Æneas Sylvius Bartholomeo Picolomini* was born on the 18th of *October* 1405, at *Corſignano*, a ſmall town in the territory of *Siena*, which he afterwards erected into a biſhop's ſee by the name of *Pienza*. His parents had been baniſhed from *Siena*, and lived in mean circumſtances at *Corſignano*, where *Æneas*, while he was at ſchool, was obliged to aſſiſt in the management of a farm. He was educated, however, with great care; and, having finiſhed his academical ſtudies at *Siena* and *Rome*, when he was 26 years of age he went with cardinal *Capranica*, as his ſecretary, to the council of *Baſil*. He was afterwards ſecretary to other prelates, and was ſent by cardinal *Albergati* to *Scotland*. Upon his return he was honoured by the ſame council with the offices of referendary, abbreviator, chancellor, and agent general, and was ſent ſeveral times as their deputy to *Straſburg*, *Frankfort*, *Conſtance*, *Trent*, and *Savoy*. He was ſecretary to the antipope *Felix* V. and afterwards to the emperor *Frederic* III. who honoured him with the poetical crown, and employed him in different embaſſies to *Rome*, *Milan*, *Naples*, *Bohemia*, and elſewhere. In the midſt of theſe negotiations, he always found leiſure to publiſh ſome treatiſe or other, and was ſo delighted with writing, that, even after he was pope, in the midſt of his great occupations, and altho' he was afflicted with the gout, he could not deſiſt. When he perceived the factious and violent proceedings of the council of *Baſil*, he deſerted that party, and, notwithſtanding the activity he had ſhewn in oppoſing the intereſts of *Eugenius*, he was eſteemed by that pope, who appointed him his ſecretary. *Nicolas* V. created him biſhop of *Trieſte*, and, upon his reſigning that ſee, appointed him biſhop of *Siena*, and employed him as his nuncio in *Auſtria*, *Hungary*, *Moravia*, and *Bohemia*. During the pontificate of *Calixtus* III. who created him a cardinal, he reſided chiefly at *Rome*, having, as he confeſſed himſelf, during all the time of his former ſervices, ſcarce acquired ſo much as would purchaſe a pair of ſhoes (2). His works, with his life prefixed, were publiſhed in

(1) *Ciacon. & Platin. in Caliſt. Æn.* 188.

(2) *Epiſt. Card. Papien.* 365. *Epiſt.*

Christian princes, informing them of his election; which gave great joy to the emperor, the kings of *Spain* and *Naples*, and particularly to the duke of *Modena*, who expressed his gratitude for the services formerly done him by *Æneas* with the emperor, by fireworks and a magnificent tournament at *Ferrara*. *Pius*, being very desirous of opposing the progress of the *Turks*, proposed to form a general league against them, and for that purpose convoked an assembly or convention of all Christian princes and free states, to meet the following year, on the 1st of *June*, at *Mantua*. He sent cardinal *Bessarion*, as his legate, to the emperor, to excite that prince to act with vigour against the *Turks*; and, after some hesitation, he gave the title of king to *George Podiebrad*, who, upon the death of *Ladislaus*, had been elected by the *Bohemians*; but, tho' he had professed his obedience to the *Roman* church, was still suspected of inclining to the *Hussites*, by which sect he had hitherto been supported. In the mean time *Pius* endeavoured to quiet the disturbances in *Italy*, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of *René*, duke of *Anjou*, formerly adopted by the queen of *Naples*, he confirmed the kingdom of *Apulia* to *Ferdinand*, the present possessor, and sent the cardinal *Ursini* to perform the ceremony of his coronation [q] (R).

He gives the investiture of Naples *to* Ferdinand,

A. D. 1459. The following year, having appointed the prince of *Colonna* governor, and cardinal *Cusa* legate of the city, he left *Rome* in order to proceed to *Mantua*; but, before his departure, he made a decree with the consent of the cardinals, that, if he should happen to die without the city, his successor should

[q] Spond. Annal.

one volume at *Basil*, in 1551. The commentaries of *John Coheline*, his secretary, which were generally believed to be written by himself, were published at *Rome* in 1584, and afterwards at *Helmstadt* in 1700. According to the cardinal of *Siena*, his nephew, one may justly apply to him part of two lines from *Virg.* l. i. v. 382, 383. *Sum pius Æneas* ——— ——*fama super æthera notus* (3).

(R) Some authors relate, that, as an acknowlegement for this service, *Ferdinand*, whose father had left him 6,000,000 of gold, gave a large sum of money to the pope, and likewise gave his natural daughter *Mary* in marriage to *Antonio Picolomini* the pope's nephew, with the duchy of *Amalfi*, and dignity of great justiciary of the kingdom (4).

(3) *Joan. Anton. Campan. in vit. Æn. Platin. Ciacon.* (4) *Collenut. l.* vi. *Meyer. in Manstelet.*

not

not be choſen any-where elſe than at *Rome*. He likewiſe left ſome cardinals, auditors of the rota, and advocates, to judge the cauſes that ſhould come before the *Roman* court in his abſence. He proceeded by ſlow journies to *Corſignano*, and from thence to *Siena*, which city he erected into a metropolitan, creating his nephew *Antonio* the firſt archbiſhop. While he continued at *Siena*, he received the ambaſſadors of the emperor, the kings of *Caſtile*, *Portugal*, and *Hungary*, and of the duke of *Burgundy*, and ſeveral *German* princes. The *Germans* complained, that he had given the title of king of *Hungary* to *Matthias*, the ſon of the general *Hunniades*, altho' the barons of that kingdom had choſen the emperor. But *Pius* alleging that *Matthias* had been ſolemnly acknowleged by the ſtates, and was in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and conſequently had a right to the title of king, which had been conferred upon him by *Calixtus*, the *Germans* ceaſed their complaints, and, together with the other ambaſſadors, yielded obedience to him as pope publicly in the church. The ambaſſadors from *Bohemia*, that they might not by their ſubmiſſion offend the party of the *Calixtins*, yielded obedience to the pope in a private conſiſtory. This inſtance of regard to that ſect confirmed the ſuſpicions of the catholics, that *George Podiebrad* had not acted ſincerely in abjuring its doctrines: the ambaſſadors of the *Sileſians*, who had proteſted againſt his election, now declared to the pope that they would not obey him, and demanded the aſſiſtance of his holineſs to protect the Catholic religion in their province. *Pius* promiſed to them to write to the king to ceaſe his hoſtilities againſt them, and to remit all diſputes concerning religion to the apoſtolic ſee, declaring that, if he refuſed to obey, he would uſe other means to ſecure their religion [r]. He then proceeded from *Siena* to *Florence*, and from thence, by *Bologna* and *Ferrara*, to *Mantua*, where, a few days after his arrival, he opened the convention on the 1ſt of *June*, and, in a ſpeech from his throne, complained of the neglect of the princes who had omitted to ſend their plenipotentiaries to the aſſembly. Ambaſſadors had arrived from the deſpot of *Morea*, and from *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, *Leſbos*, *Albania*, *Epirus*, and ſome ſtates on the coaſts of *Illyria*; but they all came to requeſt ſuccours, excepting the *Raguſans*, who offered auxiliaries againſt the infidels. The pope, having quieted the diſputes about precedence by a decree, declaring that the ſuperiority or inferiority of places ſhould give no honour or diſhonour to thoſe who occupied them, then gave audience to

Receives ambaſſadors from the emperor and other Chriſtian princes.

A convention held at Mantua.

[r] Comment. Pii II. l. 2.

the duke of *Cleves*, ambaſſador from the duke of *Burgundy*. Though the duke at firſt refuſed to promiſe any ſuccours, and inſiſted much upon the impracticability of a general cruſade, as ſeveral of the chief powers in *Europe* were engaged in private quarrels; nevertheleſs, at the preſſing inſtances of the pope, he ſtipulated 2000 horſe and 4000 foot, to be maintained at the expence of the duke of *Burgundy* during the continuance of the war. Ambaſſadors likewiſe arrived from the *Florentines*, *Sienneſe*, *Luccheſe*, and *Bolognese*, offering ſuccours on their part: the duke of *Modena*, excuſing himſelf on account of ſickneſs, ſent his brother, who, in his name, offered 390,000 crowns for the expedition; the duke of *Milan* came perſonally to the aſſembly, and ſtipulated his quota of auxiliaries; the *Genoeſe*, though they durſt not concern themſelves in a public manner, as they were then under the dominion of the king of *France*, yet promiſed in private to concur with the *Italian* ſtates. The ambaſſador of the king of *Naples* took an oath in his maſter's name, whereby he promiſed to engage perſonally in the cruſade, and the *Venetians* ſent their ambaſſadors, and promiſed to contribute largely to the expedition, if the other Chriſtian princes would engage not to deſert them during the continuance of the war. It was then unanimouſly decreed, that the war ſhould be carried on, both by ſea and land, by an army of 50,000 men, and a fleet of 40 gallies and eight ſmaller ſhips; that the clergy of *Italy* ſhould pay the tythe of their revenues for three years, the laity the thirtieth, and the *Jews* the twentieth, of their whole effects. Soon after ambaſſadors arrived from the king of *France*, and from *Renè* pretender to the crown of *Naples*, who refuſed to engage in the cruſade, unleſs the *Engliſh* would conclude a peace, but complained of the favour ſhewn by the pope to *Ferdinand* in prejudice of the right of *Renè*. *Pius*, in juſtification of his own proceedings, recriminated againſt the *French*, who, in prejudice of the apoſtolic ſee, had publiſhed the pragmatic ſanction in their kingdom; and finding that he could expect no aſſiſtance from them or the *Engliſh*, who were engaged in civil diſſenſions, he ſent a legate *à latere* to ſollicit the emperor and *German* princes to furniſh the 42,000 men that had been promiſed at the diet of *Frankfort* during the pontificate of *Nicolas*. The *Germans*, before they would agree to this demand, held another diet at *Nuremberg*; however, nothing was concluded at that aſſembly, and the affair was put off till the following year [s].

A general alliance is formed againſt the Turks.

[s] PLAT. in Paneg. in laud. Beſſar. MULLER, p. iii. c. 24.

PIUS

Pius in the mean time, having conſulted the prelates and cardinals who were preſent on the 16th of *January*, publiſhed a decree, condemning and prohibiting, under pain of excommunication and interdict, all appeals to future general councils as contrary to the canons, and ridiculous, as appealing to what did not exiſt, and as they nouriſhed rebellion againſt the apoſtolic ſee, and confounded all eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and the hierarchical order [t]. A few weeks after, having made an elegant diſcourſe to the ambaſſadors of the princes and ſtates, he diſſolved the convention, after it had continued eight months, an end being thereby put, not only to their deliberations, but alſo to all further thoughts of executing what had been agreed upon. From *Mantua* *Pius* returned to *Siena*, where, with the conſent of the ſacred college, he created ſix cardinals, among whom was his nephew *Francis Picolomini*, then a ſtudent at *Perugia*. About the ſame time the cardinal *Cuſa*, who enjoyed the biſhopric of *Breſcia in commendam*, having been impriſoned by *Sigiſmund*, duke of *Auſtria*, with whom he had for ſeveral years been at variance (S), *Pius*, upon being informed of this outrage, excommunicated the duke; and hearing that he contemned the anathema, he cited him to give an exact account of his faith. *Sigiſmund* appealing from this citation to a future council and a future pope, *Pius* publiſhed another ſentence againſt him, declaring him guilty of ſacrilege. *Gregory Heimburg*, ſyndic of *Nurem*, publiſhed an appeal againſt this laſt ſentence, which expoſed him to the reſentment of the pope, who denounced an anathema againſt him, and ordered all his effects to be confiſcated [u]. The

The pope condemns appeals to future general councils.

A. D. 1460.

[t] Comment. Pii II. l. ii. & iii.

[u] Æn. Epiſt. 120 & 400.

(S) *Sigiſmund*, who as count of *Tyrol* was patron of the church of *Breſcia*, was offended that the cardinal ſhould poſſeſs that biſhopric as a ſinecure, which cuſtom, though common in *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, and *England*, was very rare in *Germany*, which was one reaſon why there were very few *German* cardinals. The duke, at length, allowed the cardinal to take quiet poſſeſſion, who ſoon after finding that *Sigiſmund* was in poſſeſſion of a certain fief of his church, for which he made no acknowlegement, he deſired him to deliver it up, or to take a new inveſtiture. This was the occaſion of their diſſenſion; and the duke thinking himſelf aggrieved, and not receiving ſatisfaction at the convention of *Mantua*, impriſoned the cardinal, but quickly after ſet him at liberty (1).

(1) *Krantz* 12. *Wandal.* 24. *Naucler gener.* 49.

Pope

Difference betwixt him and the kings of Castile *and* Poland;

pope, about the same time, was engaged in disputes with the kings of *Castile* and *Poland*. As the bishop of *Leon*, who had come as ambassador from the king of *Castile*, died at *Siena*, *Pius* appointed the cardinal of *St. Sixtus* as his successor, who was disapproved of by the king, who would not allow him to take possession. The king of *Poland* likewise refused to confer the church of *Cracow* upon the person nominated by the pope, but caused his chancellor to be elected by some of the canons; and although the pope had ordered the person appointed by him to be received, under pain of excommunication, the king, nevertheless, opposed him with such vigour, that he was obliged to drop his pretensions, and the chancellor remained in quiet possession [w].

MEAN while *Pius* received an embassy from the patriarchs of *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, and *Jerusalem*, declaring that they had at last accepted of the decree of union published in the council of *Florence* [x]. A few days after ambassadors arrived from *Monobasia*, a fortified city on the coast of the *Morea*, offering to surrender their city to the pope, as their sovereign *Demetrius Palæologus* had revolted to the *Turks*. *Pius* accordingly received the city in the name of the *Roman* church, furnished it with provisions, of which it was in great want, and sent a governor to take upon him the command. In the mean time the pope was informed of a great commotion in *Rome*, where one *Tiburtius* (whose father had been executed for a conspiracy during the pontificate of *Nicolas*) had assembled a great body of young men, and, under pretence of freeing the city from the yoke of the priests, had committed great outrages, and taken possession of the church of *St. Maria rotunda*, the magistrates not daring to make opposition. The pope, to put a stop to the tumult, immediately proceeded to *Rome*, and, soon after his arrival, having apprehended *Tiburtius* and his chief associates, he ordered them to be put to death [y].

He quells a commotion at Rome, *and assists* Ferdinand *against his competitor the duke of* Anjou.

NOTWITHSTANDING the pope's great desire to establish peace among the Christian princes, he at the same time made himself a party in the civil dissensions in the kingdom of *Naples*, where *John*, the son of *René*, duke of *Anjou*, had arrived in the end of the former year with a considerable body of *French* troops, and raised a formidable rebellion against *Ferdinand*, who was this year defeated at *Sarno*, and obliged to fly to *Naples*. *Pius*, having no desire to see the *French* power increase in *Italy*, immediately sent succours to *Ferdinand*,

[w] CROMER. l. xxiv. MICHOV. l. iv. c. 60. [x] SPOND. Annal. [y] Comment. Pii II. l. iii. PLATINA,

and

and joined his forces with thoſe of the duke of *Milan*, to oppoſe *Picenninus*, who intended to march to the aſſiſtance of the rebels. About the ſame time he countenanced the *Genoeſe* in expelling the *French* garriſon, and aſſerting their liberty. In the beginning of his pontificate, having ſent a legate to the Chriſtians of *Iberia*, *Armenia*, and *Meſopotamia*, to excite them againſt the *Turks*, he now received the ambaſſadors of thoſe people, and of ſeveral other heathen nations, their allies, who had come through *Cholchis* and *Scythia*, and from thence, by *Hungary* and *Venice*, to *Rome*. At their audience in a private conſiſtory, they promiſed to attack the *Turks* in *Aſia*, with an army of 120,000 men, if the *Europeans* would agree to unite their forces againſt them at the ſame time. *Pius* being ſtill very zealous in promoting the cruſade, in the beginning of the following year ſent theſe ambaſſadors into *France*, that they might influence, if poſſible, the *French* king and the duke of *Burgundy*, heartily to eſpouſe the common cauſe [z]. They accordingly proceeded to *France*, together with *Lewis the Franciſcan*, who had been ſent legate into *Aſia*; but they could obtain nothing from *Charles* or the duke of *Burgundy*, but picked up a conſiderable ſum of money by begging from the people. Upon their return to *Venice*, the pope having diſcovered them to be impoſtors, and that *Lewis* had prevailed with ſome ignorant biſhops to grant him epiſcopal and patriarchal ordination, he ordered him and his companions to be apprehended; but they having private notice, immediately made their eſcape [a]. A. D. 1461.

In the mean time *Thomas Palæologus*, formerly deſpot of part of *Morea*, having fled from *Corcyra*, arrived at *Rome*, the pope received him with great hoſpitality, and appointed him a penſion of 300 crowns a month, to which the cardinals added 200 [b]. A few weeks after he excommunicated the duke of *Auſtria*, for refuſing to give ſatisfaction to the cardinal *Cuſa*; and denounced the ſame ſentence againſt *Sigiſmund Malateſta*, who, inſtead of paying the uſual tribute for the fiefs which he poſſeſſed in the church patrimony, had ſeized ſeveral other caſtles, and raiſed a conſiderable army, with which he had defeated the churches legate. As *Dietherus*, who the year before had been elected archbiſhop of *Mentz*, had neglected to appear at *Rome*, and to pay 14,000 crowns for the annates, and other expences of his admiſſion, the pope, about this time, denounced a ſen- *A diſpute about the archbiſhopric of* Mentz.

[z] Æn. Epiſt. 576. [a] Ejusd. Epiſt. 377. [b] Comment Pii II. lib. v.

tence

tence of excommunication againſt him: but the archbiſhop appealed from this bull to a future council, and laid his grievances before an aſſembly of the princes at *Mentz*. As the pope's nuncios ſupported the intereſts of the court of *Rome* at this aſſembly, the archbiſhop found that the princes did not eſpouſe his ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee. However, he again neglected to fulfil his engagements, and, without waiting till he was abſolved from the ſentence of excommunication, exerciſed the functions of his office. This contumacy offending the pope, he ordered the chapter to proceed to a new election, who accordingly choſe *Adolphus* of *Naſſau*, whom the pope confirmed in the ſee (T).

The pope ſends a legate into France, *to congratulate the king;*

IN the midſt of this diſpute with the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, *Pius* being informed of the death of the king of *France*, ſent a legate into that kingdom, to congratulate *Lewis* XI. his ſucceſſor, and to prevail with him to revoke the pragmatic ſanction, and ſend auxiliaries to the Chriſtians againſt the *Turks*. *Lewis* immediately promiſed, with an oath, to annul the pragmatic ſanction, without calling any aſſembly of the prelates or nobles; which promiſe he ſoon after performed, by a letter which he wrote to the pope, allowing the apoſtolic ſee the ſame authority in his kingdom as it enjoyed during the pontificate of *Martin* V [c]. This proceeding of the king was oppoſed by a great many prelates of his kingdom, and the univerſity of *Paris* appealed both from the king and the pope to a future council [d]. At the ſame time it gave great ſatisfaction to the pope, who ſoon after promoted his legate in *France*, with five others, to the dignity of cardinal [e]. At this juncture likewiſe he wrote a long letter to *Mohammed*, emperor of the *Turks*, exhorting him to deſiſt from perſecuting the Chriſtians, and to embrace the Chriſtian faith; promiſing him, if he would be baptized, the empire of the

who revokes the pragmatic ſanction.

[c] Ap. ÆNEAS Epiſt. 388. [d] BELLEFOR. l. v, c. 119.
[e] SPOND. Annal.

(T) this new election occaſioned a war betwixt the two pretenders; but the party of *Adolphus* being ſtrongeſt, *Dietherus* agreed to an accommodation, which continued but a ſhort time; for, at the inſtigation of the count *Palatine*, he renewed the war, which laſted till the year 1463; when, in compaſſion for the miſeries with which the dioceſe was afflicted, he wholly reſigned his right to *Adolphus*, reſerving only ſome towns for his life. Upon this agreement he received abſolution from the pope's nuncio, and lived to ſucceed *Adolphus* afterwards in 1478 (1).

(1) *Muller*, p. 3, c. 20. *Comment. Pii* II. c. 6.

Greeks,

Greeks, as his predeceſſors had transferred the *Roman* empire to *Charlemagne* [f] (U).

THIS good correſpondence betwixt the pope and the king of *France* was of very ſhort continuance; for although in the beginning of the following year the king ſent a moſt ſplendid embaſſy to *Rome*, which confirmed the abrogation of the pragmatic ſanction, yet, as the pope would not conſent to abandon *Ferdinand*, a miſunderſtanding immediately enſued. The king offered to ſend a powerful army againſt the *Turks*, if the pope would countenance the ſucceſſion of the duke of *Anjou* to the kingdom of *Naples*, and if *Genoa* ſhould return to the obedience of *France*. The pope anſwered, that he would withdraw his auxiliaries from *Ferdinand*, if both parties would ſubmit to the deciſion of the apoſtolic ſee: ſome preliminaries were accordingly propoſed to procure a truce, during which all differences might be terminated by an amicable accommodation. However, as the pope ſtill continued to aſſiſt *Ferdinand*, and ſome perſons at *Rome* had informed the king, that *Pius*, ſince the abrogation of the pragmatic ſanction, proſecuted the war with more earneſtneſs, as he now drew more money from *France* than formerly, *Lewis* wrote to him, and ſent another ambaſſador to *Rome*, threatening to recall all *Frenchmen* from the *Roman* court. This threatening meſſage had no effect upon *Pius*, who declared that the *French* were at liberty to leave his court when they pleaſed; and that he would not deſert *Ferdinand* while the duke of *Anjou* continued his hoſtilities [g]. However, ſoon after the pope endeavoured to mitigate his anſwer; and the college of cardinals, at his deſire, wrote to the king, entreating him not to give credit to calumnies, but to cultivate a friendſhip with his holineſs, who never mentioned him but with the greateſt regard.

A. D. 1462.

A miſunderſtanding betwixt him and the pope.

[f] ÆN. Fpiſt. 396. [g] Comment. l. viii.

(U) This letter has been moſt juſtly cenſured as unapoſtolical, and the pope has been condemned as making a merchandize of the goſpel, which ordains a reſtitution of all poſſeſſions unjuſtly acquired. With the ſame juſtice a *Jew*, convicted of being a fraudulent bankrupt, ought not to be puniſhed, if he would conſent to be baptized (1).

O nimium facilis, qui triſtia crimina lædis
Fluminea poſſe tolli putatis aquâ (2).

(1) *Du Pleſſis myſtere d' Iniquité, p.* 547. *Privet, Remarque ſur la reponſe au myſtere d' Iniquité, par* ii. *p.* 617. *Hiſtoire des Papes a la Haye, Bayle Dict. Crit. Art. Mahomet* II. *rem* Q. (2) *Ovid Faſtor. l.* ii. *v.* 37.

PIUS,

The pope receives an embaſſy from the king of Bohemia;

PIUS, at this period, had likewiſe received an embaſſy from *George Podiebrad*, king of *Bohemia*, to demand the confirmation of the compactata by the apoſtolic ſee. The pope replied, as the conditions on which theſe compactata had been granted had been frequently violated by the *Bohemians*, they could not now be of any force; and as the king at his coronation had ſworn to obey the apoſtolic ſee, he ought to unite himſelf ſincerely with the *Roman* church, without which union his kingdom could not ſtand. The ambaſſadors reporting this anſwer to the ſtates, which had aſſembled at *Prague*, the king broke out into reproaches againſt the pope, and declared, that though he had ſworn to extirpate hereſy, yet as he had never believed the doctrine of the communion under both kinds to be a hereſy, he was determined to die in that faith. The pope's nuncio being afterwards admitted to an audience, and inſiſting upon implicit obedience to the *Roman* church, the king ordered him to be impriſoned; but, at the interceſſion of the emperor, about three months afterwards he ſet him at liberty; *Frederic* at the ſame time, in conſideration of the aſſiſtance he received from *George*, in the diſpute with his brother about the ſucceſſion of *Auſtria*, interceded in his behalf with the pope. Though *Pius*, at the emperor's interceſſion, delayed his cenſures againſt the king of *Bohemia*, yet he again denounced an anathema againſt *Malateſta* and the duke of *Auſtria*, and againſt *George Heinberg*, who had eſpouſed the duke of *Auſtria*'s cauſe. His troops ſoon afterwards defeating *Malateſta* at *Senogallia*, and *Ferdinand* gaining a ſignal victory over the party of the duke of *Anjou* at *Froja*, *Pius* renewed the deliberations about the *Turkiſh* expedition; and having procured the hearty concurrence of the *Venetians*, he ſent the biſhop of *Ferrara*, as his legate, to the king of *France* and duke of *Burgundy*, who brought nothing but fine promiſes from theſe princes, which were never put in execution [h].

who deſires him to oblige the catholics of Sileſia *to ſubmit to his government.*

THE following year the pope received another embaſſy from the king of *Bohemia*, excuſing his behaviour at the diet of *Prague*, promiſing obedience to the apoſtolic ſee, and deſiring the pope to oblige the inhabitants of *Breſlau* to acknowlege him for their king. As *Podiebrad* was ſtrongly ſuſpected of hereſy, the pope abſolutely refuſed to revoke the bull which he had granted to the *Sileſians*, abſolving them from their allegiance; but, at the interceſſion of the emperor,

[h] Comment. PII II. l. vii. & ix. PLATINA.

he

he did not yet denounce an anathema againſt the king [i]. However, on *Good-Friday* he again excommunicated *Sigiſmund* of *Auſtria*, and *Malateſta* prince of *Rimini*; and having received an embaſſy from the king of *Boſnia*, deſiring aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*, and cathedral churches to be erected in his kingdom, which had lately been converted from *Manichiſm*, he promiſed to ſend biſhops thither to inſtruct and govern the new converts, and to write to the king of *Hungary*, and to the *Venetians*, to aſſiſt them againſt the infidels. Before the return of theſe ambaſſadors, *Boſnia* was invaded and conquered by the *Turks*: but, in compenſation for this loſs, the *Venetians* being inſtigated by the pope's legate, cardinal *Beſſarion* declared war againſt the *Turks*; and fitting out a powerful fleet recovered the *Morea*, and ſeveral iſlands in the *Archipelago* [k]. A. D. 1463.

In the mean time the king of *France* ſtill kept up his reſentment againſt the pope, and publiſhed three decrees; by the firſt of which, he declared himſelf the only competent judge of all diſputes about conferring of benefices in his kingdom, or diſpoſing of the revenues of thoſe that were vacant: by the ſecond he ordained, that the preſidents of parliament, and all his officers, ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges, in judging of cauſes relating to benefices, as thoſe which the apoſtolic ſee had granted to the univerſity of *Paris*; and by the third, he aſſumed to himſelf the right of judgment over all poſſeſſors of benefices. The pope ſent two legates into *France*, to endeavour to appeaſe the king, with an offer of a five years truce in *Sicily*, if he would conſent to take arms againſt the *Turks*. What was the effect of this embaſſy we don't find mentioned; but the king ſoon after publiſhed ſome other edicts againſt reſervations, and the exactors of the ſpoils of deceaſed prieſts [l]; the extortions of the court of *Rome*, as *Spondanus* confeſſed, furniſhing continual matters of complaint; ſo that nothing is more frequently mentioned than ſuch grievances in the hiſtory of *France*, *England*, *Germany*, and *Spain* [m]. *The king of France publiſhes ſeveral edicts againſt the authority of the ſee of Rome.*

Pius being ſtill chiefly intent upon the *Turkiſh* expedition, about this time ſent nuncios to the duke of *Burgundy*, to remind him of his vow; and having received a favourable anſwer from that prince, at his deſire he invited all the ſtates of *Italy* to ſend their deputies to *Rome*. Upon their arrival, the ambaſſadors of the duke of *Burgundy* declaring, that, in the beginning of the ſpring, he was determined to conduct a *Pius ſtill promotes the* Turkiſh *expedition*;

[i] Ap. Cochlæ. l. ii. Æn. Epiſt. 401. [k] Comment. l. xii. Chalcond. l. xii. ad. fin. [l] Comment. ut ſupra. [m] Spond. Annal. hoc an.

fleet

fleet in perſon againſt the *Turks*, the pope then aſked the *Italian* deputies, what auxiliaries their ſtates would furniſh. The greateſt part of the *Italians* anſwered, that they had only come to hear the propoſals of the pope; and the *Florentines* even adviſed his holineſs to allow the *Venetians* to carry on the war alone, which would probably ruin them in the end, and thereby ſecure the liberty of *Italy*. *Pius* deteſted this advice, and ſoon after, in a private conſiſtory, declared to the cardinals, that, as *Ferdinand* was ſecured in the poſſeſſion of *Naples*, and *Malateſta* defeated, he was determined to fit out as great a fleet as the revenues of the church could allow, and to ſail himſelf into *Aſia* or *Greece* againſt the infidels, in hopes that his example would influence the Chriſtian princes. His propoſal was greatly approved by the cardinals; however, the chief ſtates of *Italy* manifeſted no great forwardneſs to engage in the expedition, and only offered the ſubſidies that had been agreed upon at *Mantua* [n]. The duke of *Milan*, indeed, offered to ſend his ſon with a body of horſe; and the *Genoeſe* promiſed to fit out eight or ten ſhips, but they deſired to know before-hand what ſhare their ſtate ſhould have in the profits of the expedition [o].

and promiſes to ſail himſelf into Aſia.

THE pope, not at all diſcouraged by the backwardneſs of others, on the 19th of *October* publiſhed a bull, addreſſed to all the faithful, informing them of the neceſſity of the expedion, and that he himſelf intended to command a fleet, which was to ſail from *Ancona* about the beginning of *June* [p]. A few days after he wrote to the doge of *Venice*, deſiring him to come with a fleet to the general rendezvous at *Ancona*, and not to excuſe himſelf on account of his age, as he himſelf, and the duke of *Burgundy*, were both old men. Tho' the pope's health at this time was greatly broke by his continual fatigues, and eſpecially by the pains of the gout, with which diſtemper he was afflicted during the greateſt part of his pontificate, he, nevertheleſs, exerted himſelf with the greateſt aſſiduity in promoting the expedition. As his pains increaſed, and were attended with a fever, in the end of winter he went, by the advice of the phyſicians, to the baths of *Retriolana*, in the dioceſe of *Siena*, where he continued ſome months. While he was at *Siena*, he received the diſagreeable news that the duke of *Burgundy* declined engaging perſonally in the expedition: he wrote to that prince, exhorting him not to deſert the common cauſe in which he was en-

His health is greatly impaired. A.D. 1464.

[n] Comment. ut ſupra. [o] SUMONET in vit. Sforzæ. ap. Murator, t. xxi. NEVIENS. l. v. FOLIET. l. xi. [p] Ap. ÆN. Epiſt. 412.

gaged,

gaged, both by his honour and conſcience. However, his letter had not the deſired effect upon the duke, who only ſent his two natural ſons with 200 men, and promiſed to come the next year perſonally, if he was not prevented by death or ſickneſs [q]. The king of *France* likewiſe excuſed himſelf, being apprehenſive of a civil war, as the nobles of his kingdom had entered into a private conſpiracy againſt him [r]. No aſſiſtance could be expected from the kingdoms of *Spain*, who were then engaged in mutual wars; and in the end of the former year, the *Venetians* had been defeated by the *Turks* at *Corinth* and *Mitylene*, and been obliged to abandon the *Iſthmus* [s].

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe diſcouragements, the pope ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution; and having returned for a few days to *Rome*, he ſet out from thence, in a litter, for *Ancona*, where he arrived by ſlow journies about the middle of *July*. Soon after his arrival, he abſolved and diſmiſſed great part of the cruſaders, who had come into *Italy* without money for their ſubſiſtence during the expedition; whereas by his bull, he had only offered indulgences to thoſe who fought in his army, for one year, or eighteen months, at their own charge [t] (W). In the mean time news arriving that the *Turks* had encamped in the neighbourhood of *Raguſa*, as tho' they had an intention to beſiege that city, the pope immediately propoſed to embark for its relief, in hopes that, if he ſhould ſucceed, the Chriſtian princes would be excited to follow his good fortune. He altered his reſolution upon hearing that the *Turks* had retired, and a few days after he had the ſatisfaction to be joined by the doge of *Venice*, with a conſiderable fleet for the expedition; but his

He propoſes to embark at Ancona.

[q] Idem Epiſt. 382. SPOND. Annal. [r] PLATINA. MONSTRELET, vol. iii. [s] CHALCOND. l. x. SABELLIC. 3. Dec. 8. [t] PAPIENS. CARD. ep. 41. PLATIN.

(W) *Krantz*, in his *Wandalia* and *Saxonia*, relates, that the ignorant preachers in *Germany* aſſured the common people, that proviſions and arms would be furniſhed to them for the expedition. Great numbers accordingly went into *Italy* in rags, without arms, begging their ſubſiſtence upon the road, to the deriſion of the *Italians*, who admired their ſimplicity. Many went to *Venice* in expectation of embarking at that city. Others went to *Ancona*; but the greateſt number of all went to *Rome*; and very many, after they were diſmiſſed by the pope, periſhed with hunger in their return home (1).

(1) *Krantz. Wandal. l.* xii. *c.* 30. *Saxon. l.* xii. *c.* 3.

diſtemper ſtill increaſing, he aſſembled the cardinals, and recommending to them the proſecution of his deſign, and unity in the election of a new pope, died on the 13th of *Auguſt*, in the 58th year of his age, and the 6th of his pontificate. He was of a ſhort ſtature, gray haired before the uſual time, and in his countenance, which was early wrinkled, there appeared a mixture of ſeverity and good-nature. He neither loved money nor contemned it, but would never be preſent when it was told out, or laid up. Altho' he was very learned, and greatly addicted to ſtudy, yet, by ſome, he is accuſed of having from avarice neglected to encourage the men of genius of his time; but *Platina* attributes this neglect not to avarice, but to the expenſive wars in which he was engaged, which continually exhauſted his treaſury. The ſame author relates, that he was void of fear and inconſtancy, and ſeemed as little elevated with his good fortune as dejected at his bad. He had a great contempt for a ſplendid table, and went frequently to fountains, groves, and country retirements, where he entertainad himſelf not in a pompous but in a plain ſimple manner. Beſides his hiſtories and orations, he left behind him ſeveral grave and judicious ſentences after the manner of proverbs, which are mentioned by *Platina* and other authors [u] (X).

where he dies.

After the death of *Pius*, the cruſaders, who had aſſembled at *Ancona*, immediately diſperſed: and the cardinals conſulting with the doge of *Venice*, agreed to give the gallies built by *Pius* to that republic, the doge promiſing to reſtore them, if the pope that ſhould be elected diſapproved of their decree. The cardinals likewiſe unanimouſly gave the 48,000 crowns, that had been collected by the late pope, to *Matthias*, king of *Hungary*; then determining that the future election ſhould be made at *Rome*, they returned to that city, and entered the conclave on the 24th of *Auguſt*.

[u] Card. Papiens. Epiſt. Comment. Pii II. Plat. Spond. Annal.

(X) We have here added ſome of thoſe ſentences. "To find out the motion of the ſtars, has more of pleaſure in it than profit. God's friends enjoy both this life and the life to come. As all rivers run into the ſea, ſo do all vices into courts. Unſkilful phyſicians kill the body, and ignorant prieſts the ſoul. A wandering monk is the devil's bondſlave. There was great reaſon for prohibiting prieſts to marry, but greater for allowing them. He cheriſhes an enemy who pardons his ſon too often. Mens faults are concealed by liberality, and diſcovered by avarice, *&c.*"

Having

Having drawn up several decrees for the right administration of the pontificate, and each having sworn to observe them if he should be elected pope, the next day they gave their votes, and, at the first scrutiny, cardinal *Peter Barbo*, a *Venetian*, and nephew of *Eugenius* IV. was elected, who assumed the name of *Paul* II. and a few days after was consecrated and crowned with the usual solemnities [w]. He had very little learning, as he was of an indolent spirit, and did not apply himself to study till he was advanced in years, after the promotion of his uncle *Eugenius*, at which time he was preparing to go from *Venice* on a trading voyage. Before his election was published, he again subscribed, and swore to observe the articles agreed to in the conclave: however, quickly after, he endeavoured to abolish them, at the persuasion of the archbishop of *Milan* and the bishop of *Treviso*, who, finding themselves excluded by the articles from entering the sacred college so soon as they expected, urged, that it was unworthy of a pope to be only the administrator of the decrees of other people, and prevailed with him to draw up other articles in the name of the cardinals, under pretence that the former were useless. *Paul*, who was very fond of unlimited power, readily consented, and as readily obtained the subscription of several of the cardinals, who put their names to the new articles without ever reading them. All the rest of the fathers were compelled by threats to subscribe, except cardinal *Carvajal*, a *Spaniard*, who declared that he never remembered to have changed his mind in his youth, and would not now in his old age [x].

Paul II. *is elected:*

he violates the oath that he had taken before and after his election;

About the same time *Paul*, in resentment for some denial which he had formerly received from *Pius*, dismissed all the clerks of the *Breves*, and confiscated their effects, under pretence that they were unqualified for their offices; accusing them of a conspiracy, and even of heresy, because they, with other men of learning, had formed an academy at *Rome*, and disputed about the immortality of the soul, and other articles of the Christian faith, after the manner of the ancient *Platonists* and *Academics* [y]. *Platina* the historian, who was one of the abbreviators, complains of the injustice which they suffered, as they had not only bought their places, which were therefore confirmed to them by a bull, but were men of such merit as to be an ornament to the court. Great intercession was made in their behalf, and *Platina* begged, in

[w] Comment. Papiens. l. ii. Epist. 156, 180, 181, 182.

[x] Idem ibid, & ejusd. Epist. 194.

[y] Append. Papiens. Epist.

the name of his collegues, that their cauſe might be judged by the auditors of the *Rota*; which requeſt greatly enraged the pope, who replied, that he ought not to be referred to judges, who had all the law in his own breaſt. *Platina*, after having been rejected twenty days without obtaining audience, at length wrote to the pope, that he, with his collegues, intended to intreat the Chriſtian princes to convoke a general council, where their wrongs might be redreſſed: but inſtead of prevailing upon the pope by this means to reſtore them to their places, he drew the whole reſentment of his holineſs upon himſelf; for he was immediately put in irons, and impriſoned in a high tower, where he continued all the winter [a]. In the mean time *Paul*, to gratify the cardinals, allowed them to wear a red hat and a mitre of damaſk ſilk, which only the popes had formerly worn [a]; and granted 100 crowns a month to thoſe whoſe yearly revenue did not amount to 4000. As he had granted the ornaments of a pope to the cardinals, he reſolved to augment his own; and being very fond of precious ſtones, which he took great pains to procure, and which he ſpent whole nights in viewing, he cauſed a new pontifical mitre to be made with three crowns, which he adorned with diamonds to the value of 120,000 crowns [b].

He exhorts the Chriſtian princes to an expedition againſt the Turks.

DURING theſe private tranſactions, the pope had ſent nuncios to the different princes of *Europe*, deſiring them to unite their arms againſt the *Turks*, and had appointed three cardinals to have the perpetual direction of all matters relating to that expedition. Being in ſome doubt whether he ſhould continue to grant reſervations, which were greatly complained of, he was perſuaded by cardinal *Carvajal* not to neglect that prerogative of the apoſtolic ſee, which, with great difficulty, had been eſtabliſhed [c]. However, at the next conſiſtory, by the advice of all the cardinals, he refuſed the requeſt of a *French* biſhop, who deſired a certain abbacy *in commendam*, being reſolved, in order to avoid ſcandal, in ſome meaſure, to reſtrain that cuſtom, as upwards of 500 abbacies had been given *in commendam* ſince the pontificate of *Calixtus*; and one of the cardinals expreſſed his apprehenſions, leſt, in a ſhort time, there would not be a monaſtery in *France* that would have an abbot.

He receives an embaſſy

Paul, about the ſame time, received an embaſſy from the emperor, profeſſing his obedience to him as pope, and likewiſe to intercede for *George Podiebrad*, whom *Pius*, before

[a] PLATINA in vit. Paul II.
[b] SPOND. Annal. PLATINA.
[a] Comment. PAPIENS. l. ii.
[c] PAPIENS, Epiſt. 92.

he

he had set out for *Ancona*, had cited to appear before him within 180 days. As the time was not yet elapsed, and the king of *Bohemia* promised, if the citation was suspended, to send an embassy to *Rome*, and submit to the orders of the apostolic see, *Paul* granted the request of the emperor's ambassador, in hopes that the aversion hitherto shewn by *George* to the see of *Rome*, proceeded more from his personal hatred to *Pius*, than from any attachment to the sect of the *Calixtins* [d]. A few months after ambassadors arrived at *Rome* from *Ferdinand*, king of *Naples*, who desired that the pope would send a cardinal-legate to be present at the marriage of his son with the daughter of the duke of *Milan*. The ambassadors likewise declared, that *Ferdinand* had received an embassy from the grand *Turk*, congratulating him upon subduing the rebels, and exhorting him to further conquests, by offering a subsidy of 800,000 crowns a year, if he would make war upon any of the states of *Italy*. He proposed also an alliance betwixt some of their children; or, if that could not take effect, on account of the difference of religion, then he offered a young *Greek*, who was descended from the emperors, with a dowry of 200,000 crowns, or as much more as the king pleased. *Ferdinand* promised to be directed in his answer to *Mohammed* by the determination of the consistory, but what that was does not appear; for the cardinal of *Pavia* gives us only a part of the speech of cardinal *Bessarion*, condemning any alliance with the *Turks*, or even any correspondence by ambassadors [e]. It is probable that the other fathers were of his opinion, and rather exhorted *Ferdinand* to join the other states of *Italy*, in assisting the king of *Hungary* against the *Turks*. *Frederic*, the younger son of *Ferdinand*, soon after arriving at *Rome*, in his way to *Milan*, whither he went to fetch his brother's bride, was received with great honour, the pope himself presenting him with a golden rose, which is a present made annually to some Christian prince or other [f].

from the emperor, and

from the king of Naples,

A. D. 1465.

THE king of *Naples* likewise sent some troops to assist the pope, in quelling a rebellion raised by the counts *Anquillara*, who the year before had succeeded their father, whose example they followed, by usurping the territories of their neighbours, and refusing to submit to the pope. *Paul*, by the assistance of the *Neapolitans*, surprized and subdued the counts, within fourteen days after the commencement of hostilities, and took from them nine castles, some of which

who assists him in reducing the counts of Anquillara.

[d] COCHLÆ. Hist. l. xii. PAP. Comment. l. ix. [e] Ejusd. Epist. 85. [f] PLATINA.

A difference betwixt him and the king of Naples.

appeared almoſt impregnable. Quickly after a difference happened betwixt him and *Ferdinand*, who, in conſideration of the ſuccours he had ſent him, deſired a remittance of the tribute which he owed the church; which requeſt was rejected by the pope, who replied, that *Ferdinand* owed the quiet poſſeſſion of his kingdom to the aſſiſtance of the apoſtolic ſee, and was even bound by his fief to ſend ſuccours to his holineſs. As *Ferdinand*, about this time, ſecured himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his kingdoms, by putting to death *Piccininus*, lord of ſeveral towns in *Albruzzo*, though he had come to *Naples* upon his ſafe conduct, he threatened to declare war againſt the pope, unleſs he would remit the tribute, and reſtore ſeveral towns that belonged to the kingdom. *Paul*, to prevent a rupture, immediately ſent a legate to *Naples*, who found means, in ſome meaſure, to appeaſe *Ferdinand*, who offered, if the pope would remit the tribute, to give 60,000 crowns to the king of *Hungary*, and to ſend 500 horſe, and as many foot, into *Epirus*. In conſequence of a convention held the former year at *Rome*, to deliberate about the means of oppoſing the *Turks*, the *Venetians*, about this time offered to grant an annual ſubſidy of 50,000 crowns to the *Hungarians*, on condition that the pope would indulge them with the tythe of eccleſiaſtical revenues, the thirtieth penny of the citizens, and the twentieth from the *Jews*. The duke of *Milan*, on the ſame condition, offered a reinforcement of 2000 horſe and 1000 foot; and the *Florentines* 1000 horſe and 500 foot, or a ſubſidy of 24,000 crowns. The other ſtates made no offer of any aſſiſtance; and even theſe, not having obtained their requeſt from the pope, performed nothing[g]. While the *Italians* thus excuſed themſelves from furniſhing ſuccours againſt the *Turks*, the famous *Scanderbeg* was entirely defeated by them in *Albania*, and obliged to fly into *Italy*; and the infidels making themſelves maſters of the whole province, carried off a great part of his ſubjects into captivity, while others eſcaped in boats, and took refuge on the *Italian* coaſts, filling that kingdom with conſternation. The pope immediately publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the faithful, informing them of the calamity of the *Albanians*, and earneſtly exhorting them to oppoſe the progreſs of the *Turks*, either by men or money[h].

Scanderbeg is defeated by the Turks, *and obliged to fly into* Italy.

Paul abſolves the Sileſians

In the mean time, being informed that the king of *Bohemia* had again attacked the catholics of *Sileſia*, he abſolved them from their vaſſalage to that crown, and put them under

[g] *Papiens.* Epiſt. 54 & 65. [h] Ejuſd. Epiſt. 193.

the

the protection of the king of *Hungary*. *Podiebrad*, nevertheless, was resolved to force them to a submission; but his measures being thwarted by several catholic lords, particularly by one *Hynco*, or *Zdenco*, he besieged him in the fort of *Zaraſten*. During the siege *Zdenco* found means to escape to *Rome*, where he was graciously received by the pope, who sent him with letters of recommendation to the emperor. *Paul* likewise ordered *Podiebrad* to raise the siege, under pain of excommunication; to prevent which sentence, the king of *Bohemia* wrote to *Rome*, in the name of the rest of the nobles, blaming *Zdenco* as the author of the disturbances, at the same time desiring the pope to send a nuncio to the emperor, where conferences might be held, to treat of the reduction of *Bohemia* to the catholic religion. This letter did not at all alter the former resolution of the pope, who still ordered *Podiebrad* to raise the siege, and sent a nuncio to the emperor, desiring him not to treat with the king of *Bohemia* before he had laid down his arms. *Podiebrad*, notwithstanding the threatnings of the pope, would not desist from his purpose, and, after a siege of almost twelve months, made himself master of the place [1]. The pope, upon receiving this news, immediately wrote to his nuncios in *Germany*, to desire the *German* princes not to oppose the proceedings of the apostolic see against the king of *Bohemia*. At the same time the catholic lords having revolted, he absolved them from their allegiance, appointed *George* to appear at *Rome* within a certain time, and ordered his nuncio to raise forces for the assistance of the *Bohemian* catholics, and to publish a crusade, if there was occasion, against *Podiebrad*. The king despising this citation from *Rome*, the pope declared him convicted of perjury, sacrilege, and heresy, and pronounced against him a sentence of excommunication, but delayed publishing the decree, that it might not be treated with contempt, as he could not find any one who could put it in execution; the emperor indulging himself in a slothful inactivity, and the kings of *Poland* and *Hungary* being wholly engaged in opposing the *Turks*. At length, encouraged by cardinal *Carvajal*, who insisted that in great matters much ought to be left to God, the pope, on *Christmas*-day, published the sentence of excommunication and deposition against the king, in the church of St. *Peter*. About the same time he confirmed the bishoprick of St. *Andrews* in *Scotland* to *Patrick Grahame*, who, after his election, had come to *Rome* without the king's leave: and, to

from their allegiance to the king of Bohemia, A. D. 1466.

against whom he republishes a sentence of excommunication and deposition.

[1] Hist. Bohem. c. 30. PAPIENS. Comment. l. vi.

put an end to the pretensions of the archbishop of *Paris*, who claimed a superiority over the *Scots* prelates, he created the bishop primate of *Scotland*, and appointed him his legate in that kingdom for three years.

He opposes the parliament of Paris, who confirm the abrogation of the pragmatic sanction.

This following year *Paul* sent a legate into *France*, to procure a decree of the parliament of *Paris*, confirming the abrogation of the pragmatic sanction; but their journey was in vain for although they again obtained the king's edict for the abrogation, which was published at the chatelet, yet the parliament opposed their proceeding, and the university of *Paris* appealed from the legate and the edict of the king to a general council, and ordered their appeal to be inserted in the acts.

A.D. 1467. Mean time the nuncios of the pope arrived in *Poland*, and offered the kingdom of *Bohemia* to *Casimir*, or to any of his sons. The same proffer was likewise made by deputies from the catholic nobles of *Bohemia*; but as *George Podiebrad* was then at the head of a considerable army of *Bohemians* and *Germans*, *Casimir* did not chuse rashly to accept of the offered crown, but declared that he would first endeavour to reconcile *Podiebrad* with the holy see. He accordingly sent an embassy to the king of *Bohemia*, who insisted that he had never done any injury to the pope, nor had ever violated the compactata of the council of *Basil*; but, if he had in any thing offended, he was willing to submit to the arbitration of *Casimir*. However, the catholics refusing to agree to an arbitration, before they could receive the permission of the pope, in the mean time a truce was agreed to for five months. During these transactions in *Poland*, the emperor, at the repeated sollicitations of the pope, assembled a diet at *Nuremberg*, to consult of means to oppose the *Turks*, and protect the catholics of *Bohemia*. The bishop of *Ferrara*, the pope's legate, represented the great danger to which those catholics were exposed, who had withdrawn their allegiance from *Podiebrad*, unless they were assisted by the *Germans*, as the king of *Poland* manifested no great earnestness in their behalf. His representations however had little effect upon the princes, who had no great desire to see the king of *Poland* possessed of the crown of *Bohemia*; and being divided among themselves, singly courted the favour of *Podiebrad*. The emperor likewise was dissatisfied with the pope, and alleged that, tho' he might condemn *Podiebrad*, he had no right to dispose of his kingdom, which depended entire-

The pope's legate desires the Germans to protect the Bohemian catholics.

k Buchanan, l. xii. c. 4. Monstrelet. Memoire de Commines.

ly

ly upon the empire [m]. The diet then broke up, after having resolved that the empire should maintain no one man for five years against the Turks, and that the pope should be solicited to establish a solid peace among Christian princes.

Paul, indeed, the following year, reconciled several states of Italy, that had taken up arms as auxiliaries to the opposite factions in *Florence*; and, after the conclusion of that treaty, he entertained the *Romans* with sumptuous feasts and races, proposing eight cloaks to be run for separately, by old men, middle aged, young men, *Jews*, horses, mares, asses, and buffalots. However he was still determined to put his decree in execution against *Podiebrad*; and all thoughts of an arbitration being laid aside, he ordered his legate, the bishop of *Ferrara*, to offer the crown of *Bohemia* to *Matthias*, king of *Hungary*. *Matthias*, whether from ambition, or zeal for the catholic cause, readily accepted of the offer; and having concluded a truce with the *Turkish* governor of *Pannonia*, marched with an army into *Moravia*, attended with the legate, who had denounced an anathema against all those who should assist the heretics. After some unsuccessful attempts, he had a conference with his father-in-law *Podiebrad*; and agreeing to a truce till the end of the year, he left his army in *Moravia*, and returned to *Hungary*.

Paul gives Bohemia to the king of Hungary. A.D. 1468.

During this unsuccessful campaign of *Matthias*, the pope was greatly alarmed at *Rome* with the report of a conspiracy against him, said to be headed by one *Callimaco*, who had a correspondence with some banditti in the wood of *Velitre*. *Paul* immediately ordered a great many citizens and courtiers to be imprisoned, among whom was the historian *Platina*, who being brought before the pope, was threatened with torments and death, unless he would make a confession. *Platina*, conscious of his own innocence, answered without fear; and to relieve the pope from the terrors with which he seemed to be seized, endeavoured to persuade him that the report of the plot must have been false, as *Callimaco* was an unfit person for such an enterprize, being a bad orator, slothful, ambitious, poor, without forces and dependents, and besides almost blind. But this discourse served only to aggravate his crime; the pope, in a passion, saying to those who were present, "This fellow must be forced by the rack "to confess the truth, for he understands the true art of "plotting." Although a few days afterwards the pope was fully informed of the falsehood of the plot, yet, that he might not seem to have acted from levity, he ordered *Platina*,

He is alarmed with the report of a conspiracy at Rome.

[m] Papiens. Epist. 282.

and

and a great many other prisoners, to be put to the torture, several of whom died under the hands of the tormentors. *Platina* was stretched upon the rack twice in one day, and, with a great many others, continued a whole year in prison.

The emperor arrives at Rome in consequence of a vow.

In the mean time the emperor, in consequence of a vow, arrived at *Rome*, where he was treated with great magnificence by the pope, who spent on that occasion 18,000 ducats. Four days after his arrival, he assisted at a public consistory, and proposed, as the most proper expedient to engage the Christians in a league against the *Turks*, that a convention should be held at *Constance*, at which the pope and he should assist in person, and to which other Christian princes should be invited. The pope remembering the former proceedings in that city, did not relish this proposal; but, after much consultation, it was agreed that letters should be written, in the name of the emperor and pope, to the princes and states in Christendom, inviting them to send their ambassadors to *Rome*, to treat about the means of defending the faith; and that the *Venetians* should be indulged with a tenth of clergy, a twentieth of *Jews*, and a thirtieth of the laity in their own dominions.

The pope insults those who were imprisoned, on account of the conspiracy.

A.D. 1469.

After the departure of the emperor, who continued only seventeen days at *Rome*, the pope visited *Platina*, and the other prisoners; and that his severity might seem to have some foundation, he charged them with many crimes, particularly that they disputed concerning the immortality of the soul, and called the being of a God in question, and were too great admirers of *Pagan* antiquities. *Platina* answered to the two first accusations, that both divines and philosophers, for the sake of argument, have made a question of propositions which they really believed; and he assures us, that no person could be more fond of *Pagan* antiquities than the pope himself; for he procured as many statues of the ancients as he could, and placed them in a house that he had built near the capitol: among the rest he took away a porphyry tomb of St. *Constantia* from the church of St. *Agnes*, against the inclination of the monks; and in the foundation of his house he laid a great number of medals of gold, silver, and brass, struck with his own image. Two days after the pope visited the prisoners a second time, and, after some discourse, went away in a passion, upbraiding *Platina* with ingratitude against so good a friend as he had been to him. At length, wearied with the intercession of the cardinals,

nals, he set them at liberty [n] (Y). About the same time being informed that *Malatesta*, prince of *Rimini*, had revolted from the church, and contracted an alliance with the king of *Naples*, the duke of *Milan*, and the *Florentines*, he sent an army against him, and besieged him in *Rimini*; but the allies of *Malatesta* sending some troops to his assistance, the army of the pope was defeated, and obliged to raise the siege; *Paul* soon after consenting to a peace upon very dishonourable terms [o]. *They are at last set at liberty.*

MEAN while *Matthias*, having returned to *Moravia*, was declared king of *Bohemia* and marquis of *Moravia* at *Olmutz*, and proceeding from thence to *Breslau*, he was there received as prince of *Silesia*. Upon his return to *Moravia*, he took *Victorin*, one of the sons of *Podiebrad*, prisoner, and made himself master of several towns: however, he was soon after defeated by *Victorin*'s brother, and obliged to return to *Hungary* for succours. *Podiebrad* likewise, in order to thwart the ambitious views of *Matthias*, proposed to the states at *Prague*, to settle the succession of *Bohemia* upon *Ladislaus*, son of the king of *Poland*. This settlement gave satisfaction to both the factions; and *Casimir* promising to support the interests of his son, *Matthias* quickly lost a great many partizans: however, he still resolved to support his claim, and sent an ambassador to the pope, desiring him to discountenance the pretensions of *Ladislaus* [p]. *Paul*, about the same time, received another embassy from the king of *Poland*, *The Bohemians give their crown to the son of the king of Poland.* *The pope supports*

[n] PLATINA in vit. Paul II. [o] PAP. Epist. 276. SPOND. Annal. PLAT. [p] CROMER. l. xxvii. DUBRAV. l. xxx.

(Y) *Platina*, upon being released from prison, was sent for by the duke of *Mantua* to the baths, his right arm having contracted a great indisposition during his imprisonment. *Paul* at first prohibited him from going, promising to do great things for him in a short time; but, at the intercession of cardinal *Bessarion*, he at last allowed him to depart from *Rome*. After he had returned, the pope frequently boasted the great kindness he had for him, and promised to the *Venetians* and *Milanese* ambassadors to provide for him in an honourable way. After *Platina* had spent two years in expectation, he proposed to go to *Bologna*, with the cardinal of *Mantua*, who was legate of that city; but the pope desired him to stay and renewed his former promise: however, death prevented him from fulfilling it (1). *Sixtus* IV. restored him to his employments, and made him keeper of the *Vatican* library, which place he enjoyed but a few months, dying in 1481 (2).

(1) *Platina*. (2) *Trithem. & Bellarmin de Script. eccles.*

6 desiring

the claim of Matthias. A.D. 1470.

desiring him to confirm the election of his son; but the pope being determined to support the interests of *Matthias*, sent the bishop of *Forli* as his legate to *Casimir*, declaring that he could not abandon the king of *Hungary*, who had deserved so well of the apostolic see, and exhorting him to give one of his daughters in marriage to *Matthias*, and to assist him against *Podiebrad* the enemy of the church.

THE pope being soon after informed that the *Turks* were besieging *Negropont*, with an army of 120,000 men, and a fleet of 100 gallies, he ordered public supplications to be made in the church of St. *Peter* and in the *Lateran*, to which last he went himself on foot, carrying the image of the virgin *Mary* [q]. This same year he likewise published a bull,

A bull is published for celebrating a jubilee every 25 years.

reducing the jubilee to the twenty-fifth year, to commence in the year one thousand four hundred and seventy-five; and having prevailed with the emperor to convoke a diet at *Ratisbon*, to consult of means to oppose the *Turks*, who, besides their present successes in the *Archipelago*, the year before had made an irruption into *Carniola*, he sent two legates

1471.

to be present at that assembly. The diet, which was very numerous, was accordingly opened on the 22d of *June*, by the bishop of *Trent*, who, in the name of the emperor, made a speech in the *German* language; and representing the great calamities of the Christians, and the late ravaging of *Carniola*, one of the hereditary provinces of the *Austrian* family, he exhorted the princes to imitate the valour of their ancestors, in opposing the infidels, and defending the Christian religion. The two legates addressed the assembly to the same purpose. However, although the *Venetian* ambassador offered, on the part of that republic, a fleet of 120 sail, and the princes proposed, according to a general assessment, to raise an army of 200,000 men, yet nothing was effected, by reason of the slothful inactivity of the emperor, which occasioned one of the legates to write to the cardinal of *Pavia*, that they would surely beat the *Turks*, if the emperor would fight with as great vigour as he then snored [r].

The pope dies at Rome.

DURING these transactions in *Germany*, the pope, having erected *Ferrara* into a duchy, and given the investiture of it to *Borso*, marquis of *Este*, soon after died at *Rome*, on the 25th or 26th of *July*, of a fit of an apoplexy, no person being present at his death. During the pontificate of *Paul*, all offices at the *Roman* court were exposed to sale; and under this pretence he sold bishoprics, and other benefices, to the

[q] SPOND. Annal. [r] CAMPAN. Epist. 18, 19. ap. PAPIENS. Epist. 375, 376, 386, 387.

highest

highest bidder, the office being sold, and the church given gratis. Those candidates, whose pretensions were only supported by learning and a good life, were always set aside. He likewise increased the number of vacant benefices, by supplying them chiefly by translations, by which means he brought into his treasury large sums of money, of which he was very fond. He was a great enemy to human learning, and dissuaded the people of *Rome* from putting their children to grammar schools, declaring, that they were sufficiently learned if they could read and write [s]. The same author relates, that he was reputed a just and a merciful man; that he adorned the city with several magnificent buildings, and was sometimes liberal to the poorer cardinals and bishops, and to the sick and distressed.

The cardinals having mourned the usual time for the death of *Paul*, on the 7th of *August* entered the conclave to elect a successor. The pontificate was at first offered to cardinal *Bessarion*, under certain conditions; but he declaring that he would not accept of it under any restrictions, the cardinals applied themselves to *Francis della Rovere*, a cardinal priest, who consenting to what they desired, two days after was chosen pope, and assumed the name of *Sixtus* IV. *Francis* was born in the territory of *Savona*, on the *Genoese* coast, according to *Onuphrius*, of noble parents; but others relate, that his birth was obscure, and that his father was a fisherman, which employment he himself at first followed [t]: and the *Venetian* ambassador, in his speech of congratulation, expressly declares, that he was not indebted to his ancestors for his nobility, but was rendered noble by his virtue and learning [u]. He was by profession a *Franciscan*; and having acquired a great character by several treatises which he published on obscure points of divinity, he was elected general of his order, and was created a cardinal without any sollicitation, and during his absence, by *Paul* II. Immediately after his promotion to the pontificate, he proposed to convoke a general council at the *Lateran*, for the reformation of the church, and to consult of means to defend Christendom against the *Turks*; but the emperor objecting to the place, this expedient of a council was dropt, and four legates were created, with full authority, to each of whom he assigned a pension of 500 crowns a month. Cardinal *Bessarion* was commissioned as legate to the king of *France*, to reconcile that prince with the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Brittany*. The

Sixtus IV. *is elected.*

[s] Platina. & fact. l. iii. c. 4.

[t] Masson de vit. Pontif. Fulgos. de dict.

[u] Spond. Annal.

cardinal

cardinal of *St. Mark* was sent into *Germany*, to endeavour to conclude a peace with the king of *Hungary*, and *Ladislaus*, son of the king of *Poland*, who a few months before, by the death of *Podiebrad*, had succeeded to the crown of *Bohemia*. *Roderigo Borgia*, his vice-chancellor, was sent into *Spain*, and *Oliver Caraffa* to *Venice*, and the knights of *Rhodes*, to take upon him the command of the fleet against the infidels [w]. Collectors were likewise sent to all the provinces of *Europe*, to raise the tax agreed to at the convention of *Mantua*; and indulgences were granted to those who engaged in the crusade, or contributed to the expences of the war. The cardinal of *Pavia*, who was then absent, quelling an insurrection in *Umbria*, mentions a fifth legation, but does not inform us particularly what it was. He at the same time expressed his apprehensions of the bad success of those pompous legations, and complains that the pope had violated the laws made in the conclave, by creating two of his nephews cardinals, who had not arrived at their 30th year [x] (Z). The pope indeed quickly found the bad effects of his liberal and free disposition; for having given donations of the same thing to three or four different persons, his court was immediately disturbed with quarrels and disputes. To prevent these for the future, he gave the privy-seal to one *Montemirabile*, a man of experience, who vacated such donations as were not regularly granted.

Matthias refuses an accommodation with the

MEAN while the legates, having received their instructions, departed from *Rome*. The cardinal of St. *Mark* having proceeded to *Poland*, was received by *Casimir* with great honour; but he did not succeed in his endeavours to procure a peace, which was owing to the backwardness of *Mat-*

[w] ONUPHR. in vita Sixt. 414. 416, &c.

[x] PAPIENS. Epist. 407, 408,

(Z) One of these young men was afterwards pope, by the name of *Julius* II. The other, *Peter Riario*, died two years afterwards, in the 28th year of his age, having killed himself by his voluptuous excesses. His uncle, who is accused of being too indulgent to his relations, and censured for promoting them to dignities and honours, by unjustifiable means, created him legate in *Italy*, and conferred upon him a great many rich benefices; but he lived in so luxurious and extravagant a manner, that in two years he spent 200,000 crowns, and left a debt of 70,000. He maintained 500 domestics, and is commended for his liberality, being wont to declare, that all honest men were welcome to be his guests (1).

(1) *Addit. Vitruvii ad Ciacon. Papiens Epist.* 528, 529, 548.

thias,

thias, who had lately concluded a treaty with the emperor, and therefore judged that he should be able, by force, to make good his pretensions to *Bohemia* against *Ladislaus*. Cardinal *Bessarion*, after he had entered *France*, was prohibited to come to *Paris* by the king, who was offended that he had first visited the duke of *Burgundy*. At length, after two months delay, he gave him permission to come to the capital: however, he dismissed him at the first audience, without hearkening to his proposals for peace, or promising any succours against the *Turks*. The cardinal immediately returned to *Turin*, and sailing from thence, down the *Po*, to *Ravenna*, soon after died in that city, in the 77th year of his age [y] (A). The king of *France*, that he might not seem by his treatment of *Bessarion*, to have any personal animosity against the pope, soon after the departure of that cardinal sent an embassy to the apostolic see, to demand the celebration of a general council at *Lyons*; and that the archbishop of that city might be promoted to the dignity of cardinal. His ambassador likewise requested, that no *Frenchman* should be received into the sacred college without the king's knowlege or consent; that the annates should be regulated according to the decrees of the councils of *Constance* and *Basil*; that the bishoprics in *France* might be conferred only on such persons as were agreeable to the king; that the *French* clergy might be exempted from the tythe for the *Turkish* war; and that ecclesiastical causes might not be carried to the court of *Rome* in the first instance. The pope did not think proper to grant any of these demands; but four years afterwards he created the archbishop of *Lyons* a cardi-

king of Poland. A.D. 1472.

The pope receives an embassy from the king of France.

[y] Ejusd. Epist. 437, 455, &c.

(A) *Bessarion* was most eloquent both in *Greek* and *Latin*, skilled in all the sciences, and a great defender of the *Platonic* philosophy against the followers of *Aristotle*. He wrote several treatises in divinity, philosophy, and the *Belles lettres*; and as he was the oldest, so he was likewise reckoned the wisest of all the cardinals. His actions and his discourses were always suitable to his dignity. All matters debated in the consistory, were generally referred to his decision; and, according to the cardinal of *Pavia*, the whole weight of affairs was supported by him alone (1). *Platina*, who wrote a panegyric upon him, relates, that the republic of *Venice* gave him 30,000 crowns for his library, which consisted chiefly of *Greek* books (2).

(1) *Pap. Epist.* 127, 488. (2) *Platina in Paul. Plat. in Justin. Hist. Venet. l.* viii. *in fin.*

nal

nal [z]. In the mean time cardinal *Borgia* had arrived at his native city of *Valentia*, of which he was biſhop, and made a diſcourſe to his clergy, compoſed by the cardinal of *Pavia* [a]. At *Madrid* he aſſembled the clergy of *Caſtile*, reconciling *Henry* to *Ferdinand*, prince of *Arragon*, who had married his ſiſter *Iſabel* againſt his will, although he produced the pope's bull, diſpenſing with the conſanguinity. *Henry* was ſo diſpleaſed with his proceedings, that he ſent an ambaſſador to the apoſtolic ſee to accuſe him; upon which the legates thought proper to return to *Rome* (B).

DURING theſe tranſactions the pope had terminated all the differences betwixt the apoſtolic ſee and the king of *Naples*. The duchy of *Sora* was reſtored to *Ferdinand*, who gave it with his natural daughter to one of the pope's nephews. The tribute, which was owing both by his father and himſelf, was remitted, in conſideration of which he promiſed to defend the church of *Rome* at his charge, and to furniſh two gallies for the protection of the *Roman* coaſt. He likewiſe fitted out a fleet of ſeventeen ſhips to act againſt the *Turks*, in conjunction with that of the pope and the *Venetians*. *Sixtus* having given his benediction to the fleet in the *Tyber*, and granted full remiſſion of ſins to all thoſe who died during the expedition, cardinal *Caraffa* ſailed from thence the beginning of *June*, and ſoon after joined the *Neapolitans* and *Venetians*. The whole fleet, which conſiſted of eighty-five ſail, made an unſucceſsful attack upon *Attalia*, or *Satalia*, a city of *Pamphilia*; but afterwards, when the *Neapolitans* had returned home, the legate ſurprized and plundered *Smyrna*, and arrived at *Rome* about the end of *January*, with twelve camels laden with booty, and twenty-five *Turkiſh* captives [b]. *Sixtus*, during his ab-

Cardinal Caraffa *ſails with a fleet againſt the* Turks.

[z] Idem Epiſt. 450. Bzov. hoc an. [a] Ap. PAPIENS. Epiſt. 441. [b] ONUPHR. in Sixtus IV. PET. JUSTIN. l. ix. PAP. Epiſt. 439, 440.

(B) The cardinal of *Pavia* relates, that *Borgia* had long deſired to viſit his own country; and having ſerved the pope at his election, he purchaſed the legation from him by money, with the deſign of amply repaying himſelf in his viſit to *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, and *Portugal*: that in his progreſs through theſe kingdoms he left behind him great teſtimonies of his luxury, ambition, and avarice; and that one of the two gallies, which conducted him and his family to *Italy*, was loſt, with great part of the ſpoils, and he with great difficulty ſaved himſelf in the port of *Leghorn* (1).

(1) *Papiens Epiſt.* 534.

fence,

fence, published a bull, declaring the church of *Scotland* independent of the jurisdiction of the archbishop of *York*, and erecting the church of *St. Andrews* into a metropolitan see [c]. As the *Germans* refused to pay the tythe for the *Turkish* war, the pope about the same time likewise denounced an anathema against those who should detain any part of these tythes [d], and ordered the archbishop of *Canterbury* to excommunicate the bishop of *Bath* and his accomplices, and cite him to appear at *Rome*, because he had imprisoned the apostolic nuncio, who had come into *England* to collect the taxes due to the apostolic chamber [e]. *The church of Scotland declared independent of that of England.*

THE following year *Sixtus* was informed that *Matthias* king of *Hungary* had sent ambassadors to *Constantinople* to treat of a peace with *Mahammed*, who was attacked in *Asia* by *Usumcassan* king of *Persia*, and that he had offered to assist him against *Usumcassan*, if he would allow him a subsidy in money, and restore *Bosnia* and *Servia*. Upon receiving this news, he immediately wrote to the king to dissuade him from that alliance, and charged the bishop of *Ferrara*, his legate in *Hungary*, to enquire diligently into the truth of the report [f]. As the historians make no mention of this negociation, it is probable that it was not true, or perhaps *Matthias* desisted upon the admonition of the pope, or *Mohammed*, having about this time gained a signal victory over the *Persians*, slighted the offer of the king of *Hungary*. Soon after the pope created eight cardinals, three of whom were nominated by the emperor, the king of *France*, and the king of *Naples*. *Ferdinand*, not contented with this favour, about a month afterwards desired a new creation to be made in favour of a certain ecclesiastic, who was unworthy of the dignity. Altho' he was very urgent in his request, yet it was opposed by the greatest part of the cardinals, and the new creation was deferred till *Christmas*; before which time the king was prevailed upon to drop his suit. In the mean time *Sixtus* confirmed the order of friars minims, which had been instituted about thirty years before by St. *Francis* of *Paola*, a city of *Calabria* [g]. Being informed that some *Carmelites* at *Bologna* asserted that it was not heretical to consult the devils, he wrote to the vicar of the bishop to make enquiry into the truth of the report, and to give information to the apostolic see. About the same time he published a bull for the reduction of the jubilee to the twenty-five years, A. D. 1473.

[c] P. VIRG. l. 13 & 24. SPOND. Annal. KRANTZ, Wand. l. xiii. c. 7. [d] BZOV. hoc an. [e] Pap epist. 516, 517. [f] SPOND. Annal.

and, that the people might be excited to come to *Italy*, he suspended all indulgencies and pardons granted for visiting of any churches, except those of *Rome* [h]. A few months afterwards, cardinal *Riario* dying, *Sixtus* created his brother *Jeronimo* prince of *Imola* and *Forli*; and, appointing him vicar of the ecclesiastical state, concluded a marriage betwixt him and the natural daughter of the duke of *Milan*: on which account he promoted the duke's brother to the dignity of a cardinal. Being informed likewise that the king of *Denmark* had entered *Italy*, attended by the duke of *Lower Saxony*, and a great many nobles, in the habit of pilgrims, he sent some persons to wait on him at the confines of the ecclesiastical state, and to conduct him to *Rome*, where he was received with great honour and magnificence. The king, who was admired for his stature, and on account of his title of king of the *Goths*, behaved with great submission and respect to the pope and the sacred college. He held the bason when the pope washed his hands; and, on *Good Friday*, he refused to kiss the cross till all the cardinals had performed that ceremony [i]. Soon after *Frederic*, the second son of the king of *Naples*, arrived at *Rome* in his way to *Burgundy*, where he proposed to marry the duke's only daughter and heiress. As several of the cardinals were his relations, they proposed to receive him in a body; but the pope, by the opinion of others, sent only the cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, who received him at the *Appian* gate, and conducted him to the *Vatican*.

The pope creates his nephew prince of Imola *and* Forli.

A. D. 1474.

A jubilee celebrated at Rome.

A. D. 1475.

THE following year, according to the pope's bull, the jubilee was celebrated at *Rome*, but not with such a great concourse of pilgrims as was expected; for many who had laid in great stores of provisions were obliged to sell them at an under-price [k]. As many persons had entered *Italy*, who were afraid of proceeding to *Rome*, *Sixtus* appointed a jubilee to be held at *Bologna*, from the 1st of *May* to the end of the year; on which account great numbers of pilgrims resorted to that city [l]. Among those that went to *Rome* was *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, who obtained from the pope the remission of the yearly tribute due to the *Roman* see, on condition of sending every year a white horse, with his trappings, to *Rome* [m]. *Ferdinand* likewise succeeded in dissolving the alliance which had been concluded betwixt the duke of *Milan*,

[h] Extravagan. Commun. l. v. tit. 9. c. 4. [i] KRANTZ Saxon. l. xii. c. 12. Pap. epist. 556. [k] CIACON. in Sixt. IV. [l] SIGON. de Episc. Behon. l. iv. hoc anno. [m] ONUPHR. in Sixt. IV.

the *Venetians*, and *Florentines* [n]. The pope in the mean time, being informed that the *Turks* had taken *Croja* in *Albania* from the *Venetians*, and *Caffa*, a ſtrong city in the *Tauric Cherſoneſe*, from the *Genoeſe*, he wrote to the kings of *Poland* and *Hungary*, exhorting them to conclude a peace, and to unite their arms againſt the infidels. Theſe two princes began to be both alarmed at the progreſs of the *Turks*, and accordingly agreed to a peace; by which *Matthias* was left in poſſeſſion of *Moravia* and *Sileſia*, and *Uladiſlaus* was acknowleged king of *Bohemia*. *Sixtus* ſoon after was obliged to quit *Rome* on account of the plague, which raged in the city in conſequence of a dreadful inundation of the *Tiber*, the waters of which, in the beginning of *January*, had riſen to the firſt ſtep of the high altar in *St. Paul's* church [o]. As a means to remove this calamity, the pope publiſhed a bull for celebrating the office of the immaculate conception of the Virgin *Mary*, promiſing indulgencies to thoſe who ſhould either recite the office in private, or be preſent when it was publicly celebrated [p]. This bull, however, was publicly contradicted by a great many orders of monks, who, both in their ſermons and books, aſſerted, that it was a mortal ſin to believe the immaculate conception of the Bleſſed Virgin, and that even to be preſent at the office was a crime [q].

The pope is obliged to quit the city on account of the plague. A. D. 1476.

THE pope about this time being apprehenſive leſt the king of *France* ſhould ſeize *Avignon*, as he had a great many troops in its neighbourhood, he ſent his nephew cardinal *Julian* as legate into that kingdom. His viſit was not very agreeable to the king, who obliged him to promiſe not to violate the rights, privileges, and prerogatives, of the *Gallican* church. *Lewis* likewiſe publiſhed ſeveral edicts derogatory to the honour of the apoſtolic ſee. By the firſt he declared, that, as the council of *Conſtance* had given an authority to kings of demandnig every five years the convocation of a general council, he intended, as ſoon as poſſible, to uſe that privilege, and therefore ordered all the prelates to repair to their reſpective dioceſes to expect the citation. By another he prohibited, under pain of baniſhment, any abbot, prior, or monk, from going out of the kingdom to the general chapter of their orders. In the mean time the *Turks*, after ravaging *Moldavia*, having been obliged to retire upon the approach of the king of *Poland* with a numerous army, *Matthias* king of *Hungary* arrogated to himſelf the

The king of France publiſhes ſeveral edicts derogatory to the authority of the holy ſee.

[n] PALM. in Chron. [o] Pap. epiſt. 642. [p] Extravag. Commun. l. iii. tit. 12. [q] SPOND. Annal.

honour of their retreat, and wrote to *Italy*, declaring that he had defeated them; in consideration of which pretended service his name was greatly celebrated at *Rome*, and he obtained a subsidy of 200,000 crowns from the pope and the states of *Italy*: however, soon after, while he was celebrating his marriage with *Beatrice* the daughter of the king of *Naples*, the *Turks* made themselves masters of *Sinderavia*, and ravaged great part of *Carniola*, *Carinthia*, and *Stiria* [r]. The year following *Matthias* lost his subsidy from the pope and the states of *Italy*, as he had neglected the defence of his own kingdom against the *Turks*, to make war upon the emperor, who had remonstrated against his marriage, as a breach of the treaty subsisting betwixt them, by which *Frederick* was declared heir to the kingdom of *Hungary* [s].

Sixtus enters into a conspiracy to murder the Medici *at* Florence. A.D. 1478.

MEAN while, the duke of *Milan* being assassinated in the church of *St. Ambrose*, *Italy* was soon after divided into two factions. The widow of the late duke assuming the administration of the government for her son, who was then a boy, made an alliance with the *Venetians*, and with *Laurence* and *Julian Medici*, who, with their friends and dependents, governed the republic of *Florence*. The pope, who was at enmity with the family of the *Medici*, entered into a conspiracy against them with the family of the *Pazzi*, and made an alliance with *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*. According to *Machiavel*, the pope created one *Salviati*, an enemy of the house of *Medici*, archbishop of *Pisa*, to whom the senate of *Florence* refused to give possession [t]. Other authors relate, that *Laurence Medici*, being offended that the pope had refused to create his brother *Julian* a cardinal, gave assistance in men and money to the lord of *Castello*, who recovered his inheritance from the pope, and likewise disappointed *Sixtus* in purchasing *Imola*, by lending money to the prince, which prevented him from selling his patrimony. In resentment for these affronts, the pope entered into a conspiracy with the *Pazzi*, the rivals of the *Medici*, to murder *Laurence* and *Julian*, and to change the government of *Florence*. But, that such a horrid wickedness might not seem to have entered into the heart of a pope, he trusted the whole management of the plot to his nephew *Jeronimo*. However, he allowed him to use his authority to influence some of the *Pazzi*, who refused to be concerned in the plot, and prevailed with the king of *Naples* to send some troops

[r] Pap. epist. 644. 648. MICHOV. l. iv. c. 71. [s] MICHOV. l. iv. c. 72. CROMER. l. xxviii. in fin. BONF. dec. iv. l. 5. p. 437. [t] MACHIAV. Hist. Flor. l. viii.

into

into *Tuſcany*, under pretence of recovering ſome towns that belonged to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; but, in reality, to ſeize *Florence* upon the death of the *Medici*. The conſpirators, having a long time waited for an opportunity to find the two brothers together, at length determined to attack them in the cathedral church during the celebration of maſs, while the archbiſhop of *Piſa* ſhould ſeize the palace and ſurprize the ſenate. However they failed in their attempt; for *Julian* was only ſlain, and *Laurence* ſaved himſelf in the veſtry. The ſenate, likewiſe being alarmed with the behaviour of the archbiſhop, ſeized him and ſome others, and immediately put them to death; and, the people crouding to the palace in defence of *Laurence*, the greateſt part of the conſpirators were apprehended and executed [w].

He declares war againſt the Florentines;

THE pope, ſeeing the plot miſcarry, immediately determined upon an open war, which he commenced with his ſpiritual arms, laying the city of *Florence* under an interdict, on account of the violence they had committed againſt the eccleſiaſtics, in putting the archbiſhop of *Piſa* to death, and impriſoning the cardinal of *St. George*, who had been ſent for from *Piſa* to countenance the plot, and was preſent in the church when *Julian Medici* was ſlain. The *Florentines*, in their own juſtification, wrote to all the ſtates of *Italy*, ſetting forth the wickedneſs and injuſtice of the pope, from whom they appealed to a general council; and as the papal army, with the troops of the king of *Naples*, were marching againſt them, they demanded ſuccours from the king of *France*, the duke of *Milan*, the *Venetians*, and other ſtates. They procured ſome aſſiſtance from the dukes of *Milan*, *Ferrara*, and *Mantua*, and the king of *France* ſent them 300 horſe, under the command of *Philip de Commines*, the famous hiſtorian [x]; by which they were enabled to oppoſe the progreſs of the enemy till winter obliged them to quit the field. The king of *France* likewiſe ſent ambaſſadors to the pope, deſiring him to take off the interdict from the *Florentines*, or to call a general council, declaring, that, if he would not conſent, he himſelf, with other princes, would convoke a council to redreſs the grievances of the church. He aſſembled the nobles and prelates of his kingdom in a convention at *Orleans*, to conſult about reſtoring the pragmatic ſanction and abrogating the annates, and recalled all thoſe from the *Roman* court who held benefices in *France*,

who are aſſiſted by the king of France *and the duke of* Milan.

[w] ONUPHR. in Sixt. IV. BRUT. l. vi. & vii. VOLATER. l. v.
[x] COMMIN. l. vi. c. 5.

under pain of forfeiting their revenues. By these proceedings he seems to have designed only to intimidate the pope, for nothing material was transacted at *Orleans*; however, on the 16th of *August*, the king published an edict, wherein, after complaining of the pope's proceedings against the *Florentines*, and of the grievous exactions of money which he squandered in unjust wars, he prohibited all his subjects from carrying or sending money to *Rome*, or from going thither to sollicit for benefices [y]. The pope, by the advice of the cardinal of *Pavia* [z], endeavoured to sooth the king, by reminding him that *Charlemagne* declared, that, tho' the yoke of the church was grievous, it ought to be borne with submission and humility; he promised to send a nuncio to satisfy him of the justness of his proceedings against the *Florentines*, who had most outrageously violated the ecclesiastical liberty; that, therefore, to convoke a general council would be for the advantage of his cause, but this expedient was not proper, as it required a long time; and as to renewing the pragmatic sanction, he wondered the king should think of that, as he had formerly declared, that he had abolished it for just reasons. This answer of the pope did not satisfy the king of *France*, whose example seems to have been imitated by the *Venetians* and *Milanese*; for it appears from a monitory of *Sixtus* to the emperor [a], that both these recalled their prelates, and withdrew their obedience from the pope.

DURING these transactions the pope being informed that the archbishop of *Cologn* was imprisoned by the landgrave of *Hesse*, he sent two legates into *Germany* to treat with the emperor, the landgrave, and other princes, about procuring his liberty: however his endeavours were fruitless; for, after two years confinement, the archbishop died in prison [b]. About the same time he published a bull, revoking all the powers of absolving from crimes, which had been granted to a great many laymen as well as clergy, and, as the authority of the keys was thereby brought into contempt, for the future he reserved that authority for the apostolic see alone [c] (C).

In

[y] GAGUIN. l. x. ÆMIL. in Ludov. XI. SPOND. Annal. [z] Pap. epist. 677. [a] BZOV. ex edd. Vatic. an. 1479. [b] Idem hoc. an. KRAN. Saxon. l. ii. c. 22. [c] Extravag. Commun. l. v. tit. 9.

(C) The inquisition, which for a long time had been established in *Arragon*, *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, was this year introduced into the kingdom of *Castile*, by means of *Gonsalvo*

de

In the mean time embaſſies had arrived at *Rome* from the different provinces of *Europe*, in vain intreating the pope to an accommodation with the *Florentines*. *Sixtus* refuſed to hearken to any terms of peace, unleſs *Laurence de Medicis* was delivered up: the war therefore continued, but with ſmall ſucceſs to either ſide; the advantage, however, was chiefly on the part of the pope [d]. Towards the end of the campaign the king and the pope, to give ſome hopes of peace, offered a truce for three months to the *Florentines*, which they accepted of; and during this ſhort reſpite, having leiſure to reflect upon their calamities, they reſolved, if poſſible, to detach *Ferdinand* from the pope's intereſt: accordingly *Laurence de Medicis* went as ambaſſador from the *Florentines* to *Naples*, where he was ſo ſucceſsful as to conclude an offenſive and defenſive alliance with *Ferdinand* [e]. *Sixtus* in the mean time was informed, that one *Peter de Oſma*, a profeſſor of divinity at *Salamanca*, had publiſhed a book, containing a great many propoſitions contrary to the catholic faith; namely, that the popes were not infallible, and could not remit the pains of purgatory, or diſpenſe with the decrees of the univerſal church; that the ſacrament of penance was only an invention of men, and that mortal ſins were only expiated by contrition of heart. Theſe propoſitions being condemned in a council held by the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, the pope ſoon after examined them at *Rome*, and confirmed the ſentence of the archbiſhop, denouncing an anathema againſt the author if he did not recant [f] (D).

The Chriſtian princes intercede for the Florentines; A. D. 1459.

SOON

[d] Ap. Pap. epiſt. 680. ONUPHR. in Sixt. IV. [e] MACHIAV. Hiſt. Flor. l. viii. [f] SPOND. Annal.

de Mendoza, cardinal of *Spain*, *Thomas Tunecremata*, a *Dominican* friar, and the king's confeſſor was appointed governor, who upon publiſhing an edict, offering a pardon to thoſe who confeſſed their hereſy, no leſs than 17,000 became voluntary penitents. Two thouſand, who were convicted of obſtinacy, were condemned to the flames, and a greater number ſaved themſelves by flight in the neighbouring provinces. From this beginning, the inquiſition acquired ſuch authority, that nothing, according to *Mariana*, could be a greater terror to wicked men, or of more ſervice to the common-wealth (1).

(D) This ſame year one *John Ruchard*, a doctor of divinity, was condemned at *Mentz* by the inquiſition, and ordered to recant ſome propoſitions which he had publicly preached at *Worms*. His book was burned before his eyes, and he

(1) *Marian. l.* xxiv. *c.* 17.

who conclude a separate peace with the king of Naples.

Soon after the pope was greatly surprised with the publication of the peace betwixt the *Florentines* and the king of *Naples*, in which neither he nor the *Venetians* were concerned. As the *Florentines* could not securely trust to the friendship of *Ferdinand*, they immediately sent ambassadors to endeavour to appease the pope, but he still continued inexorable; however, an accident happened which obliged him to think of a reconciliation. *Mahomet*, having been continually infested by the knights of *Rhodes*, had sent a powerful army to besiege that city; and, to prevent any succours from the *Italians*, basha *Achmet* sailed with a considerable fleet from *Epire*, and, on the 26th of *July*, made a descent with 20,000 men in *Italy*. After a siege of seventeen days he made himself master of *Otranto*, a city on the coast of *Calabria*, where he committed all manner of barbarities, and afterwards ravaged the coasts of the *Adriatic* as far as *Loretto* [g]. The storming of *Otranto* struck all *Italy* with consternation, and *Sixtus*, in despair, proposed at first to fly into *France* [h]; but, recovering from his panic, he desired *Ferdinand* to recall his troops from *Tuscany*, wrote to the emperor and to the other kings and princes for their assistance, ordered twenty-four gallies, which he had prepared for the relief of *Rhodes*, to sail into *Apulia*; and, as the *German* and

A.D. 1480.

The Turks land in Italy, and take Otranto.

The pope, in great trepidation, concludes a peace with the Florentines.

[g] Turpell. Hist. Lauret. l. ii. c. 4. Leand. Albert. in descrip. Salent. 9. [h] Bonf. Dec. iv. l. 6. Onuphr. in Sixt. IV. Bzov. hoc an.

himself shut up in a convent of *Augustine* friars, where he soon after died of grief. According to *Trithemius* these were some of the chief propositions for which he was condemned; namely, that prelates had no authority to institute any thing besides what was taught by Christ and his apostles; that the fathers of the church did not interpret scripture with the same spirit by which it was wrote. Indulgences were nothing but cheats and delusions. There was no original sin. All priests were bishops and popes, the difference betwixt them being only nominal and of human institution; and that without priests men could be saved by faith, charity, and peace. Extreme unction was not a sacrament, and was never instituted by Christ. The procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son could not be proved from scripture, and therefore the doctrine of the *Greeks* on that article ought to be adhered to. There were some propositions likewise against canonical hours, the observation of holidays, the celibacy of the clergy, and the benediction of inanimate things (z).

(z) *Trithem. Ortuin. in fasciul. Parelip. Urspeg.*

French

French prelates had been ſummoned to aſſemble to proceed againſt him for his conduct towards the *Florentines*, he invited all the Chriſtian princes and prelates to aſſemble at *Rome*, and intimated to the *Florentines*, that he was willing to hearken to an accommodation. That republic accordingly ſent twelve ambaſſadors to *Rome*, who were abſolved, and admitted into the preſence of the pope, after they had ſubmitted to lie down before the door of *St. Peter's* church, and to receive ſome ſtrokes with a rod [i]. *Sixtus* behaved to them with great haughtineſs, and after the articles of peace were agreed to, and the benediction read, he added, that, if they would enjoy the fruits of the benediction, they muſt maintain fifteen gallies againſt the *Turks* while they continued in *Italy*. The *Florentines* remonſtrated againſt this heavy impoſition, and ſent another ambaſſador to *Rome*, who ratified the peace, and obtained ſome alleviation of the ſubſidy impoſed upon them [k]. *Sixtus* about the ſame time ſent his nephew cardinal *Julian* as his legate to *France*, to reconcile *Lewis* XI. and *Maximilian* the emperor's ſon, who had married the heireſs of the late duke of *Burgundy*; but *Maximilian*, the year before having gained a victory over the king of *France*, refuſed to hearken to any accommodation. The legate, finding his endeavours to conclude a peace ineffectual, returned to *Italy*, together with cardinal *Balues*, a *French* biſhop, who had been detained eleven years in priſon by the king on account of treaſon [l].

MEAN while, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the *Turks*, *Sixtus* publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all kings and princes, enjoining thoſe who were at war to conclude a peace, or, at leaſt a truce for three years, and exhorting them to a cruſade againſt the infidels [m]. This letter produced but ſmall effect among the Chriſtian princes; however we find that the king of *Scotland*, who had aſſembled a powerful army to invade *England*, ſtopped his march upon a prohibition from a certain apoſtolic legate who was then in *Britain*, altho' the *Engliſh* at the ſame time deſpiſed the legate's authority, and attacked *Scotland* [n]. Several of the *Italian* ſtates aſſiſted *Ferdinand* with money and ſhips; his uncle the king of *Caſtile* ſent 3000 men [o]; his ſon-in-law the king of *Hungary*, in conſideration of a large ſubſidy, ſent 2000 horſe into *Apulia*; who, according to *Bonfinius*, propoſed to attack the *Turks* the ſame

Solicits the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtian princes. A. D. 1481.

[i] MICH. BRUT. Hiſt. Flor. l. vii. VOLAT. l. v. SPOND. Annal. [k] MACHIAV. Hiſt. Flor. l. viii. [l] COMMIN. [m] Rer. German. Script. Edit Freher. t. ii. p. 161. [n] LESLEE, l. viii. [o] DIAR. PARMENS. ap. Murator. t. xxii. p. 363.

Mohammed *dies, and the* Turks *evacuate* Italy.

hour that they arrived in the *Italian* camp [p]. But what contributed more than all his auxiliaries to free his kingdom from the ravages of the infidels, was the death of *Mohammed*, which happened on the third of *May*. The *Turks* who had ſeiſed *Otranto*, being deprived of ſuccours during the diſpute betwixt the ſons of *Mohammed* about the ſucceſſion, *Ferdinand* ſoon after made himſelf maſter of the city, and obliged them to evacuate *Italy*.

Sixtus *embroils* Italy *in new wars.*

SIXTUS, having quite exhauſted his treaſury in ſubſidies againſt the *Turks*, impoſed new tythes upon the clergy, and inſtituted ſeveral new offices in the *Roman* court; which were put to ſale, without regard to the qualifications of the perſons who bought them [q]. But, inſtead of aſſiſting *Ferdinand* to proſecute the war againſt the *Turks*, he involved *Italy* in new broils, in order to ſatisfy his own private revenge. In reſentment for the ſeparate peace which *Ferdinand* had concluded with the *Florentines*, he entered into an alliance againſt him with the *Venetians*, ſending his nephew *Jeronimo* thither with a magnificent retinue, under pretence of receiving the honour of nobility in that city [r]; but, in reality, to concert with them a ſcheme for attacking *Ferdinand*'s ſon-in-law, the duke of *Ferrara*. Accordingly the following year the *Venetians*, who were elated with their great wealth and power, having made a partition of the duchy with *Jeronimo*, took an opportunity to quarrel with the duke, under pretence that their reſidence at *Ferrara* had been affronted, and that the duke had impoſed ſome cuſtoms upon their ſhips contrary to treaty [s]. On the ſecond of *May* they declared war againſt the duke; and, attacking him by ſea and land, quickly made themſelves maſters of the greateſt part of his territories. Mean while his ambaſſadors, and thoſe of *Ferdinand*, the *Florentines*, and *Milaneſe*, finding their endeavours to detach *Sixtus* from the party of the *Venetians* ineffectual, left *Rome*, where the pope was making the greateſt preparations for war, contrary to the inclination of the *Romans*, who openly condemned his proceedings, and, on the eve of *Whitſuntide*, one father *Tuſcanella*, in his ſermon, inveighed with the greateſt freedom againſt the pope and the whole court. *Sixtus*, however, filled the city with ſoldiers, and ſent his nephew *Jeronimo*, with an army, to oppoſe the *Neapolitans*, who, under the command of *Al-*

A. D. 1482.

The Romans *threaten an inſurrection.*

[p] BONFIN. Dec. iv. l. 6. [q] ONUPHR. in Sixt. IV. [r] DIAR. PAM. ut ſupra. PETR. CYRN. de bello Ferrar. apud Murator. t. xxi. p. 1195. [s] Vite de Duchi di Venezia ap. Murator. t. xxii. p. 1215, &c. PETR. CYRN. ut ſupra.

phonſo,

phonſo, the king's eldeſt ſon, wanted to force their way to the duchy of *Ferrara*, through the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. As the pope was obliged to keep a ſtrong garriſon in *Rome*, to prevent an inſurrection of the people, his army was not able to act offenſively; and the *Colonnæ* and *Savelli* revolting to *Alphonſo*, and admitting his troops into two of their towns, the *Neapolitans* ravaged the *Roman* territory to the very gates of *Rome*. At the ſame time it was reported in the city, that the emperor had aſſembled a council at *Baſil*, to proceed againſt the pope [t].

The Neapolitans ravage the Roman territory.

SIXTUS in this extremity excommunicated all his enemies, impriſoned the cardinals *Colonna* and *Savelli* in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, made an alliance with the *Genoeſe* [u], and ſollicited a reinforcement from the *Venetians*. That republic accordingly ſent *Malateſta*, lord of *Rimini*, with a conſiderable body of troops, who, joining the army under *Jeronimo*, attacked and defeated the *Neapolitans*, with conſiderable loſs, taking a great many priſoners, among whom was the duke of *Melphi*, who was honourably treated by the pope, and ſent back to *Naples*. A few weeks after ambaſſadors arrived at *Rome* from *Ferdinand* to treat of peace, and others arriving alſo from the king's allies, the pope was prevailed upon to agree to a peace and mutual alliance for twenty years, on theſe conditions, that all places taken during the war ſhould be reſtored, the allies ſhould pay a ſubſidy of 40,000 crowns to *Jeronimo* for three years, and, for their mutual defence, ſhould furniſh a certain quota of troops, which ſhould be commanded by the cardinal legate of *Mantua*. The treaty was publiſhed on *Chriſtmas-day*, and thirty days were allowed to the *Venetians* and all the allies on both ſides to declare their aſſent [w]. A few days after the duke of *Calabria* arrived at *Rome*, where he was treated with great honour by the pope (E). After ſome conferences he pro-

A peace concluded betwixt the pope and the king of Naples.

[t] DIAR. ROMAN. ap. Murat. t. xxiii. p. 175. 184. [u] Vite de Duchi, ut ſup. [w] DIAR. ROMAN. p. 181. Vite de Duchi, p. 1220.

(E) The night of his arrival, upon the door of his lodgings the following verſe was written:

I celer, O Calaber, Venetis *nova præda futurus.*

Proceed, *Alphonſo*, to *Ferrara* to dignify the triumph of the *Venetians*.

The duke complaining of this inſult to the pope, the *Venetian* ambaſſador was immediately ordered to leave *Rome* (1).

(1) *Vite de Duchi, ut ſup.*

ceeded

ceeded to the relief of *Ferrara*; which, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, was besieged by the enemy. The pope, before the publication of the peace, had written to the *Venetians*, desiring them to cease hostilities, and to accede to the A. D. 1483. general peace; but that republic, elated with their successes, refused to hearken to any accommodation, and finding that the pope had abandoned them, and concluded an alliance with their enemies, they threatened to introduce the *Turks* into *Apulia*, and sent an ambassador to *René*, duke of *Lorrain*, offering him their assistance in making good his pretensions to the kingdom of *Naples* [x]. *Sixtus*, finding the *Venetians* resolved to continue the war, denounced a sentence of excommunication against them, and his legate, the cardinal of *Mantua*, held a general council of the confederates at *Cremona*, in which they settled the plan of operation for the campaign. In consequence of the deliberations of that assembly, the duke of *Calabria* entered the *Venetian* territories, and ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, and *Verona*, while his brother *Frederic* sailed into the *Adriatic* with a fleet, and seized a great many *Venetian* ships at *Ancona*, and on the coasts of *Dalmatia*.

Sixtus joins in the war against his former ally.

The Venetians are reduced to great distress.

THE *Venetians*, being reduced to great extremity for want of money, and of sailors to man their fleet, had recourse to supplications and processions, and sent ambassadors to the emperor to prevail with him to renounce his obedience to the pope, and to call a general council [y]. During these transactions in *Lombardy*, the pope being informed of the death of *Lewis* XI. of *France*, and of *Edward* IV. of *England*, ordered the service of the dead to be celebrated for them both. Soon after he set the cardinals *Colonna* and *Savelli* at liberty, and promoted five others to that dignity. About the same time new disturbances happened at *Rome*, by a second revolt of the family of *Colonnæ*; but *Jeronimo*, attacking their palace with the pope's guards, after a sharp resistance, forced the house, and took *Laurence Colonna* prisoner, who was immediately carried to the castle of *St. Angelo*, where he was soon after beheaded. *Jeronimo* likewise raised an army, and marched against those towns that adhered to the party of *Colonnæ*.

Conclude a separate peace with

MEAN while *Lewis Sforza*, governor of the duke of *Milan*, thinking himself neglected by the duke of *Calabria*, was prevailed upon to agree to a separate peace with the *Venetians*, which was concluded on the seventh of *August* [z].

[x] Storia Veneziana ap. Murat. t. xxiii. p. 1179. [y] PETR. CYRN. ut sup. [z] See the History of the Republic of Venice.

This

This peace, which was greatly to the advantage of the *Venetians*, gave great diſſatisfaction to the allies; however, they were obliged to accede, as they were not able to continue the war againſt that republic, when ſtrengthened by the alliance of the *Milaneſe*. Their ambaſſadors immediately proceeded to *Rome*, where the pope had been for ſome days greatly afflicted with the gout: altho' he had that day diſmiſſed the cardinals without holding a conſiſtory, yet he ordered the ambaſſadors to be introduced into his chamber; where, upon hearing of the terms of peace, in which his nephew *Jeronimo* was not conſidered, he exclaimed with great vehemence againſt the allies, his voice even failing him during his diſcourſe. The phyſicians being called in, the ambaſſadors retired, and the pope, being carried to his bed, languiſhed a few days, and died on the 13th of *Auguſt* [a] (F). *Sixtus*, during his pontificate, adorned the city of *Rome* with ſeveral new buildings; particularly, by rebuilding the bridge of *Janicula* over the *Tyber*, which is now called *Ponte Seſto*. He likewiſe built the famous *Vatican* library, which he furniſhed with books from all parts of *Europe*, and appropriated certain revenues for purchaſing of books, and maintaining *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Hebrew* librarians [b]. However, he does not appear to have been very liberal to men of genius and learning. *Theodorus Gaza*, having preſented to him a fine edition of *Ariſtotle*'s books on animals, received from him only 200 ducats; which, from diſdain, he immediately threw into the *Tyber* [c]: and *Raphael* of *Voluterra* relates, that he ſaw many eminent men who came to *Rome* in great expectation, who were obliged ſoon after to depart in great want [d].

the Mi-laneſe. A. D. 1484.

The pope is greatly offended, and dies at Rome.

UPON the death of *Sixtus* all *Rome* was in confuſion. *Jeronimo* immediately retired with ſome of his troops to the caſtle of *Spoleto*, and ſent others to defend his palace in *Rome*; but the college of cardinals would not admit them into the city, and his palace was burned by the party of *Savelli* and *Colonnæ*, his counteſs being obliged to ſave herſelf in the houſe of the cardinal of *Milan*. However, the oppoſite party of the *Urſini* were in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of

Great diſturbances at Rome.

[a] DIAR. VOLAT. ut ſup. [b] ONUPHR. in Sixt. [c] JOVI in Elog. [d] VOLAT. in Anthropolog. l. xxi.

(F) His dying immediately after the publication of the peace, gave occaſion to the following epigram:

Siſtere qui nullo potuit cum fœdere Sixtus
Audito tantum nomine pacis obit.

St. Angelo,

St. Angelo, and ſome other places of ſtrength in *Rome*, and threatened to elect a pope by themſelves. The cardinals who were in the other intereſt, to prevent a ſchiſm, granted *Jeronimo* 6000 ducats as arrears due to him as general of the church, and gave him a ſafe conduct to retire into *Imola*; on which account the *Urſini* ſurrendered the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and a truce was made for a month betwixt both parties, that the pope might be legally elected [e]. Accordingly twenty-five cardinals entered the conclave on the 26th of *Auguſt*, and next day choſe *John Baptiſta Cylio*, cardinal biſhop of *Melphi*, born at *Genoa*, of a noble family, which had formerly come from *Greece* [f]. He had ſpent the firſt part of his life in the ſervice of the king of *Naples*, as a layman, and by a wife had ſeveral children. After her death he took orders, and was created biſhop of *Melphi* and cardinal by *Sixtus* IV 8. The new pope aſſumed the name of *Innocent* VIII. and ſoon after his election ſent legates to the different princes of *Europe*, exhorting them to peace, and to a general alliance againſt the *Turks*. In the beginning of the following year, he abſolved the *Venetians* from the excommunication and interdict denounced againſt them by *Sixtus*, and endeavoured to reconcile the *Colonnæ* and *Urſini*, who continued hoſtilities againſt each other in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, to the great diſturbance of the city.

Innocent VIII. *is elected pope.*

A. D. 1485.

***He engages in a war againſt the king of* Naples;**

WHILE he exhorted others to peace, he himſelf engaged in a war againſt *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, in behalf of the city of *Aquila*, and ſeveral nobles who had revolted, becauſe the king, for ſome ſlight ſuſpicions, had ordered the count *Montorio* to be put to death. *Innocent*, upon their complaint, cited *Ferdinand* to appear at *Rome*, and gave the command of the church forces to *Robert Sanſeverius*, who had been the general of the *Venetians* in the late war [h]. The *Urſini* family adhered to the party of *Ferdinand*, and ſeveral places were taken by the forces on both ſides; but no action happened of any great conſequence. In *January* following the *Urſini* were reconciled to the pope, and ſoon after, at the interceſſion of the ambaſſador of the king of *Spain*, *Ferdinand* agreed to a peace on theſe conditions; that he ſhould pardon all the lords and barons who had been concerned in the war againſt him; that the city of *Aquila* ſhould be left at liberty, either to acknowlege the pope or the king as their ſuperior; that *Ferdinand* ſhould not pretend to any farther

who agrees to a peace;

A. D. 1486.

[e] Vite de Duchi, ut ſup. [f] ONUPHR. in Innoc. VIII. SPOND. Annal. [g] Vite de Duchi, ut ſup. [h] Id. ib. Iſtor. Napolit. ap. MURAT. t. xxiii. p. 237, 238.

collation

collation of benefices, and ſhould pay all the arrears of his tribute at a convenient time; and that *Virginius Urſino* ſhould aſk pardon of the pope on his knees, with a rope about his neck [i]. This peace was guarantied by the king of *Spain*, the duke of *Milan*, and *Laurence de Medicis*; but the pope had no ſooner diſbanded his forces than it was violated by *Ferdinand*, who impriſoned the barons that had put themſelves under the protection of *Innocent*, and a few months afterwards put them to death, and confiſcated their eſtates. The pope remonſtrated with great vehemence againſt his proceedings; and in the mean time having received an embaſſy from the emperor, informing him that the princes of the empire propoſed to elect his ſon *Maximilian* king of the *Romans*, he gave his conſent, upon being aſſured of the obedience of the archduke, and that he would confirm the privileges of the apoſtolic ſee [k].

which he violates ſoon after.

INNOCENT, being exhauſted by the war with the king of *Naples*, imitated his predeceſſor *Sixtus*, by inſtituting ſeveral new offices, which he put to ſale. He likewiſe impoſed a tythe upon the *German* clergy; but they complaining to the emperor of this grievance, he was prevailed upon, at the interceſſion of *Frederic*, to remit that tax [l]. About the ſame time the pope concluded an alliance betwixt his ſon and a daughter of *Laurence de Medicis*, and entered into a treaty with the *Venetians*, the marquiſes of *Montferrat* and *Mantua*, and with ſeveral other ſtates. He likewiſe ſollicited the *Florentine* ambaſſador, and thoſe of the king of *Caſtile* and of the duke of *Milan*, to exhort the king of *Naples* to obſerve the late peace, otherwiſe he would draw upon himſelf the reſentment of the apoſtolic ſee [m]. In the mean time he was alarmed with the revolt of *Boccalino*, governor of *Oſimo*, a ſtrong city in the march of *Ancona*. The governor, finding the garriſon diſcontented upon account of the great arrears of their pay, prevailed upon them to revolt, and, by their aſſiſtance, expelled thoſe who favoured the pope, and ſent his brother with an offer of ſubmiſſion to the grand ſignior. But, by the perſuaſion of the *Venetian* governor in *Romagna*, he was prevailed upon to deliver up the city to the pope; and, having obtained ſecurity for his perſon, he retired to *Florence* [n]. Soon after *Innocent* being ſollicited by the *Venetians* to mediate a peace betwixt them and the archduke of

The German clergy refuſe to pay a tythe impoſed upon them by the pope.

A.D. 1488.

[i] ONUPHR. & CIAC. in Innoc. Bzov. ann. 1485, 1486. [k] Bzov. hcc an. [l] Naucler. Gener. 50. [m] Iſtor. Napol. ut ſup. [n] Vite de Duchi. MACHIAV. Hiſt. Flor. l. viii.

Auſtria,

Aubric, who, upon a dispute about some iron mines, had attacked their territories. He sent the bishop of *Spires* as his legate to the *Aubrian* camp, who was so successful as to conclude a peace [o]. Mean while he published a bull, condemning a book of *John Picus*, count of *Concordia* and *Mirandola*, prohibiting any one from reading it under pain of excommunication; but he did not censure the author, as he declared that he published the book only as a subject for scholastic disputations, and under the correction of the apostolic see [p] (G).

The brother of the grand signor a prisoner at Rome. A. D. 1488.

In the beginning of the following year, *Innocent* made a promotion of several cardinals, among whom was the son of *Laurence de Medicis*, a boy of fourteen years of age, and *Peter Daubuſſon*, grand maſter of *Rhodes*, who had lately gratified the pope by allowing his priſoner *Zem*, or *Zizim*, brother of the grand ſignor, to be tranſported to *Rome*. *Zem* had been firſt ſent to *France*, where he was guarded by the knights of *Rhodes*; but *Charles* VIII. conſenting to his removal, he arrived at *Rome* about the middle of *March*, and was pre-

[o] Vite de Duchi, ut ſup. [p] Spond. Annal.

(G) *John Picus* was deſcended of the ancient family of the counts of *Mirandola*, celebrated in *Italy* from the year 1110. He was much more illuſtrious for his genius than his nobility, and obtained the title of the phœnix of his age, and by *Scaliger* is called *Monſtrum ſine Vitio*. At the age of ten years he ſtudied the law, and publiſhed commentaries on that ſubject. At eighteen years of age he underſtood twenty-two languages, and had only entered his twenty-fifth year when he publiſhed his book containing 900 theſes in logic, divinity, mathematics, magic, phyſics, and the cabbala, which he undertook to defend. The advocates of ignorance were greatly alarmed, and prevailed with the pope to condemn his book. However he juſtified himſelf in an apology, in which, as a proof of the ignorance of his oppoſers, he mentions, that a theologian, who had ſhewn himſelf very zealous in cenſuring his book, being aſked what was the meaning of the word cabbala, he anſwered, That he was a wicked man and a heretic, who had written againſt Jeſus Chriſt, and that thoſe who followed his opinion were called *Cabbaliſts*. *Picus* died at *Florence* in the 32d year of his age, and is interred in the church of *St. Mark*, with the following epitaph upon his tomb:

Hic ſitus eſt Picus Mirandola; *cætera norunt*—
Et Tagus *&* Ganges, *forſan*, *&* Antipodes (1).

(1) *Vite Pic. impr. Baſil, an.* 1573 *&* 1601. *Trith. & Bell. de Script. Bellef.*

ſented

ſented to the pope in a public conſiſtory by the ambaſſador of *France*; but, notwithſtanding the intreaties and threats of all who were preſent, he would not kneel before his holineſs, or conſent to kiſs his feet [q]. In the mean time, being informed that *Maximilian*, king of the *Romans*, had been impriſoned by the inhabitants of *Bruges*, under ſuſpicion of having attempted to deprive them of their liberties, he wrote to the archbiſhop of *Cologn*, ordering him to excommunicate the rebels, if they did not ſet their prince at liberty within a certain time. A remonſtrance againſt this letter of the pope was publiſhed in *France*, urging that it muſt either be a forgery, or had been ſubſcribed by the pope without his peruſal of the contents, as the *Flemings* acknowleged no ſuperior but the king of *France* [r]. The cenſures of the pope were not regarded by the rebels; however, after they had put to death ſeveral of the king's party, they ſet him again at liberty [s]. During this diſturbance in *Flanders*, *Innocent*, at the intreaty of *James* III. king of *Scotland*, had ſent a legate into that kingdom, to prevail with the nobles to lay down their arms and ſubmit to his authority; but before his arrival the king, having ventured an engagement with the rebels, was defeated and ſlain [t] (H). A few months after *Innocent*, not having been able to obtain ſatisfaction from *Ferdinand* for his violation of the late treaty, denounced an anathema againſt him if he did not repent within ſixty days. *Ferdinand* paying no regard to this threatning, the pope, on the 11th of *September*, declared him excommunicated. He likewiſe depoſed him from the kingdom of *Naples*, publiſhed a cruſade againſt him, and, as the king of *France* pretended to the kingdom of *Sicily*, in right of the late duke of *Anjou*, he invited that prince with an army into *Italy*, and appointed him general of the cruſade [u]. *Ferdinand*, however, ſtill deſpiſed all theſe fulminations; and the biſhop of *Alexandria*, his am-

Innocent depoſes Ferdinand, and gives his kingdom to the king of France. A. D. 1489.

[q] Vite de Duchi, ut ſup. [r] SPOND. Annal. [s] KRANT. Saxon. l. xiii. c. 11. [t] LESSLÆ, l. vii. & viii. BUCHAN. l. xii. & xiii. POLYD. l. xxvi. [u] VIAL. in vit. Innoc. VIII. Bzov. hoc an.

(H) *Jeronimo*, nephew of the late pope, having rendered himſelf odious for his cruelty and avarice, was this year murdered at *Forli*. It was ſuſpected that *Innocent* and *Laurence Medici* deſigned to put their ſon *Cibo* in poſſeſſion of that country; but, by the aſſiſtance of the *Milaneſe*, the widow of the deceaſed ſecured to herſelf the eſtates of her huſband, and revenged his murder with great cruelty (z).

(z) *Machiav. Hiſt. Flor. l.* 8. *Vite de Duchi, ut ſup.*

baſſador, had the confidence in the conſiſtory to appeal from *Innocent* to a general council.

THE pope, in the mean time, ſent a legate to *Germany*, by whoſe mediation a peace was concluded betwixt the archduke *Maximilian* and the king of *France*, with regard to their diſputes in *Flanders* and *Brittany*. About the ſame time he ſent nuncios to the different kingdoms and republics of *Europe*, deſiring them to ſend their deputies to *Rome*, to deliberate about a general expedition againſt the *Turks*, under pretence of aſſiſting *Zem* againſt his brother *Bajazet*. A numerous convention was accordingly held at *Rome* the year following, in the month of *March*, in which it was agreed, that the pope ſhould have liberty to raiſe tythes, annates, or daily contributions, for the expences of the war; that each prince ſhould furniſh, according to a ſettled proportion, either money, ſoldiers, or proviſions; that if the king of *France*, *Spain*, or *England*, ſhould go in perſon againſt the *Turks*, the pope ſhould likewiſe accompany him; but if none of thoſe kings engaged perſonally in the expedition, the forces by ſea and land ſhould be commanded by two cardinal legates; and, laſtly, that the *Italians*, *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Engliſh*, ſhould act by ſea, and the *Germans*, *Bohemians*, *Poles*, and *Hungarians*, by land [w]. All theſe fine promiſes vaniſhed, without taking effect; and *Innocent* ſoon after received an embaſſy from the Soltan of *Egypt*, who was at war with the *Turks*, deſiring *Zem* to be ſent to him, in order to diſtreſs the enemy. However, an ambaſſador about the ſame time arriving from *Bajazet*, intreating the pope to detain his brother, and offering an annual ſubſidy of 40,000 ducats for his ſubſiſtence, *Innocent* accepted of his propoſal, and dropp'd all thoughts of the expedition [x]. Nevertheleſs it appears, that he did not neglect to raiſe the tythes in *France*; for he ſent a mandate to the cardinal archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and others, ordering them to impoſe a tythe upon all eccleſiaſtics, ſecular and regular, and to depoſe and excommunicate thoſe who refuſed to pay [y]. At the ſame time he wrote to the king of *France*, allowing him two thirds of the ſaid tax for his expences in defending the church; on which account the univerſity of *Paris* accuſed the pope of impoſing the tythe only, with the intention of ſecuring one-third of it for his private advantage, and not for employing it in any public expedition; they therefore appealed from him to the apoſtolic ſee when better informed,

A convention held at Rome, *to conſult of an expedition againſt the* Turks. A. D. 1490.

[w] Iidem ibid. [x] Vite de Duchi, p, 1224. [y] SPOND. Annal. hoc an.

and

and likewiſe to a future general council. In the mean time the pope granted a bull, confirming a ſociety, which a few years before had been inſtituted at *Rome*, under the name of *the Miſericordia*, for comforting thoſe who were under ſentence of death, and for taking charge of their funerals [z]. According to *Volaterranus*, he likewiſe allowed maſs to be celebrated in *Norway* without wine; but *Spondanus* alleges, that this author muſt certainly be miſtaken, as it is the opinion of theologians that the pope has no power to alter the divine inſtitution [a].

The pope grants a ſubſidy to the king of Spain *againſt the* Moors. A.D. 1492.

As *Ferdinand*, king of *Spain*, at this time was beſieging *Granada*, the capital city of the *Moors*, *Innocent* allowed him an annual ſubſidy of 70,000 crowns during the continuance of the war, which was concluded in the beginning of the following year, the city of *Granada* ſurrendering after a ſiege of eight months, and the *Mooriſh* king retiring, with great part of his ſubjects, into *Africa* [b]. At the ſame time, by the interceſſion of the king of *Spain*, a peace was concluded betwixt *Innocent* and the king of *Naples*, who ſeems to have been prevailed upon to ſubmit to the pope, from his apprehenſions of the king of *France*, who was making great preparations to enter *Italy*. *Ferdinand* promiſed to pay the annual tribute according to ancient cuſtom, to leave the collation of benefices to the pope, and to give ſatisfaction to the ſons and heirs of thoſe whom he had put to death; on which account the pope abſolved him from all eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and gave a new inveſtiture of the kingdom, not only to himſelf, but to his eldeſt ſon *Alphonſus*, duke of *Calabria*. The ambaſſador of *René*, duke of *Lorrain*, proteſted, in a public conſiſtory, againſt this new inveſtiture. However, his proteſtation had no other effect than to procure a pretended diſquiſition of the duke's right, by ſome cardinals and auditors of the rota [c]. *Innocent* ſurvived this peace only a few weeks, and died on the 25th of *July*, in the 8th year of his pontificate, leaving *Italy* in great tranquillity, having ſo ballanced the power of each ſtate, that, in all probability, the public quiet ſeemed ſecured for many years. However, this happineſs was of very ſhort continuance; for ſoon after his death, the nation was involved in all the miſeries of war, which was chiefly owing to the ambition of his ſucceſſor, and the unfortunate death of *Laurence de Medicis*, who had acquired a great authority, and was a check

He is reconciled to the king of Naples,

and dies at Rome.

[z] Idem ibid. [a] VOLATER. l. vii. SPOND. Annal. ut ſupra. [b] CIAC. in Innocent VIII. [c] RESIER. in ſtem. Duc. Lothar. l. v.

upon the king of *Naples* and the governor of *Milan*, two princes of equal power and ambition [d].

THE death of *Innocent* was no ſooner publiſhed, than all *Rome* was in confuſion, occaſioned by the factions formed by the different pretenders to the pontificate, the chief of whom were the cardinals *Sforza* and *Rovere*. [a] However both theſe candidates were prevailed upon to reſign their pretenſions in favour of cardinal *Roderic Borgia*, who by great promiſes, and a liberal diſtribution of the great riches which he had amaſſed, acquired the plurality of the votes of the cardinals; and on the 10th of *Auguſt* was declared pope, by the name of *Alexander* VI. [e]. He had been created a cardinal when a young man, by his uncle *Calixtus* III. but his life was ſo infamous, that *Pius* II. after having often reproved him, at length drove him from his preſence [f]. As his character was well known, his election alarmed all *Italy*; *Ferdinand* particularly declared, with tears, to his queen, that a pope had been choſen who would be moſt pernicious to all Chriſtendom. This aſſertion of the king of *Naples* is confirmed by almoſt all the *Italian* poets and hiſtorians of theſe times. According to *Guicciardini*, *Alexander* had great natural abilities, and was remarkable for his addreſs and power of perſuaſion; but was chiefly diſtinguiſhed by his vices, which he enumerates, namely, debauchery, inſincerity, impudence, irreligion, avarice, ambition, barbarous cruelty, and an immoderate deſire of promoting his natural children to dignities and honours [g] (I).

Alexander VI. *is elected pope.*

His

[d] GUICCIARDINI, l. i. [e] PETR. MARTYR. Angler. Epiſt. 118. ONUPHR. in Alex. VI. Vite de Duchi ut ſupra. [f] Anec. Alexand. VI. p. 4, 5, 6, &c. [g] GUICCIARDINI, l. i.

(I) *Alexander*, when he was cardinal, kept in his houſe, as his wife, one *Vanocia*, a *Roman*, by whom he had four ſons and one daughter. He purchaſed for his eldeſt ſon *Peter*, the duchy of *Candia* in *Spain*; but he dying ſoon after, he conferred that duchy on his third ſon *John*, who married the natural daughter of *Alphonſus*, duke of *Calabria*. The ſecond ſon, *Cæſar*, was created a cardinal, and afterwards duke of *Valentino*. The youngeſt ſon, *Geoffrey*, obtained a principality in *Naples*, and married another natural daughter of *Alphonſus*. His daughter *Lucretia* had been married, while he was a cardinal, to a *Spaniſh* nobleman; but after his promotion to the pontificate, he took her from her firſt huſband, and gave her to the prince of *Peſaro*; then divorcing her from him, he gave

HIS election being publiſhed, the ſtates of *Italy* propoſed to congratulate him by their ambaſſadors; and, by the advice of *Lewis Sforza*, governor of *Milan*, and uncle to the duke, they had agreed, that all their ambaſſadors ſhould enter *Rome* on the ſame day, appear at the ſame time in the public conſiſtory, and that one of them ſhould addreſs the pope in the name of all the reſt, whereby *Italy* might ſeem one united body, and the pope might have no hopes of diſturbing the public tranquillity. This propoſal was prevented from being put in execution by *Peter de Medicis*, eldeſt ſon of the late *Laurence*, who, from a youthful vanity, deſired to diſplay his magnificence at *Rome*, as ambaſſador from *Florence*. This proceeding of *Peter*, in which he was joined by the king of *Naples*, gave great umbrage to *Lewis Sforza*; he accordingly took the firſt opportunity of exciteing the pope againſt them both: and *Virginius Urſini*, *Peter*'s brother-in-law, having about this time bought ſome caſtles in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, from the nephew of the late pope, he perſuaded *Alexander* to claim them as fiefs fallen to the apoſtolic ſee, ſince the ſale had been made without his knowlege. The pope accordingly inſiſted that *Virginius* ſhould pay other 40,000 ducats to him, as ſupreme lord of thoſe caſtles, which he had purchaſed from *Cibo*: but this propoſal being rejected, he again offered to give the inveſtiture of the caſtles to *Virginius*, and to conclude an alliance with *Ferdinand*, if the duke of *Calabria* would give one of his natural daughters to one of his ſons. *Alphonſus* diſdaining this alliance, the pope, in the month of *April*, concluded an offenſive and defenſive treaty with the republic of *Venice*, and with *Lewis Sforza*, governor of *Milan*, who having uſurped the government from his nephew *John Galeazzo*, was afraid of the reſentment of *Ferdinand*, who, at the intreaty of his grand-daughter, *Galeazzo*'s wife, had ſent an ambaſſador to *Milan*, deſiring *Lewis* to reſign the adminiſtration [h].

The ſtates of Italy *agree to congratulate him as a conjunct body.*

A. D. 1493.

LEWIS, far from hearkening to this propoſal, ſent ambaſſadors into *France*, deſiring *Charles* VIII. to renew his pretenſions to the kingdom of *Naples*, and offering to aſſiſt him in that enterprize both with men and money [i]. The pope readily agreed to this propoſal, in hopes of obtaining

He joins with Sforza *in inviting the king of* France *to*

[h] Vite de Duchi, Storia Venetiana. DIAR. SANESI, ut ſupra. GUICCIARD. l. i. COR. par. 7. [i] COMMIN. l. vii. c. 2.

gave her to a natural ſon of *Alphonſus*, king of *Naples*, and, after the death of that huſband, ſhe married the duke of *Ferrara* (1).

(1) *Marian. l.* vi. *c.* 5. *Onuphr. in Alex.* VI.

takes poſſeſſion of Naples:

from *Ferdinand* through fear, what formerly he could not procure voluntarily; and *Charles* being prompted by ſeveral *Neapolitan* exiles, and by his favourites, who flattered him not only with the conqueſt of *Naples*, but even of the *Turkiſh* empire, entered into an alliance with *Sforza*, and promiſed to march with an army into *Italy*. *Ferdinand*, to avert this ſtorm, propoſed to *Sforza* to confirm him in his government, endeavoured to conclude an alliance with the King of *France*, and reſolved immediately to accommodate all his differences with the pope, who very readily hearkened to his propoſals; and on condition that *Virginius* ſhould pay to the apoſtolic ſee 40,000 ducats for his late purchaſe, and that *Geoffrey*, the pope's youngeſt ſon, ſhould be contracted to *Alphonſus*'s natural daughter, and be created prince of *Squillaci*, with a yearly revenue of 10,000 ducats, he promiſed, by a ſecret bull, to aſſiſt him in defending the kingdom of *Naples* [k].

he is reconciled to Ferdinand:

he grants America *to the* Spaniards.

IN the mean time, being informed by the ambaſſadors of the king of *Spain* that *Chriſtopher Columbus* had diſcovered *America*, or the *Weſt-Indies*, he publiſhed a bull, granting to *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, and to their heirs, all the iſlands and continents diſcovered, or to be diſcovered, on the weſt ſide of a meridian line, which line ſhould be computed 100 leagues to the weſtward of the iſles of *Cape Verd*, and the *Azores*: from this grant, however, he excepted all thoſe lands which were already found out by other Chriſtian princes, on the weſt ſide of the ſaid line. Theſe he left as the property of the poſſeſſors, and beſides made it a condition of his grant, that the king ſhould ſend learned and pious men to inſtruct the inhabitants of thoſe countries in the Chriſtian faith [l]. Soon after, at the deſire of *Ladiſlaus*, king of *Hungary*, he ordered a cruſade to be preached againſt the *Turks*, charging his legate, the biſhop of *Trani*, to negotiate an accommodation betwixt *Hungary*, *Poland*, and the emperor *Maximilian*, who a few months before had ſucceeded his father *Frederic*, that thoſe two kingdoms, together with the empire, might unite their forces againſt the common enemy of Chriſtendom; for which purpoſe he likewiſe wrote to the kings of *Poland* and *Hungary*, and to the princes of the empire [m]. About the ſame time he made a promotion of twelve cardinals at *Rome*, among whom was *Cæſar Borgia*, one of his natural ſons, whoſe elevation was vigorouſly

[k] GUICCIARD. l. i. [l] BULLAR. t. i. Alex. VI. Conſt. II. [m] BARROS. Aſi. Dec. ii. l. iii. c. 2. [n] CROMER. l. xxx. RAINALD ad an. 1493. BONFIN. Dec. v. l. iii.

oppoſed

oppoſed for ſome time by the whole ſacred college [n] (K). Being ſtill deſirous of procuring new dignities to his children, he again threatened to deſert the king of *Naples*, if he would not compel the cardinal of *St Peter* to deliver up the caſtle of *Oſtia*, attributing the cardinal's rebellion to the king's inſtigation. *Ferdinand* in vain proteſted his innocence; but death prevented him from feeling the reſentment of the pope, he being cut off by an apoplexy in the end of *January*. A. D. 1494.

ALEXANDER, during this ſecond rupture, had again, in appearance, embraced the intereſt of the king of *France*, having, at his requeſt, created the biſhop of *St. Maſo* a cardinal; and having, in conjunction with *Lewis Sforza*, taken into his pay *Proſpero Colonna*, with a conſiderable body of horſe. However, ambaſſadors arriving with large offers from *Alphonſus*, the ſucceſſor of *Ferdinand*, he concluded a treaty of alliance with the new king, and ſent his nephew, *John Borgia*, as his legate, who crowned him at *Naples* (L). A few months after four ambaſſadors arriving from *France*, and claiming the inveſtiture of *Naples* in the name of king *Charles*, *Alexander* refuſed to grant their requeſt; but declared, that, if the *French* king would ceaſe his warlike preparations, and refer his pretenſions to the deciſion of the apoſtolic ſee, he, as ſupreme lord of the fief, was ready to hear and judge of his claim. About the ſame time *Alexander*, having recovered the caſtle of *Oſtia*, propoſed to *Alphonſus* to unite their forces in *Romagna*, and to fit out ſeveral gallies, as the king of *France* had already taken poſſeſſion of *Genoa*, and was equipping a fleet at *Marſeilles*, with the intention of attacking *Naples* by ſea. The king agreed to this propoſal, and ſoon after had a perſonal conference with the pope at *Vicovario*, where they ſettled the plan of their operations, to prevent the *French* from entering the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

He again inclines to the French *intereſt; but is reconciled to the houſe of* Arragon, *and gives the inveſtiture of* Naples *to* Alphonſus.

[n] DIAR. SANESI. Vite de Duchi, ut ſupra.

(K) *Alexander*, to remove the impediment to his ſon's promotion, ſuborned falſe witneſſes, who ſwore that he was the legitimate ſon of another perſon (1).

(L) The following were ſome of the chief articles of the treaty. The pope promiſed the inveſtiture of *Naples* to *Alphonſus*, with a diminution of the annual tribute during his life, and created one of his baſtard nephews a cardinal. The king on his ſide promiſed to pay, immediately, 30,000 ducats to the pope; to allow the duke of *Candia* 12,000 *per annum*, and the firſt principal vacant office in the kingdom; and to confer ſome of the chief benefices upon *Cæſar Borgia* (2).

(1) *Guicciard. l.* i. (2) *Idem ibid.*

He ſollicits the aſſiſtance of Bajazet *againſt the* French.

Alexander likewiſe ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the king of *Spain*, and ſent a private embaſſy for the ſame purpoſe to the emperor of the *Turks*, informing him that the king of *France*, after he had conquered *Naples*, intended to attack *Greece*. The ambaſſadors brought nothing from *Bajazet* but magnificent promiſes; but *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile* promiſing to ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the king of *Naples*, the pope allowed him to apply all the money raiſed in his kingdom for the cruſade, to the preſent expedition [o]. He likewiſe publiſhed a bull, prohibiting the king of *France* from entering *Italy*, under pain of eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and by his nuncio at *Venice*, ſolicited that republic to enter into an alliance with him and *Alphonſus*, againſt the *French* [p].

The king of France *enters* Italy *with an army;*

CHARLES however, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of all his nobles, and his great want of money, which obliged him to pawn his jewels, at the inſtigation of the cardinal of *St. Peter's*, reſolved to proſecute his expedition, and paſſing over the *Alps*, in the end of *Auguſt*, arrived at *Aſti* on the 9th of *September*, where he was joined by *Lewis Sforza*, who accompanied him to *Pavia*, and from thence to *Placentia*. *Lewis* hearing of the death of his nephew the duke, whom he is ſuppoſed to have poiſoned, returned to *Milan*, and, in prejudice of the infant ſon of the deceaſed, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed duke, which title he had purchaſed from the emperor the year before. Mean while the king of *France*, being in great difficulty for want of money, and ſeeing no commotion in *Italy* in his favour, began to deliberate about repaſſing the *Alps*; but, being ſtill urged by the duke of *Milan*, he advanced with his army, and took poſſeſſion of *Lucca*, *Piſa*, and *Florence*, from which laſt city *Peter de Medicis* had been expelled by the people, who declared for the *French*. Before king *Charles* had arrived at *Florence*, the *Colonneſi* had likewiſe declared for him at *Rome*, and had ſeized the caſtle of *Oſtia* in his name. The pope then publiſhed loud complaints of the injuries he had received from the *French*, aſked the aſſiſtance of all Chriſtian princes, particularly of the king of *Spain* and the *Venetians*, and recalled his troops from the army in *Romagna*, with the intention of fortifying *Rome*. He likewiſe ſent *Franceſco Picolomini*, cardinal of *Siena*, as his ambaſſador to *Charles*, but the king refuſed to admit him to an audience; and having ſeized the *Turkiſh* ambaſſador, who was carrying 40,000 ducats to *Rome*, he ordered his fleet to proceed to

and makes himſelf maſter of Romagna *and* Tuſcany.

[o] SPOND. Annal. [p] GUICCIARD. l. i. DIAR. SANES. ut ſupra. Chron. Venet. ap. Murator. t. xxiv. p. 7, 8, 9.

Oſtia,

Oſtia, to aſſiſt thoſe that had declared for him [q]. Advancing ſoon after with his army towards *Siena*, the pope again ſent three ambaſſadors to him to treat of an accommodation; but he declaring, that he intended to treat at *Rome*, *Alexander* immediately apprehended the cardinals *Colonna* and *Sforza*, and admitted the duke of *Calabria* with his army into the city, being greatly apprehenſive of the deſigns of *Charles*. As he knew the king was accompanied by the cardinal of *St. Peter*, and was favoured by the greateſt part of the ſacred college, who were his enemies, he was greatly afraid of a rumour that prevailed, that the king intended to reform the church: he likewiſe dreaded his reſentment, for having joined the king of *Naples*, after he had invited him into *Italy*; but receiving an embaſſy from him, declaring that he had no intention to interfere with the pontifical authority, and deſiring to enter *Rome* in a peaceable manner, he conſented to what he could not prevent.

THE king of *France* accordingly entered *Rome* in a triumphant manner, on the laſt day of *December*, late at night; but the pope, inſtead of receiving him, retired, in great terror, with two cardinals to the caſtle of *St. Angelo*. The other cardinals, to the number of eighteen, adhered to the king [r], and ſollicited him earneſtly to remove from the holy ſee a perſon deteſtable to all the world for his vices, aſſuring him, that it would be more glorious for him to free the church of God from the tyranny of a wicked pope, than it was for *Pepin* and *Charlemagne* to have delivered the former popes from their oppreſſors. *Alexander* however, by his gifts and promiſes, having got friends among the king's counſellors, *Charles* concluded a treaty with him, by which it was agreed, that, till the conqueſt of *Naples*, the king ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the caſtles of *Civita Vecchia*, *Terracina*, and *Spoleto*; that the pope ſhould pardon all the cardinals and barons that had adhered to the king; that he ſhould give him the inveſtiture of *Naples*, and deliver up to him the brother of the grand ſignor (M); and, laſtly, that *Cæſar Borgia*,

He enters Rome in triumph.

A.D. 1495.

Is intreated by the cardinals to depoſe the pope.

He concludes a treaty with him, contrary to their inclinations, and

[q] Idem ibid. [r] COMMIN. l. vii. c. 12.

(M) *Zem*, or *Zizim*, died at *Naples*, or, according to different authors, at *Capua*, or *Terracina*, having been poiſoned by the connivance of the pope, before he was delivered to the king of *France* (1). The *Turkiſh* annals relate, that he was poiſoned by one *Muſtapha*, ſent to *Rome* by *Bajazet* with the annual penſion, and that the pope gave his conſent (2); which is

(1) *Jovius. Guicciard. l.* ii. (2) *Leunclav. l.* xvi.

in

Borgia, cardinal of *Valentia*, ſhould accompany the king three months as apoſtolical legate. This treaty being concluded, the pope returned to his palace, and afterwards received the king with great pomp in the church of *St. Peter*. The ſacred college were highly offended with the king, for agreeing to an accommodation with the pope, and eight of the cardinals immediately left *Rome*. *Charles* likewiſe, in the end of *January*, marched with his army from the city towards *Naples*; but before his departure, he was informed, that *Alphonſus* had reſigned his kingdom to his ſon *Ferdinand*, and had fled into *Sicily*. *Ferdinand*, however, was unable to make any oppoſition, and fled himſelf to the iſland of *Iſchia*, leaving his kingdom to the poſſeſſion of *Charles*, who entered *Naples* in a triumphant manner on the 22d of *February*.

makes an eaſy conqueſt of Naples.

THE rapid progreſs of the *French* king greatly alarmed all *Italy*, eſpecially as he had left *French* garriſons in the fortified places of thoſe territories through which he had paſſed, and ſtill refuſed to withdraw them. *Cæſar Borgia* having fled from his camp before he had arrived at *Naples*, the pope thought himſelf no longer bound to obſerve the treaty which he had lately concluded with him at *Rome*; and in the month of *April* entered into an alliance with the emperor, the king of *Spain*, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*, under pretence of oppoſing the *Turks*, but in reality to oblige *Charles* to quit his conqueſts in *Italy*, by a ſecret article, the duke of *Milan* engaging to prevent any ſuccours coming from *France*, which kingdom at the ſame time ſhould be attacked by the emperor and the king of *Spain*[a]. *Charles* being informed of this treaty, immediately reſolved to return to *France*, before his enemies had aſſembled a force ſufficient to oppoſe him; accordingly having left *Gilbert Montpenſier* as his viceroy, with about 3000 horſe, and a ſmall body of infantry, on the 20th of *May* he left *Naples* with the reſt of his army, and marched directly for *Rome*. *Alexander*, having again aſſembled his troops, and got ſome auxiliaries from his

The pope concludes a treaty againſt him with ſeveral princes.

[a] Idem, l. vii. c. 15. GUICCIARD. DIAR. FERRAR. Chron. Venet ut ſupra. DIAR. SANES. ut ſupra.

in ſome meaſure confirmed by a letter of *Bajazet* to the pope, wherein he adviſes *Alexander* to haſten the death of his brother, which at any rate muſt happen ſome time, and promiſes him 300,000 crowns if he would ſend his corpſe to any port in the *Turkiſh* dominions (3).

(3) *Epiſt. Princip. Italic. Script. vol.* i. *Epiſt.* vi. *edit.* 1581.

allies,

allies, propoſed to oppoſe the king; but, his fear prevailing, he abandoned the city and fled to *Orvieto*, and from thence to *Perugia*. *Charles* continued but two days in *Rome*, and proceeded through *Viterbo*, *Siena*, and *Piſa*, to *Fornovo*, a village ſituated within eight miles of *Parma*. His camp was there attacked on the 6th of *July* by the *Venetians*; but the enemy being repulſed, he advanced towards *Aſti* and *Turin*, and, paſſing the *Alps*, arrived at *Grenoble* on the 27th of *October*.

He returns to France, *and*

THE day after the battle at *Fornovo*, *Ferdinand* had returned to *Italy*, and being aſſiſted by a great many volunteers from *Sicily*, and ſome troops from *Spain*, commanded by the famous *Gonſalvo Hernandes* of *Cordova*, he immediately recovered ſeveral places in the kingdom of *Naples*; which ſucceſs had encouraged the pope to ſend a nuncio to the king of *France*, ordering him, under pain of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to quit *Italy* within ten days, and to withdraw his troops from *Naples* within a limited time. This command was treated with great contempt by *Charles*, who threatened to return to *Rome*: however his affairs obliged him to repaſs the *Alps*. After his departure the pope ſent troops to aſſiſt *Ferdinand*, and prohibited the *Genoeſe*, under pain of excommunication, from allowing the *French* to build any ſhips in their territories. *Ferdinand*, by the ſuccours ſent him by the pope, and the aſſiſtance of the *Spaniſh* and *Venetian* fleets, quickly recovered the greateſt part of his kingdom. However, the troubles of *Italy* were not thereby compoſed; for a great many cities in *Romagna* and *Tuſcany* were engaged in particular diſputes, and *Aquila* and *Perugia*, with many other cities in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, refuſed obedience to the pope, and adhered to the party of the king of *France*, who had ſent to the duke of *Milan*, demanding a paſſage and proviſions for 30,000 horſe, with which he propoſed to enter *Italy*[t]. His threatening a ſecond expedition ſtruck a great terror into the *Italian* ſtates; the pope cauſed the caſtle of *St. Angelo* to be repaired, and the *Venetians* ſollicited the king of *England* to declare war againſt *France*; but not ſucceeding at that court, they, with the duke of *Milan*, invited the emperor to enter *Italy*, and to take the command of their army, promiſing to take 4000 *Swiſs* into their pay, and to allow him 20,000 ducats *per* month [u].

Ferdinand *recovers the kingdom of* Naples.

A. D. 1496.

The king of France *threatens to return to* Italy.

THE emperor readily agreed to this propoſal; and, againſt the inclination of the *Germans*, entered *Italy* in the month

The emperor enters

[t] DIAR. FERRAR. ut ſupra. p. 319, & 320. [u] Chron. Venet. ut ſupra.

&

Lombardy, *to the assistance of the* Venetians; of *August*, with 1000 horse and 500 foot. The pope being informed of his arrival, sent his bastard son, cardinal *Borgia*, to crown him emperor at *Milan*, as the *Venetians* had refused him a passage to *Rome* through their territories [v]. Soon after his arrival, the *Venetians* being informed of the death of the dauphin of *France*, which freed them from their apprehensions of a *French* invasion, they therefore resolved to free themselves likewise from the emperor; and for that purpose persuaded him to undertake the siege of *Leghorn*, which still held for the *French*, and was strongly fortified. *Maximilian* accordingly opened the siege; but his forces being inconsiderable, he quickly found the enterprize impracticable, and retired to *Pavia*, from whence he returned dissatisfied to *Germany*, the *Venetians* having neglected to pay their part of the subsidy [x].

but returns dissatisfied to Germany.

Ferdinand *dies at* Naples.

A few weeks before the departure of the emperor, *Ferdinand* died at *Naples*, after he had recovered all his kingdom except *Taranto* and *Gaeta*. As he left no children, he was succeeded by his uncle *Frederic*, who soon recovered *Gaeta* and *Taranto*, and detained *Virginius Ursini*, and his son *Paul*, prisoners in the castle of *Naples*, they having in the late troubles adhered to the party of the king of *France*. On this pretence the pope thought proper at this time to declare them rebels, and sent his son, the duke of *Candia*, with some troops, to take possession of their estates, who quickly made himself master of six of their castles. *Alexander* imprisoned several of the cardinals who opposed his proceedings, while others of them, to save themselves, were obliged to fly to different parts of *Italy* [y]. However he was soon prevailed upon to conclude a peace, his forces having been surprized and defeated by those of the *Ursini*, and the duke of *Urbino*, and many other persons of distinction, taken prisoners, among whom some authors mention the duke of *Candia* [z]. All the territories taken from the *Ursini* were restored to them, upon their paying 40,000 ducats. The pope then sent *Gonsalvo* with his *Spaniards*, whom he had taken into his pay, against the castle of *Ostia*, which was again seized by the adherents of the cardinal of *St. Peter's*. This fort surrendered after a short resistance to the *Spanish* general, who returned in triumph to *Rome*, where he was honoured with a golden rose by the pope. *Alexander*, at the same time, was greatly solicited by the duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians*, to give

The pope attacks the territories of the Ursini.

A. D. 1497.

He concludes a peace with them.

[v] Diar. Ferrar. [x] Guicciard. l. iii. Storia Venet. ut supra. [y] Diar. Ferrar. [z] Ibid. Guicciard. l. iii.

assist

assistance, according to the terms of the treaty, against the *French*, who made great efforts to obtain the possession of *Genoa*. His compliance with their demands quickly became unnecessary; for the king of *Spain* having advanced with an army as far as *Perpignan*, *Charles* VIII. consented to a truce till the beginning of *November*, in which the *Italian* states should be included; and, in the mean time, plenipotentiaries repaired to *Montpelier* to negotiate a peace.

The duke of Candia is murdered by his brother the cardinal.

Soon after the publication of the truce, all *Rome* was thrown into great confusion, occasioned by the murder of the duke of *Candia*, who was assassinated in the streets by his brother, the cardinal of *Valentia*. The cardinal *Borgia*, according to *Guicciardini*, was prompted by jealousy and envy to this horrid deed. As he had no inclination to an ecclesiastical life, he was ambitious of possessing that temporal grandeur which his brother enjoyed, and was besides impatient to find that the duke had a greater share in his sister's affections than himself. Both the brothers are said to have been rivalled by their father; who not being satisfied with his daughter's second marriage, hired false witnesses to prove the impotence of her husband. The pope was afflicted beyond measure for the death of his son; and suspecting the cardinal *Sforza* and the count of *Mirandola* as guilty of the murder, he caused them both to be apprehended: but a few days after, discovering the real author, he deplored his misery with tears in the consistory, confessed the wickedness of his former life, and nominated several cardinals, by whose advice he solemnly promised to reform the manners of his court. He dropt these good resolutions, however, in a few days, and returned, with more eagerness than ever, to the practice of those vices in which he had spent his life. Soon after he granted the investiture of *Naples* to *Frederic*; and being informed that one *Savonarola*, a *Dominican*, of great authority at *Florence*, had prevailed with that city to restore the popular governor, and had written to the emperor, and to the kings of *France*, *England*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, exhorting them to assist the church, which was corrupted from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, and to pluck up, by the authority of a general council, the abomination of desolation which stood in the holy place, he prohibited him from preaching, and cited him to appear at *Rome*. As the monk refused to go to *Rome*, he threatened to excommunicate the *Florentines*, and lay their city under an interdict, unless they delivered him up bound, and refrained from hearing his sermons; but this threatening being despised,

Savonarola, a monk of Florence, exhorts the princes of Europe to call a council for reforming the church, A. D. 1498.

ſpiſed, he denounced an anathema againſt *Savonarola* at *Rome* [a].

Lewis XII. *ſucceeds to the crown of* France, *and claims the duchy of* Milan.

MEAN while, the truce being continued betwixt the kings of *Spain* and *France*, *Charles* again made preparations for an expedition into *Italy*, with the conſent of *Alexander*, who had entered into a private negotiation with him, in hopes of promoting his ſon cardinal *Borgia*. *Charles* dying of an apoplexy in the month of *April*, without iſſue, was ſucceeded by his couſin *Lewis*, duke of *Orleans*, who, far from dropping his pretenſions in *Italy*, immediately aſſumed the title of king of *France*, *Jeruſalem*, and both *Sicilies*, and duke of *Milan*, which duchy he claimed in right of his grandmother *Valentina*, daughter and heireſs of *John Galeazzo Viſconti*. Upon the unexpected death of the king of *France*, *Alexander* again ſollicited the friendſhip of the king of *Naples*: being deſirous of obtaining ſome ſecular dignity for his ſon, he propoſed an alliance betwixt him and *Carlotta*, the king's daughter, and that the principality of *Taranto* ſhould be granted to him as her dowry. *Frederic* rejecting this propoſal with diſdain, the pope immediately applied to the king of *France*; and as *Carlotta* was then at his court, he aſked his aſſiſtance in concluding the propoſed alliance. *Lewis* being reſolved upon an expedition to *Italy*, and being deſirous of obtaining a divorce from his preſent wife, complied readily with the pope's requeſt; accordingly *Cæſar Borgia* having reſigned the cardinalate, ſet out for *France* with the pope's bull, authorizing an examination of the king's marriage [b].

Cæſar Borgia *reſigns he cardinalate.*

ALL *Italy* greatly exclaimed againſt this reſignation of the cardinalate, as the late pope had even refuſed to allow one of the cardinals to reſign, who was deſirous of aſſuming the monkiſh habit. *Savonarola*, who had abſtained from preaching for ſeveral months, again exclaimed againſt the pope; but the magiſtracy of *Florence* being deſirous of procuring his favour in a treaty which they were then negotiating, for the recovery of *Piſa*, ordered him to be ſilent. *Savonarola* obeyed; but ſeveral of his companions ſtill continued to reproach the pope in their ſermons with great freedom. The *Franciſcans* adopted the oppoſite party with great warmth; and the diſpute went ſo far, that one of the *Franciſcans* challenged a *Dominican* to walk in with him into the midſt of a fire, in proof of the truth of their doctrines. The challenge being accepted, an immenſe crowd aſſembled to

[a] SPOND. Annal. BZOV. hoc an. [b] BELLEFOR. l. vi. c. 1.

ſee

ſee the experiment, but the *Dominican* being afraid, deſired to enter the fire with the conſecrated wafer; which being oppoſed by the *Franciſcans*, and inſiſted upon by *Savonarola*, ſerved for an excuſe to delay the propoſed tryal. *Savonarola*, however, loſt his reputation with the people, and next day was ſeized, with two of his companions; and being degraded by the general of their order, they were delivered to the civil magiſtrate, who ordered them to be put to death [c]. *Alexander*, about the ſame time, degraded and impriſoned a biſhop of *Rome*, who was accuſed of *Mohammediſm* and hereſy [d].

Savonarola *is burnt at* Florence.

DURING theſe tranſactions *Cæſar Borgia* arrived at *Paris*, where he was received with great honour by the king, who created him a knight, and duke of *Valentinois* in *Dauphiny*, and gave him the command of a body of 100 horſe, with an annual penſion of 20,000 livres. The following year he married *Carlotta*, a daughter of a peer of *France*, as the daughter of *Frederic* had abſolutely refuſed to marry him. *Lewis* XII. in the mean time, having concluded a peace with the kings of *England* and *Spain*, and a truce with the emperor, made great preparations to take poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*, having likewiſe ſecured the friendſhip of the pope and the *Venetians*. *Lewis Sforza* applied for aſſiſtance to the emperor; but being diſappointed in *Germany*, he ſent an embaſſy to *Bajazet*, deſiring him to declare war againſt the *Venetians*. *Maximilian* was prevented from aſſiſting *Sforza*, being then engaged in a war againſt the *Swiſs*: but being very deſirous of humbling the *Venetians*, he likewiſe ſollicited the grand ſignior to attack them, promiſing at the ſame time to make an irruption into the *Treviſane* [e]. The *Turks* accordingly fitted out a formidable fleet, with which they made themſelves maſters of the ſea; and aſſembling their forces in *Boſnia*, entered *Italy* by *Friuli*, ravaging the country with fire and ſword as far as *Lavenza*, and carrying off with them many thouſands of captives.

Borgia *is created a duke by the king of* France; A.D. 1499.

THE *Venetians*, in this extremity, ſolliciting the king of *France* to haſten his march into *Italy*, *Lewis* arrived at *Lyons* in the month of *Auguſt*, and ſent a conſiderable army over the *Alps*, under the command of the duke of *Luxemburgh*, the duke of *Albany*, and one *Trivulzi*, an *Italian*, who taking *Alexandria* by ſtorm, tho' garriſoned by 5,000 men, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the other cities of the *Milaneſe*, that

[c] GUICCIARD. l. iii. in fin. Bzov. t. xviii. an. 1492, &c. DIAR. FERRAR [d] SPOND. Annal. [e] Chron. Venet. ap. Murator. t. xxiv.

they

who conquers the Milaneſe, *and* they ſurrendered without any oppoſition; *Sforza*, in a diſgraceful manner, abandoning *Milan*, and flying with his wife, children, and treaſure, into *Germany*. The *French* having in leſs than twenty days made themſelves maſters of the *Milaneſe*, and of *Genoa*, *Lewis* XII. arrived at *Milan* on the 6th of *October*, where he received embaſſies of congratulation from all the potentates of *Italy*, except *Frederic* king of *Naples* [f]. The different ſtates put themſelves under his protection, and made alliances with him agreeable to their intereſts. The pope likewiſe laid hold of this opportunity; and ſoliciting the king to fulfil his engagements to the duke of *Valentinois*, who had come with him from *France*, *Lewis* granted him 300 lances at his own expence, and a body of 4 or 5000 *Swiſs*, to be paid by the pope; with which force *Alexander* propoſed to reduce the whole territory of *Romagna*, under the ſubjection of the *Roman* ſee (N); but in reality intended that country, when conquered, as a ſettlement for his ſon *Cæſar*. The *Venetians* had for many years been in poſſeſſion of *Ravenna* and *Cervia*; however the pope at this time made no pretenſions to theſe cities, nor to thoſe lands on the banks of the *Po* which were poſſeſſed by the duke of *Ferrara*, whom the king of *France* had taken into his protection.

gives troops to Borgia, *to aſſiſt him to conquer* Romagna.

[f] Chron. Venet. ut ſupra. DIAR. FERRAR. ut ſupra. GUICCIARD. l. iv. COR. par. vii.

(N) The cities in *Romagna*, which territory was ſaid to be given to the *Roman* church by *Charlemagne*, were uſurped by particular lords during the reſidence of the popes at *Avignon*, and during the great ſchiſm which happened upon their return to *Italy*. The popes not being able to reduce thoſe tyrants by force, either granted the territories which had been uſurped to the uſurpers themſelves, as fiefs of the church, or gave the inveſtiture of them to others, with the titles of vicars. Thus the pope gave *Ferrara* to *Azzo* of *Eſte*, at firſt with the title of vicar, but afterwards with that of duke. Many lords likewiſe in the march of *Ancona*, the patrimony of St. *Peter*, and the duchy of *Spoleto*, obtained the title of vicar, either by the free or extorted compliance of the pope. The cities of *Romagna*, tho' accounted feudatory to the church, had for a long courſe of years thrown off all ſubjection to the popes, many of the vicars neglecting entirely to pay their annual tribute, and all of them entering into the ſervice of other princes, without making the exception of not ſerving againſt the church, nay even ſtipulating to defend them againſt the authority and arms of the pope (1).

(1) *Guicciard. l. iv.*

BORGIA

BORGIA propoſed at firſt to make himſelf maſter of *Imola* and *Forli*, then in the poſſeſſion of the widow of *Jeronimo Riaro*, nephew of the late pope *Sixtus*. This woman, with great ſpirit, made all poſſible preparations to oppoſe him; ſhe repaired the fortifications of her cities, and ſent her children to *Florence*, whither ſhe repaired herſelf to ſollicit aſſiſtance. Her journey being in vain, ſhe ſent an embaſſy to the pope with a poiſoned letter, wrapped up in ſcarlet cloth, to be delivered into his own hands: and having, with great labour, laid all the lands round *Forli* under water, ſhe appeared on the walls, in the dreſs of a ſoldier, to encourage her men. Her endeavours, however, to defend herſelf, were ineffectual; for the deſign of her embaſſy was diſcovered at *Rome*, and the inhabitants of *Imola* and *Forli*, ſtruck with the fate of *Alexandria*, ſurrendered without any oppoſition to the duke, who took poſſeſſion of them about the middle of *January* [g]. *Borgia makes himſelf maſter of Imola and Forli.*

As this year was ſuppoſed to begin a new century, *Alexander* had publiſhed two bulls, appointing the celebration of a jubilee, which began at *Chriſtmas*, but was not frequented by ſuch a great concourſe of pilgrims as in former years, on account of the war which then raged in *Lombardy*. To encourage ſtrangers to come to *Rome*, the pope ſhortened the time for their reſidence in the city, and extended the jubilee to the epiphany of the following year; after which time, he allowed it to be celebrated till *Whitſuntide* through all *Italy*. He likewiſe ſent nuncios into the different provinces of Chriſtendom, to publiſh the indulgences of the holy year, and appointed the tythe of the whole money, to be raiſed on that account, to be given to the *Venetians*, as a ſubſidy againſt the *Turks* [h]. Beſides, to prevent that republic from giving any aſſiſtance to the lords of *Rimini*, *Faenza*, *Peſaro*, and other territories in *Romagna*, againſt his ſon, he allowed them to publiſh a cruſade againſt the *Turks*. The aſſiſtance of the pope being very neceſſary for the *Venetians*, who were engaged in an unſucceſsful war with the infidels, they promiſed not to intereſt themſelves in the affairs of *Romagna*: however, being afraid to ſee *Borgia* in poſſeſſion of that country, they privately ſollicited their ally, the king of *France*, to recall the *Swiſs* and *French* from *Romagna*, being ſenſible that, without them, *Borgia* could not ſucceed in his enterprize. *A jubilee celebrated at Rome.* A.D. 1500.

[g] Chron. Venet. DIAR. FERRAR. ut ſupra. [h] BZOV. hoc an. & ſeq. POLYD. l. xxvi. CROMER. l. xxx. TRITHEM. in Chron. SPOND. Annal.

Lewis Sforza *recovers the poſſeſſion of the* Milaneſe;

TRIVULZI, governor of *Milan*, accordingly ordered theſe troops immediately to return, not ſo much to gratify the *Venetians*, as to oppoſe *Lewis Sforza*, who had ſuddenly repaſſed the *Alps* with ſeveral thouſand *Swiſs* and *Burgundians*, and taken poſſeſſion of *Como*. Upon his arrival the whole *Milaneſe* revolted from the *French*, who had rendered themſelves deteſtable to the *Italians* by their inſolence and barbarity; and *Trivulzi* having but an inconſiderable body of men, was obliged to retire towards *Novara*. *Borgia*, in the mean time, having conquered *Imola* and *Forli*, at the expence of 130,000 ducats, ceaſed all hoſtilities in *Romagna*, and returned to *Rome*, but, before his departure, he is ſaid to have poiſoned cardinal *Borgia*, who was a favourite of the pope, and had been ſent by him as legate to *Ceſena*, with a yearly revenue of 20,000 ducats [i]. Soon after his arrival at *Rome*, *Lewis Sforza* was ſeized by the *Swiſs* in his own ſervice, and by them delivered to the *French* general, by which means the king of *France* again became maſter of the *Milaneſe*, in a more abſolute manner than before. All *Italy* was alarmed at this news, except the *Venetians* and the pope; the laſt of whom entered into an alliance with the king, promiſing to aſſiſt him with troops in his expedition againſt *Naples*, and appointing the cardinal of *Rouen* legate of *France* for eighteen months; in conſideration of which *Lewis* again allowed *Borgia* 300 lances and 2000 foot, and declared that he would look upon thoſe as his enemies who oppoſed the pope's ſon. This reinforcement having joined his other troops, which conſiſted of 600 horſe and 6000 foot, *Borgia* returned to *Romagna*, and without oppoſition made himſelf maſter of *Peſaro* and *Rimini*, the *Florentines* and the duke of *Ferrara* not daring to give any aſſiſtance to the feudatory lords, the *Venetians* even deſerting their cauſe, and honouring *Borgia* with the title of nobility. The city of *Faenza*, which was next inveſted, tho' deſtitute of all auxiliaries, reſolved to adhere to the family of *Manfredi*, and made ſuch deſperate ſallies on the beſiegers, that *Borgia* in great vexation was obliged, after ten days, to raiſe the ſiege, and put his troops into winter quarters [k].

is delivered a priſoner to the French.

Borgia *conquers* Peſaro *and* Rimini;

takes poſſeſſion of Faenza,

ALEXANDER in the mean time, to ſupply the expences of the war, promoted twelve perſons to the cardinalate, from whom he received a large ſum of money. *Borgia* likewiſe, having received new reinforcements of *French* and *Spaniards*, again inveſted *Faenza*, in the beginning of *February*. The

[i] Chron. Venet. ut ſupra. GUICCIARD. l. iv. DIAR. FERRAR. [k] GUICCIARD. l. v. DIAR. FERRAR. p. 391.

inha-

inhabitants of this city, after a vigorous defence, were obliged to surrender in the end of *April*, *Borgia* promising them security in their personal estates, and to allow their lord 4000 ducats a year: however, having taken possession of the place, he sent the lord, who was then only eighteen years of age, to *Rome*, where he was soon after put to death [l]. A.D. 1501.

After the conquest of *Faenza*, *Borgia* having obtained the title of duke of *Romagna* from his father, with the approbation of the consistory, he marched with his army against *Bologna*, proposing, after he had made himself master of that city, to attack *Florence*. Upon his march he received an order from the king of *France*, prohibiting his enterprize against *Bologna*, as he had taken that city, and its lord *John Bentivoglio*, under his protection. This news was very disagreeable to the duke: however, being desirous to extend his conquests, he came to an accommodation with *Bentivoglio*, who granted him a passage thro' his territories into *Tuscany*, paid him 6000 ducats, and sent his son to join him with 300 horse and 5000 foot. *and is created duke of* Romagna.

THIS reinforcement supplied the place of the *French*, who at this time returned to *Lombardy*, the king of *France* having put his forces in motion for the conquest of *Naples*, in consequence of a treaty with the king of *Spain*, by which these two princes had agreed upon a partition of the kingdom of *Naples*. The pope readily confirmed this treaty, to the astonishment of all *Italy*, and gave the investiture of the duchy of *Apulia* and *Calabria* to the king of *Spain*, and of all the rest of the kingdom to the king of *France*, under the title of king of *Naples* and *Jerusalem*. *Frederic* was quite confounded with this news, as the king of *Spain* had sent a great body of troops into his kingdom, under pretence of opposing the *French*, who had now advanced as far as *Rome*. As he had one powerful enemy already in the midst of his dominions, and was threatened with an invasion from another, he left a garrison in *Capua*, and retired in despair to *Naples*. Mean while the *Spanish* general employed his forces in reducing *Calabria* and *Apulia*; and the *French* having taken possession of *Aversa*, *Nola*, and several other places, attacked *Capua*, which they took by storm. *Borgia*, who had entered into a defensive treaty with the *Florentines*, and had left his army in the territory of *Piombino*, accompanied the *French* army with his guards as lieutenant-general, and at the sacking of *Capua*, seized forty of the fairest nuns as his own booty [m]. *Frederic* being informed of the loss of *Capua*, immediately *The kings of* France *and* Spain *make a partition of the kingdom of* Naples.

[l] Idem ibid. [m] GUICCIARD. l. v. DIAR. FARRER.

abandoned *Naples*, which ſurrendered to the conquerors; and he himſelf ſoon after, from his deteſtation of the king of *Spain*, reſigned his whole kingdom to the *French*, and went with his family to *France*, where he was created duke of *Anjou*, and allowed a yearly penſion of 30,000 ducats.

MEAN while the affairs of the pope proceeded with their uſual proſperity; he having made himſelf maſter of all the poſſeſſions of the *Colloneſi* and *Savelli* in the *Terra di Roma*, which he divided betwixt the *Urſini* and his ſon *Borgia*, who had reduced *Piombino* to great diſtreſs. The lord of that city had ſent to the *Genoeſe* for aſſiſtance, and had even offered to ſell his whole eſtates to that republic; but while they were ſolliciting the conſent of the king of *France*, *Piombino* was obliged to ſurrender to *Borgia* [n]. Tho' the *French* king was diſſatisfied with the conqueſts of *Borgia*, he nevertheleſs gratified the pope in all his demands, and prevailed with the duke of *Ferrara* to conclude an alliance betwixt his eldeſt ſon *Alphonſus* and *Lucretia* the pope's daughter.

The duke of Ferrara's ſon marries the pope's daughter. A. D. 1502.

The duke conſented to this match, to ſecure his poſſeſſions from the ambition of *Borgia*; accordingly (the pope allowing his daughter a dowry of 100,000 ducats in gold, and the value of 111,000 ducats in jewels) ſhe arrived at *Ferrara* on the 1ſt of *February*, where ſhe was received with great magnificence, and, a few days after, the apoſtolic nuncio gave the inveſtiture of *Ferrara* to *Alphonſus*, and created him a knight of *St. Peter* [o].

The emperor propoſes a journey to Rome.

ABOUT this time *Maximilian*, who had ſtill delayed to give the inveſtiture of *Milan* to the king of *France*, ſent an ambaſſador into *Italy*, to inform the pope, and the other potentates, that he intended a journey to *Rome*, to receive the imperial crown. This news alarmed the king of *France*, who, from the high demands of the *Florentine* ambaſſador at his court, ſuſpected that the ſtates of *Italy* had entered into an alliance with the emperor: he therefore renewed his treaty with the *Florentines*, in terms very favourable for that republic, and ſent a herald to *Borgia*, prohibiting him from attacking their territories. The duke of *Romagna* had then excited the city of *Arezzo* to revolt; and this enterprize ſucceeding to his wiſh, he left *Rome*, and ſurprized *Cagli*, a city of the duke of *Urbino*, whoſe duchy he quickly made himſelf maſter of, although the duke, a few weeks before, had accommodated with the pope all his differences about the tribute. After this conqueſt he ſeized ſome places belonging

[n] BARTHOL. SENAREGÆ de reb. Genuen. ap. Murat. l. xxiv. p. 574. GUICCIARD. [o] Idem ibid.

to

to the lord of *Camerino*, whom, with his two ſons, he ordered to be ſtrangled. This proceeding alarmed the *Urſini* and other lords that ſerved in his army, who judged that, as his ambition had no bounds, they likewiſe in the end would ſhare the ſame fate with the reſt. Their fears, however were, in ſome meaſure abated, by the arrival of the king of *France* in *Italy*, who ſent ſome troops towards *Florence*, to recover ſome places belonging to that republic, which had been ſeized by one of *Borgia*'s captains, and declared publicly, that he intended to march in perſon againſt *Borgia*, and oblige him to deliver up all his conqueſts. The king was excited to this enterprize by the ambaſſadors of the *Italian* ſtates, who waited upon him at *Aſti*; but the pope bribing his favourite, the cardinal of *Rouen*, with a new legation in *France* for eighteen months, and promiſing to aſſiſt him in his war againſt *Ferdinand* in *Naples*, and to give no countenance to *Maximilian*, who laid claim to the *Milaneſe* as a fief of the empire, he again renewed his alliance with him and his ſon. This treaty being concluded, *Borgia* waited upon the king at *Milan* and *Genoa*, and, to the mortification of the *Italian* ambaſſadors, was received by him with great careſſes [p].

The king of France *promiſes to check the ambition of* Borgia, *but renews his alliance with him.*

Soon after, it being diſcovered that the king of *France* had promiſed to aſſiſt the duke in reducing *Bologna*, and the other feudatory lords, all the ſtates of *Italy* were under great apprehenſions for their own ſecurity. The *Venetians* were very earneſt with the king to induce him to renounce the alliance; and the *Urſini*, with the other lords who ſerved in *Borgia*'s army, withdrew their troops, and entered into a league for their mutual defence againſt him, to which they were encouraged by the revolt of the duchy of *Urbino*. *Borgia* was greatly alarmed with this confederacy, as their forces were greatly ſuperior to his; however, with his uſual good fortune, he prevailed upon the *Urſini*, even after they had gained ſome advantages over him, to conſent to a ſeparate treaty of peace, to which the other lords were obliged to accede. The duke of *Urbino* and the lord of *Camerino* immediately fled, the one to *Venice*, and the other to *Naples*; and *Borgia* ſoon after made himſelf maſter of *Fano* and *Sinigaglia*, into which laſt city he enticed *Paul Urſino*, and three other chiefs of the late confederacy, two of whom next day he ordered to be ſtrangled.

A confederacy formed againſt him.

The pope in the mean time, with the intention, as it was believed, of raiſing money for his ſon, propoſed a general

[p] Idem ibid.

A. D. 1503. cruſade againſt the *Turks*; for which purpoſe he ſent nuncios into the different kingdoms of *Europe*, but with little or no ſucceſs: his character made every propoſal from him to be ſuſpected. However, he ſtill ſucceeded in deceiving the *Italian* princes: upon being informed of the tragedy at *Sinigaglia*, he impriſoned the cardinal *Urſino* in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and ſent his youngeſt ſon, the prince of *Squillaci*, to take poſſeſſion of the territories belonging to that family, and the other confederate lords. The cardinal dying (as it was ſuppoſed by poiſon) after twenty days impriſonment, *Borgia* immediately ordered the other two lords to be put to death at *Sinigaglia*, and marching from thence in the end of *January*, made himſelf maſter of *Citta di Caſtello* and *Perugia*; then deſiring an opportunity to ſeize *Siena*, he ordered them to baniſh their lord *Pandolfo Petrucci* as his enemy, *Pandolfo* was accordingly baniſhed; but the king of *France* interpoſing, *Borgia* was obliged to deſiſt from that enterprize: however, he took poſſeſſion of the territories of the *Savelli*, and ſeveral of the ſtrong places belonging to the *Urſini*, even againſt the command of the king of *France*, whoſe authority was greatly leſſened in *Italy*, as he had, by neglect, allowed the *Spaniards* to make themſelves maſters of almoſt the whole kingdom of *Naples*.

The Spaniards conquer Naples;

Borgia treats with them.

BORGIA, in hopes of making a conqueſt of *Tuſcany*, immediately began to treat with the *Spaniſh* general; but the king of *France* ſending a powerful army into *Italy*, the pope was in doubt which of the princes he ſhould declare for: therefore, under the petence of being the common father, he reſolved upon a neutrality, allowed the *French* army a paſſage thro' his territories, and promiſed, during the *Neapolitan* war, not to attack *Bologna*, *Siena*, or *Florence*. It was ſuppoſed that the pope had no deſign to obſerve this laſt article, but rather reſolved to attack *Tuſcany*, while the *French* were occupied in the kingdom of *Naples*. *Borgia*, to provide money for that expedition, formed a deſign, according to ſome authors, with the concurrence of his father, to poiſon all the rich cardinals, and to ſeize their revenues and eſtates; but, by the miſtake of a ſervant, the plot proved fatal to the contrivers [q]. Authors differ a little, though not materially, in the circumſtances of this fact. According to *Guicciardini*, *Borgia* ſent a preſent of ſome flaſks of poiſoned wine to the cardinal of *Corneto*, in whoſe garden they propoſed to ſup, but ordered the ſervant to give none of it to

[q] MARIAN. l. xxvii. c. 2. BZOV. hoc an. ANGLER. Epiſt. 364.

any

any perſon. *Alexander* ſoon after coming into the garden, and calling for ſome wine before ſupper, the ſervant gave him ſome from the poiſoned flaſks, thinking the prohibition could not extend to the pope, however valuable and rare the wine might be; and *Borgia* in the mean time appearing, without ſuſpicion drank of the ſame wine with his father. They both immediately felt the ſymptoms of the poiſon, and *Alexander* died the next day, being the 18th of *Auguſt*; but *Borgia*, having drank his wine much diluted, by the aſſiſtance of antidotes recovered, after a long illneſs, in which he loſt his ſkin and hair [r]. Alexander *is poiſoned by miſtake and dies.*

THO' the death of *Alexander* gave great joy to the *Romans*, and to all *Italy*, yet *Rome* itſelf was immediately full of tumult and confuſion, the *French* army being in the neighbourhood of the city, and *Borgia* poſſeſſing the *Vatican* and the caſtle of *St. Angelo* with 12,000 men. The party of the *Urſini* likewiſe took arms; and the cardinals having retired to the convent of *Minerva*, were apprehenſive, leſt the *Spaniſh* general ſhould march to the city to over-awe the election. They therefore reſolved to delay entering into the conclave, till the cardinals reſident in foreign parts, beyond the *Alps*, might be preſent. *Borgia* in the mean time, though ſollicited by the *Spaniards*, concluded a new alliance with the *French*, and promiſed his intereſt to procure the pontificate for the cardinal of *Rouen*, who a few days after arrived, with the other cardinals, at *Rome*. The *French* troops being prevailed upon not to advance, and *Borgia* likewiſe agreeing to quit the city with his forces, the cardinals, to the number of thirty-eight, entered the conclave, where their apprehenſions from the ſurrounding armies made them come quickly to a concluſion. *Great diſturbances at* Rome.

THE cardinal of *Rouen*, finding his own views diſappointed by the ſtrength of the *Spaniſh* faction, conſented with them to chuſe *Francis Picolomini*, cardinal of *Siena*, who being old and infirm, would, in all probability, ſoon occaſion another vacancy. *Picolomini* was elected on the 21ſt of *September*, and, in memory of his uncle *Pius* II. likewiſe aſſumed the name of *Pius*. He immediately granted a ſafe-conduct to *Borgia*, who returned to *Rome* with a guard of 300 horſe and 800 foot; notwithſtanding which he was in great danger from the continual aſſaults of the people, and the faction of the *Urſini*, who attacked his houſe with great violence. Great numbers of his guards deſerting from him, he, with his brother and ſeveral *Spaniſh* cardinals, was Pius III. *is elected.*

[r] GUICCIARD. l. vi.

obliged to take refuge in the *Vatican*, from whence he retired to the caſtle of *St. Angelo*. This diſturbance was no ſooner quieted, than all *Rome* was again alarmed by the death of *Pius*, which happened on the 26th day after his election. This pope was eminent for his prudence and learning, and was ſuppoſed to have had the reformation of the church much at heart, having declared, immediately after his election, that there was no longer any occaſion for arms, but that all men ought now to think of religion and piety [a]. He had likewiſe reſolved to call a general council; but death, which is ſaid to have been haſtened by poiſon, prevented his deſign [b].

He dies 26 days after.

The cardinal of Oſtia is elected pope, and takes the name of Julius II.

JULIAN *de la Rovere*, nephew of *Sixtus* IV. and cardinal of *Oſtia*, at the death of *Alexander* was a candidate for the pontificate; and reflecting on the infirm health of *Pius*, he ſtill continued to ſollicit the intereſt of the cardinals. Tho' he was of a bold impetuous ſpirit, had ſpent his life in continual travels, and was at variance and enmity with ſeveral great men, yet, as he was accounted liberal, and faithful to his word, and had amaſſed great wealth, he quickly made many friends, eſpecially by his extravagant promiſes, and a diſtribution of the money which, from an opinion of his punctuality, was preſented to him by the citizens of *Rome*. He procured the intereſt of the *Spaniſh* cardinals, partly by *Borgia*'s means, whom he promiſed to confirm general of the church, and to conclude an alliance betwixt his daughter and his own nephew, prefect of *Rome*; ſo that the whole ſacred college had ſo unanimouſly fix'd upon him, that on the 9th of *October*, when they entered the conclave, he was declared pope before the doors were ſhut [c]. He was crowned on the 25th of *November*, and aſſumed the name of *Julius* II. As he had reſolved to endeavour to recover the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, he behaved with great reſpect to *Borgia*, to whom a few places in *Romagna* ſtill continued faithful. All the other places that he had conquered, immediately upon the death of *Alexander*, had revolted to their antient lords, or had choſen new ones.

The Venetians aſpire to the dominion of Romagna.

THE *Venetians* likewiſe ſeizing this opportunity of extending their territory, during the ſhort pontificate of *Pius* III. had taken poſſeſſion of *Rimini*, and ſeveral other places in *Romagna*, and had laid ſiege to *Faenza*, which city ſent to the pope, demanding his aſſiſtance. *Julius*, though he was greatly offended with the *Venetians*, yet had not force nor

[a] BARTHOL. de reb. Genuen. ut ſupra. [b] SPOND. Annal. [c] GUICCIARD. l. vi. MASS. in Jul. II.

authority

authority to compel them to desist; he therefore only sent a nuncio to that republic, exhorting them to cease their hostilities against a city belonging to the church. They answered that *Faenza* could not be reckoned to belong to the church, as *Alexander* VI. had conferred the whole dominion of it upon duke *Valentino*; and continuing their attack, made themselves masters of the place. *Julius* appointed *Borgia* to go into *Romagna*, to prevent the other places that still adhered to him from falling into the hands of the *Venetians*; but before his departure, he desired him to surrender those places to him, that the *Venetians* might have no pretence for attacking them. *Borgia* refusing this demand, *Julius* ordered him to be apprehended on board his galley at *Ostia*, and soon after obtained from him a resignation of his right to the cities in *Romagna*: however, the governors refused to deliver them while their lord was a prisoner, and even ordered the messenger of the pope to be hanged. *Julius*, to take off this pretence, delivered *Borgia* into the absolute power of cardinal *Carvajal* at *Ostia*, and entered into a treaty with him, which, for the greater security, was confirmed by a bull, by which he resigned the cities in *Romagna*, and gave security for 15,000 ducats. *Julius* by this means got possession of the cities of *Romagna*, but he had no intention of setting *Borgia* at liberty; however the cardinal, upon being informed that the treaty was executed, allowed his prisoner to depart, without waiting for the orders of the pope (O).

A. D. 1504. *Borgia is imprisoned, but escapes to Naples.*

About this time, the kings of *France* and *Spain* having concluded a truce, and the *Venetians* not venturing to irritate the pope by renewing hostilities in *Romagna*, all *Italy* enjoyed a profound peace, except *Florence* and *Pisa*; this last city having, with great resolution, defended itself for several years against the *Florentines*, who endeavoured to reduce it again under their dominion. The pope, in the mean time, received a letter from the Soltan of *Egypt*, who threatened to expel all the *European* Christians from his dominions,

(O) *Borgia* went to *Naples* to the *Spanish* general, who at first treated him with great honour and respect; but soon after, in consequence of an order from *Ferdinand*, he sent him on board a galley to *Spain*, where he was committed to perpetual imprisonment in the castle of *Medina*. Three years afterwards, having bribed his guards, he was let down from the wall, and escaped to the king of *Navarre*, whose sister he had married. He was there soon after slain, in a skirmish with the *Cantabrians*, who stript his corpse, which was afterwards interred at *Pampeluna* (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal. Marian. l.* xxviii. *c.* 8.

minions, and to destroy the sepulchre of our Saviour, and all the sacred relics in the *Holy Land*, unless he prevailed with the kings of *Spain* and *Portugal* to cease from molesting the *Moors*; the one of whom persecuted them in *Spain*, and the other disturbed their commerce in the *Indian* seas [w]. *Julius* sent the *Franciscan*, who brought the Soltan's letter to *Spain*, to receive an answer from *Ferdinand* and *Emanuel*: and being desirous of recovering *Romagna*, he solicited the emperor to use his authority with the *Venetians*, to oblige them to restore the cities which they had seized. The *Venetians*, upon receiving an embassy from *Maximilian*, offered to restore to the pope all that they had conquered since the death of *Alexander*, if he would confirm to them *Faenza* and its territory: but *Julius* replied, that he would not allow them to possess a single tower, and that he hoped, before his death, to recover *Ravenna* and *Cervia*, which they had likewise usurped from the church. However, having no hopes of any assistance from the emperor or the king of *France*, he agreed to leave them *Faenza* and *Rimini*, and admitted their ambassadors to an audience. About the same time he published a bull against simony in the election of a pope, ordaining the election to be null and void if any simony should be committed, either by the electors or the person elected; and that they should likewise be deprived of their cardinalate, and all their ecclesiastical benefices: and that those cardinals who should not consent to the simony, might proceed to the election of another pope, call a general council, and act against the simoniacal pope as a heretic [x].

A. D. 1505

The Venetians resign part of their conquests in Romagna.

A difference betwixt the pope and the king of France.

Soon after *Julius* made a promotion of cardinals; but being offended with the king of *France*, for having, without his consent, disposed of the benefices in the duchy of *Milan*, vacant by the deaths of cardinal *Ascanius* and others, he refused to confer the dignity of cardinal on two bishops, recommended to him by *Lewis*, who, in resentment, sequestered the revenues of the cardinal of *St. Peter*, and other prelates, in the duchy of *Milan*. The king of *France*, however, beginning to be afraid of the grandeur of the house of *Austria*, as *Maximilian* formed pretensions to the kingdom of *Hungary*, and his son *Philip* had now added the kingdom of *Castile* to his possessions in *Flanders*, he therefore resolved to live in terms of friendship with the pope; and having taken off the sequestration, in the beginning of the following year sent the apostolic nuncio, that was at his court, to

They are reconciled.

[w] Barrius. Dec. i. l. viii. c. 2. & 6. [x] Spond. Annal. ex t. i. Bullar. Jul. II. Const. 3.

Rome,

Rome, with various propoſitions againſt the *Venetians*. *Julius* embraced the offers of the king of *France* with great eagerneſs, and immediately ſent back the nuncio to conclude a ſtrict alliance with *Lewis*, ſending with him a brief, by which he granted the dignity of cardinal to the two *French* biſhops, and allowed the king to diſpoſe of the benefices in the *Milaneſe*. The pope deſired immediately to attack *Perugia* and *Bologna*; but as *Maximilian* was then propoſing to enter *Italy* with an army to receive the imperial crown, and the *Venetians* threatened to aſſiſt the *Bologneſe* if he did not confirm their right to *Faenza*, the *French* king entreated him earneſtly to defer his enterprize, leſt he ſhould embroil all *Italy*.

and forms deſigns againſt the Venetians. A. D. 1506.

JULIUS, who, contrary to his natural diſpoſition, had been quiet ever ſince his election to the pontificate, refuſed now to hearken to any farther delay; and, on the 26th of *Auguſt*, marched from *Rome* with 500 men of arms, deſiring the inhabitants of *Bologna* to prepare for his arrival, and to provide quarters for 500 *French* lances. On his march to *Perugia*, where he deſigned to ſtop, unleſs he could prevail with the *French* actually to join him, he received the ſubmiſſion of *Baglione*, lord of that city, at *Orvieto*. *Baglione* ſurrendering the fortreſſes of *Perugia* and its territory into his hands, giving his two ſons as hoſtages, and promiſing to aſſiſt him with 150 men of arms, the pope received him into favour, and the king of *France* being prevailed upon by the cardinal of *Rouen* to grant him a reinforcement, he proceeded to *Ceſena*, where he excommunicated *Bentivoglio* lord of *Bologna*, and all his adherents, or thoſe who converſed with him. *Bentivoglio*, in hopes of the protection of the *French*, prepared for a reſolute defence; but being informed that the king of *France* had ſent 600 lances and 3,000 foot to join the army of the church, he fled, with his family and treaſure, to the duchy of *Milan*, and, after his departure, the pope entered in triumph into *Bologna* on the 10th of *November*. *Julius* diſmiſſed the *French* general with a preſent of 8000 ducats for himſelf, and 10,000 for his troops. He promiſed alſo to create his brother a cardinal. To render the dominion of the church agreeable to the *Bologneſe*, he indulged them with a great many exemptions, and left them ſome ſhadow of liberty, by appointing the new magiſtrates after the antient form [y].

The pope marches with an army from Rome;

makes himſelf maſter of Perugia and Bologna;

[y] GUICCIARD. l. vii.

AFTER

DURING these transactions, *Philip*, the emperor's son, died of a fever at *Burgos* in *Spain*; and *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon*, who had ceded *Castile* to him, had arrived at *Naples*. Upon the news of his arrival, he immediately received embassies from all the states of *Italy*, not only to congratulate him, but also to negociate with him concerning their different interests. *Julius* endeavoured to excite him against the *Venetians*, who were in possession of several maritime places in the kingdom of *Naples*. The pope, being greatly exasperated against the republic for attacking *Romagna*, and disposing of ecclesiastical benefices in their territories without his consent, likewise sollicited the king of *France* to declare war against the *Venetians*, and invited him to a conference in *Lombardy* (P). As the city of *Genoa* about this time had revolted from the *French*, *Lewis* declined entering into a war against the *Venetians*, but consented to a personal conference with the pope; however, *Julius* understanding that he intended to march with an army into *Italy*, to the assistance of the *Genoese* nobles against the people, as he himself favoured the popular faction, he endeavoured to dissuade him; but, not succeeding, he in a disgust published his return to *Rome*, and, to the astonishment of every one, quitted *Bologna* in the end of *February*. The king of *France* resenting this fickleness in the pope, and suspecting that he privately favoured the rebellious *Genoese*, immediately assembled a powerful army; and, passing the *Alps* in the beginning of the spring, struck the *Genoese* with such a panic by his sudden march, that they surrendered at discretion. Having entered the city on the 29th of *April*, he executed some of the chiefs of the rebels, and fined the inhabitants in 240,000 ducats; after which he disbanded his army, and went to *Milan*. A few weeks after he returned to *Savona*, to have a conference with *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon*, who arrived there on the 27th of *June* in his voyage from *Naples* to *Spain*. The two kings treated each other with great marks of friendship and esteem, and, during the three days which *Ferdinand* staid at *Savona*, they held several private conferences, as it was conjectured,

and excites the king of Arragon against the Venetians.

A. D. 1507.

A new rupture betwixt the pope and the king of France.

(P) This year the architect *Bramante*, by order of *Julius*, laid the first stone of the famous church of *St. Peter*, in the *Vatican*, which edifice was finished almost 100 years afterwards, during the pontificate of *Paul* V. *Julius*, *Leo* X. and other popes, published indulgences thro' all the provinces of Christendom to defray the expences of the building; which was at length consecrated by *Urban* VIII.

for

for the reformation of the church by a general council, and for uniting their arms againſt the *Venetians* [z].

THE *French* king had diſbanded his forces, to ſhew the emperor, the pope, and the *Venetians*, that he had no other intention, by marching an army into *Italy*, than to recover *Genoa*. For *Julius*, from his hatred to the king, had written to the emperor and the electors, informing them that *Lewis*, under pretence of reducing *Genoa*, intended to conquer the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, confer the pontificate on the cardinal of *Rouen*, and aſſume the imperial title to himſelf. *Maximilian*, having received the ſame intelligence from the *Venetians*, held a very numerous diet at *Conſtance*; which, with great alacrity, promiſed to raiſe a very powerful army to aſſert the rights of the empire in *Italy*. *Maximilian* accordingly wrote to the pope, that he had declared the king of *France* a rebel, and that he intended himſelf to enter with a powerful army into *Italy* to receive the imperial crown. As the fame of the *German* levies greatly exceeded the truth, the pope now began to be afraid of the emperor, leſt he ſhould reduce the provinces in *Italy* that had been diſmembered from the empire, reſtore the antient dominion of the *Germans* on that ſide the *Alps*, and thereby make himſelf maſter of the election of the popes; he therefore ſent the cardinal of the holy croſs, as his legate, to *Conſtance*, to inform the emperor, that, as the king of *France* had diſbanded his forces and returned to his own kingdom, there was now no need to enter *Italy* with an army; but, if he would come with an ordinary eſcorte, he would confer upon him greater honours than any emperor had ever received at his coronation. As the *French* king had likewiſe ſent ambaſſadors to *Conſtance*, to juſtify himſelf from the falſe accuſations of the pope, the ardor of the diet for the *Italian* expedition greatly abated, ſo that very few troops appeared at the general rendezvous; and, the *Venetians* refuſing a paſſage through their territories for a *German* army, the emperor, after a fruitleſs attempt, was obliged to delay his march [a] (Q),

The pope perſuades the emperor that the French king intends to conquer Italy.

A FEW

[z] Id. ibid. BARTHOL. de reb. Gen. ut ſup. [a] GUICCIARD. l. vii. FUGG. c. 12.

(Q) *Julius* about this time, according to a *Scotch* hiſtorian (1), ſent a legate into that kingdom, to confer upon *James* I. the title of *Protector of the Chriſtian Faith*, on account of his zeal in extirpating hereſy. The legate carried with him for the

(1) *Leſlæ*, *l.* viii.

king

The emperor's march into Italy *is oppoſed by the* Venetians.

A. D. 1508.

A FEW months afterwards, his army being reinforced, he demanded from the *Venetians* a paſſage thro' their territories; but the republic having fortified their frontier, and received a reinforcement of 6000 *French*, refuſed his demand. The pope likewiſe, to prevent his march into *Italy*, ordered his legate to confer upon him the title of emperor; which the popes had always refuſed to his predeceſſors, unleſs they came perſonally to *Rome* [b]. *Maximilian*, however, having made himſelf maſter of ſome places belonging to the *Venetians*, and, being deſirous of extending his conqueſts, left his forces in *Trent*, and, repairing to *Ulm*, ſollicited a reinforcement from the circle of *Suabia*. During his abſence, the *Venetians* defeated his army in *Trent*, and made an incurſion into *Iſtria* and *Carniola*, while their fleet reduced *Trieſte*, *Capo d' Iſtria*, *Rovigna*, and *Pola*. Theſe loſſes inclined the emperor to think of an accommodation, which was likewiſe agreeable to the king of *France*, who was jealous of the power of the *Venetians*; but the republic having agreed to a peace with the emperor, before the demands of the king of *France* were ſatisfied, and having afterwards granted a triumph to their general, they thereby offended both *Maximilian* and *Lewis*. The pope likewiſe, having received a freſh inſult from the republic, which had refuſed to grant the biſhopric of *Vicenza* to his nephew, and had conferred it upon another perſon, he ſent a nuncio to the king of *France*, to excite him againſt the *Venetians*. The cardinal of *Rouen*, inclining to ſatisfy the pope and *Lewis*, being likewiſe ſollicited to the ſame purpoſe by the emperor, a league againſt the *Venetians* was concluded on the 9th of *December* at *Cambray*, betwixt theſe three powers and *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, which was confirmed and publiſhed the next day in the cathedral church, under the name of a defenſive alliance.

The pope enters into an alliance with other princes againſt the Venetians.

A. D. 1509.

THIS treaty, to which the king of *Hungary* and the dukes of *Savoy*, *Mantua*, and *Ferrara*, acceded, was quickly ratified by the ſecular princes; but, as it had been concluded without the pope's concurrence, tho' under his name, *Julius* delayed ratifying it, and in the mean time declared to the *Venetians*, that, if they would reſtore *Rimini* and *Faenza*, he would not join in the alliance; which, without the authority of the apoſtolic ſee, would not be of any dangerous

[b] PETR. MARTYR. Epiſt. 381.

king a purple diadem, interwoven with flowers of gold, and a ſword, the handle and ſcabbard of which was of gold, richly adorned with jewels.

conſequence.

conſequence. The *Venetians* rejecting this offer of the pope, he immediately ratified the treaty, and, the king of *France* having paſſed the *Alps* with a numerous army, he publiſhed a dreadful bull againſt the republic, under the name of a monitory, ordering them to reſtore, within twenty-four days, all that they had uſurped from the apoſtolic ſee, under pain of eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and, in caſe of their diſobedience, he allowed the ſubjects of the republic to be made ſlaves, and their merchandize every-where to be ſeized. The *Venetians* prepared with great ſpirit to oppoſe this formidable alliance; but their army being entirely defeated by the king of *France* at *Ghiaradadda*, who immediately after took poſſeſſion of *Bergamo*, *Breſcia*, and *Cremona*, while the pope entered *Romagna* with an army of 9000 men, they reſolved wholly to abandon the continent: being informed that the emperor had put himſelf in motion towards their *German* frontier, and that the king of *Arragon* had ſent a fleet againſt the cities which they held in *Naples*, they ſent orders to the governors of all their towns to withdraw with their troops, and to leave them free.

They earneſtly ſolicit him to a reconciliation.

THEY likewiſe, by ſubmiſſive embaſſies, implored the clemency of the emperor, the king of *Arragon*, and the pope; particularly intreating his holineſs to abſolve them from the cenſures contained in the bull, as they had offered reſtitution within twenty-four days; but the pope refuſed to grant their demand, as they offered the reſtitution under certain limitations; and he required that, beſides the uſurped territories, they ſhould likewiſe reſtore all the revenues that they had intercepted. However, ſoon after, *Julius*, whoſe great deſire was to free *Italy* from the dominion of foreigners, conſented to admit the ambaſſadors of the republic to an audience[c]; and about the ſame time, the *German* garriſon being ſurpriſed in *Padua*, the hopes of the *Venetians* began to revive. The grand deſign formed by *Julius* was to raiſe the temporal power of the apoſtolic ſee; for this purpoſe he concluded a new alliance with the king of *France*, who promiſed to give no protection, for the future, to any vaſſal of the church; in conſequence of which the pope allowed him to confer all the vacant biſhoprics in his dominions. The king then returned to *France*; while *Maximilian*, who had hitherto done nothing in conſequence of the league of *Cambray*, now arrived with an army in *Lombardy*, and beſieged *Padua*; but, winter approching, he was obliged to raiſe the

[c] GUICCIARD. l. viii. BARTHOL. SENAR. de rebus Gen. ut ſupra.

ſiege, and even reduced to aſk a truce from the *Venetians*, who refuſed his demand.

A rupture betwixt the French *king and the pope;*

In the mean time the pope, contrary to the late treaty, having conferred a biſhopric in *Provence*, vacant by the death of the biſhop at *Rome*, the king of *France*, in reſentment, ſequeſtred all the revenues of the *Milaneſe* eccleſiaſtics belonging to the *Roman* court, which occaſioned a freſh miſunderſtanding betwixt theſe two princes. Tho' *Julius*, at length, complied with the king, and confirmed the biſhopric to the perſon nominated by him, yet he, from that time, deſired to ſee the king deprived of all that he poſſeſſed in *Italy*. Thinking it againſt the intereſt of the *Roman* ſee that the *Venetians* ſhould be farther depreſſed, he reſolved to abſolve them from the eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and, to prevent *Lewis* from giving any aſſiſtance to the emperor againſt the republic, he endeavoured to excite *Henry* VIII. of *England* to declare war againſt *France*, and ſollicited the *Swiſs* to march an army into the *Milaneſe* to the aſſiſtance of the church. *Lewis* ſpared no pains to regain the favour of the pope, but his endeavours were fruitleſs; for, on the 24th of *February*, the peace was concluded betwixt him and the *Venetians*, who were abſolved from the excommunication, on condition that they ſhould leave the navigation of the *Adriatic* free to the ſubjects of the church, give ſatisfaction for all the damages they had done to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and renounce all claim to any juriſdiction in eccleſiaſtical affairs. That they ſhould not preſume to confer any vacant benefices, but ſhould freely admit thoſe who were nominated by the *Roman* court [d]. *Julius* beſides, to the ſurprize of the emperor and the king of *France*, gave permiſſion to the vaſſals and ſubjects of the church to enter into the ſervice of the *Venetians*, and by the means of the biſhop of *Sion*, who had great intereſt with the *Swiſs*, he prevailed with the cantons not to renew their alliance with *France*, but to declare for the apoſtolic ſee.

A. D. 1510.

who is reconciled to the Venetians;

threatens the duke of Ferrara, *and*

As the duke of *Ferrara* ſtill adhered to the king of *France*, the pope ſought an opportunity of a rupture with him, and prohibited him, under ſevere penalties, from making ſalt at *Comacchio*, which territory had been ſurrendered by the *Venetians* to the church. He likewiſe threatened to attack him with an army, if he did not annul ſome new duties that he had impoſed upon veſſels ſailing on the *Po*. As the pope's troops marched into *Romagna* and the county of *Bologna*, the *French* and *German* generals united their forces, and took poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns belonging to the *Venetians* on the

[d] Guicciard. l. viii. in fin.

continent,

continent, to prevent the eccleſiaſtical army from acting againſt the duke. However, as the king of *France* was apprehenſive of a revolt, both in the *Milaneſe* and at *Genoa*, he very willingly hearkened to the propoſals of an accommodation with the pope, who, being unprepared to oppoſe his arms, wanted to draw him into a negociation. After ſome conferences, by which the pope gained time, he abſolutely refuſed to agree to an accommodation, unleſs the *French* king would abandon the protection of the duke of *Ferrara*; to which article *Lewis* refuſing his conſent, *Julius* fully reſolved upon a war. He refuſed to accept of the annual tribute from the duke: in order to ſeparate *Ferdinand* of *Arragon* from the intereſt of the king of *France* and the emperor, he granted him the inveſtiture of the kingdom of *Naples*, and reduced the annual tribute to 2000 ducats and a white horſe [c].

gives the inveſtiture of Naples to the king of Arragon;

NOTWITHSTANDING this accommodation, *Ferdinand* did not openly break with the emperor and the king of *France*. The pope, however, having the promiſe of the aſſiſtance of 12,000 *Swiſs*, declared war againſt the king of *France* and the duke of *Ferrara*; and, while his army entered the territory of the duke, he ſent the *Venetian* fleet, with ſome gallies of his own, to *Genoa*, to excite that city to revolt; in both which enterprizes he was unſucceſsful, by the vigilance of the *French* general. He nevertheleſs refuſed to hearken to an accommodation, tho' *Lewis* even offered to leave the city of *Genoa* free, and to abandon the intereſts of the duke of *Ferrara*. So far was he from inclining to peace, that he impriſoned and put to the torture a *Savoyard*, who declared that his duke was willing to act as mediator; and, thinking his generals did not behave with vigour, he himſelf ſet out from *Rome*, and arrived at *Bologna* about the end of *September*.

and declares war againſt the king of France.

LEWIS, deſpairing of any accommodation with the pope, made a new alliance with the emperor; and, that he might ſhew his moderation, called an aſſembly of the *Gallican* clergy at *Tours*, to have their opinion concerning his diſputes with *Julius*. This aſſembly confirmed, by their authority, all the propoſitions that were offered to them by the king; particularly, they affirmed, that the pope had no right to declare war againſt any prince, unleſs on account of religion, or in defence of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; that the prince unjuſtly attacked by the pope, might, in his own defence, invade the territories of the church, and might even

Lewis aſks the advice of the Gallican clergy.

[c] RAINALD. in an. 1510.

withdraw obedience, in some measure, from such pope, and constitute a pragmatic sanction for regulating ecclesiastical affairs within his kingdom, without any regard to the *Roman* see [f]. The emperor greatly approved of the proceedings of the *Gallican* clergy; and, upon the repeated complaints of the princes and prelates of *Germany*, ordered a pragmatic sanction to be drawn up for the empire, which however was never confirmed by any diet [g]. Besides, according to some authors, he formed a design of calling a general council to depose *Julius*, with the intention of succeeding him in his own person [h].

THE pope in the mean time, notwithstanding the severity of the season, resolved upon the siege of *Ferrara*, and proposing to leave *Bologna*, where he had been in great danger of being surprised by the *French* general, he sent his army towards *Concordia* and *Mirandola*, which two cities he determined to take possession of, altho' he had no complaint against the young duke, whom he had formerly taken into his protection. *Concordia* surrendered the same day that it was attacked; but, at *Mirandola*, the pope's army met with a vigorous opposition from the *French* garrison. *Julius*, rendered quite impatient by the slow progress of the siege, on the 2d of *January* left *Bologna*, and, contrary to the intreaties of the *Venetian* ambassador, and of all the cardinals, went to the camp, and took the command of the army upon himself, as tho' he had even desired to give the Christian princes a stronger reason for calling a general council against him. Having obliged the city to capitulate, he marched with his army through the breach, and obliged the inhabitants to pay 6000 crowns to save themselves from being pillaged. He afterwards granted the investiture of the two fiefs to *John Francis Pious* for 20,000 crowns, and resolved to proceed immediately to the siege of *Ferrara*; but the *French* general *Chaumont* having with great diligence reinforced his army, *Julius* abandoned this enterprize, and returned to *Bologna*, from whence he went to *Ravenna*, where he created eight new cardinals. A few weeks afterwards he returned to *Bologna*, to have a conference with the bishop of *Gurck*, the emperor's envoy, who had held a congress at *Mantua* with the ambassadors of the kings of *France* and *Spain*, to negociate a general peace. The pope very warmly solicited the *German* bishop

A. D. 1511. *The pope takes possession of* Mirandola, *and endeavours to*

[f] SPOND. Annal. GUICCIARD. l. ix. BELCAR. l. xii. RAYNALD. [g] GEORG. de gravaminib. nation. German. l. i. c. 7. apud Freher. p. 684. GOLDAST Constit. Imper. t. ii. p. 122. [h] Monita Politica ac S. I. F. princip. Francofer. an. 1609. See the History of the German Empire.

to

to prevail with the emperor to deſert the intereſt of the king of *France*, and to conclude a ſeparate peace with the *Venetians*; but without any effect; for *Gurck* inſiſted, that the *French* king and the duke of *Ferrara* ſhould both be included in the peace; to which the pope refuſing to conſent, he returned to *Modena*. The emperor and king of *France* having granted a ſuſpenſion of arms during the conferences at *Mantua*, the pope ſeized that opportunity to attempt the ſurpriſing of *Genoa*; but, by the vigilance of the *French* general, the deſign was fruſtrated [i].

detach the emperor from his alliance with France.

The French general retakes Bologna.

THE king of *France*, being informed of the conference betwixt the biſhop of *Gurck* and the pope, was apprehenſive leſt the emperor ſhould be prevailed upon to agree to a ſeparate peace; he therefore gave orders to his general to act with vigour againſt the pope. *Trivulzi*, who, upon the death of *Chaumont*, had ſucceeded to the command, immediately put his troops in motion; and, having taken *Concordia* and ſeveral other places, marched directly for *Bologna*, being attended by *Bentivoglio*, the ancient lord of that city. The pope leaving the command of his army to his nephew the duke of *Urbino*, and the cardinal of *Pavia* as legate in the city, retired to *Ravenna*; but a few days after he was informed, that both the cardinal and the duke had fled, that his army was almoſt wholly diſperſed, and that the city had ſubmitted to its ancient lord, and had admitted the *French*, who had ſeized the greateſt part of the baggage and artillery of his army, and of that of the republic. The cardinal and the duke both repaired to *Ravenna*, and mutually accuſed each other; but the duke, preſuming upon his relation to the pope, prevented the cardinal from juſtifying himſelf by ſtabbing him with a poniard. According to *Mariana* [k], the pope was conſcious of this murder; however, he pretended to be greatly afflicted with the cardinal's death, and, being driven almoſt to diſtraction by the bad ſucceſs of his affairs, he ſet out on his return to *Rome*; but he had ſcarcely arrived at *Rimini*, when he was informed, that citations for a general council were affixed in *Bologna*, *Modena*, and other cities, and that he was ſummoned to appear perſonally.

The ſchiſmatic cardinals appoint a council to be held at Piſa.

THE biſhop of *Gurck*, after his departure from the pope, had ſent three deputies to *Milan* to treat with the cardinals who had deſerted from *Julius* when he firſt marched againſt *Bologna*. Three of theſe cardinals, in their own name, and in the name of ſix others, whoſe commiſſion they ſaid they had received, appointed a general council to be held at *Piſa*,

[i] BARTHOL. SENAREG. de rebus Genuen. ut ſup. [k] MARIAN. l. XXX. c. 2. in fin.

on the 1ſt of *September*; which convocation was immediately confirmed by the deputies of the emperor and the king of *France*, and a few weeks after ratified by *Maximilian* and *Lewis*. The cardinals affirmed, that as the pope, contrary to his oath at his election, had neglected to call a council, they, without his authority, might lawfully convoke one, on account of the evident neceſſity of reforming the church both in the head and members, and as they were authorized by the decrees of the council of *Conſtance*, and countenanced by the emperor and the king of *France*.

The pope publiſhes a bull for a general council to be held at Rome.

THE pope, being greatly apprehenſive leſt the *French* ſhould take poſſeſſion of the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and march to *Rome*, made an indirect offer of peace to *Lewis*, and ſollicited the cardinals at *Milan* to return to the unity of the church, promiſing them all the ſecurity that they could deſire; but they refuſing his offer, and the king of *France* ordering his general to return to the *Milaneſe*, the pope, on the 16th of *July*, publiſhed a bull, annulling the proceedings of the cardinals at *Milan*, and appointing a general council to be held at *Rome* the following year, on the 19th of *April*[1]. He likewiſe publiſhed a monitory, ordering the three cardinals to return to *Rome* within ſixty-five days, under the penalty of being deprived of their cardinalate, and of all their benefices; and, while he was amuſing the deputies of the king of *France* at *Rome* with the hopes of peace, he negociated a new alliance againſt him with *Ferdinand* and the *Venetians*. Mean while all *Italy* was in hopes of peace, by the news of the death of the pope, which was ſoon after found to be a miſtake; for he recovered after continuing ſome hours in a fainting fit; and remaining in the ſame diſpoſition, with regard to the king of *France*, he endeavoured to excite the young king of *England* againſt him, by means of *Ferdinand*, whoſe daughter *Henry* VIII. had married (R).

[1] SPOND. Annal. GUICCIARD. l. x.

(R) During the report of the pope's death, *Pompey Colonna*, biſhop of *Rieti*, and *Antimo Savello*, two *Roman* nobles, aſſembled the people of *Rome* in the capitol, and exhorted them to reſume their ancient liberty. *Guicciardini* relates the ſpeech in his hiſtory of *Italy*; which, as it boldly cenſures and condemns the temporal power of prieſts, has been omitted in ſome editions of that work (z).

(z) *Guicciard. l.* x. *See Amet's Account of Printing in England.*

DURING

DURING theſe proceedings, the council was opened at *Piſa*, on the 1ſt of *September*, by three proxies ſent thither by the cardinals from *Milan*. The cardinals themſelves did not arrive till the 29th of *October*, when they were accompanied with ſeveral of the *French* clergy, who alone compoſed the council; for the emperor had neglected to ſend any ambaſſadors to repreſent himſelf, and had called an aſſembly of the *German* clergy at *Augſburgh*, to have their opinion of the lawfulneſs of the *Piſan* council. Mean-while the clergy at *Piſa* held their firſt ſeſſion on the fifth of *November*, in which they choſe the cardinal of *Carvajal* preſident, and declared null and void all that the pope had done againſt the cardinals and ſynod. In the ſecond ſeſſion, which was held two days after, they regulated the order of ſitting; and, an inſurrection happening in the city againſt the *French* guards, they in great confuſion held the third ſeſſion on the 14th of the month, and transferred the council to *Milan*. There they were alarmed by 16,000 *Swiſs*, who, at the inſtigation of the pope, made an incurſion into the *Milaneſe*; on which account they deferred their next ſeſſion till the 4th of *January*.

The council opens at Piſa;

but, on account of a riot, is transferred to Milan.

THE pope, beſides exciting the *Swiſs* to enter *Lombardy*, had concluded a treaty with the king of *Arragon*, who promiſed him auxiliaries againſt the *French*. He likewiſe depoſed the cardinals who adhered to the council of *Piſa*, and declared them obnoxious to the penalties due to ſchiſmatics and hereticks, and ſent the cardinal of *Medicis*, with ſome troops, towards *Bologna*, to overawe *Florence* and *Piſa*, which two cities he put under an interdict for favouring the ſchiſmatic cardinals. Soon after, the *Spaniſh* auxiliaries arriving, under the command of *Peter Navarra*, they marched with the other forces of the pope into *Romagna*; upon whoſe approach all the places belonging to the duke of *Ferrara*, on that ſide of the *Po*, ſurrendered, except one caſtle which the *Spaniſh* general took by ſtorm on the laſt day of *December*. The united army then marched under the command of the cardinal of *Medicis*, and beſieged *Bologna*; but, after they had made the breach almoſt practicable for an aſſault, the garriſon was reinforced by *Gaſton de Foix*, the *French* general; who, obliging the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, marched from thence, through the ſnow, to the relief of the caſtle of *Breſcia*; which city, during the ſiege of *Bologna*, had revolted to the *Venetians*. Tho' he had only 400 men of arms and 6000 foot, he defeated part of the *Venetian* army that oppoſed his march, and retook *Breſcia* by ſtorm, putting almoſt the whole garriſon, which conſiſted of 9000

The pope's army invades the duchy of Ferrara; A. D. 1512.

but is obliged to retire before the French general,

men, to the ſword, and allowing his ſoldiers to pillage the city, as a puniſhment for its rebellion [m].

Lewis about this time, being informed that the emperor and the kings of *England* and *Arragon* had joined in a league againſt him with the pope, and that the *Florentines* had likewiſe gone over to that party, ſent orders to his general to march directly in ſearch of the enemy's army, and, without reſpect, to attack the pope in *Rome*; and, that he might not ſeem to make war on his own account, a legate from the council of *Milan* attended his army, who was to receive all the places that were conquered in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate (S). The legate having joined the army, *Gaſton de Foix* marched, with 18,000 foot and near 2000 men at arms, in ſearch of the enemy; who being inferior in number, and expecting that the kings of *England* and *Arragon* would cauſe a diverſion in *France*, declined coming to an engagement. *Foix* advanced with his troops, and laid ſiege to *Ravenna*, which obliged the enemy at laſt to venture a battle; which was fought with obſtinacy on the 11th of *April*, when the *French* obtained a complete tho' bloody victory; for they loſt their general *Foix*, and, according to ſome authors, upwards of 10,000 men [n]; but *Guicciardini* mentions only 3000 ſlain on the ſide of the *French*, and about 7000 on that of the enemy [o]. *Palice*, who ſucceeded to the command of the *French* army, immediately after took poſſeſſion of *Ceſena*, *Imola*, *Forli*, and *Ravenna*, which cities were delivered to the cardinal of *Sanſeverino*, legate from the council of *Piſa*; and as the pope's army was almoſt wholly diſperſed, and the cardinal of *Medicis* taken priſoner, if the *French* general had marched directly to *Rome*, he might, with eaſe, have made himſelf maſter of that city, ſo great was the conſternation both of the pope and cardinals. *Julius* was intreated by the cardinals to agree to a peace with the king of *France*; but a few days after being informed of the weakneſs of the *French* army, and the irreſolution of *Palice*, who was at variance with *Sanſeverino*, he reſolved to continue the war; and, in caſe of

who gains a ſignal victory over them at Ravenna.

The pope is in great conſternation.

[m] Id. ibid. Barthol. Senareg. ut ſupra. [n] Idem ibid.
[o] Guicciard. ut ſup.

(S) At the ſame time he ſtruck a golden medal, having on one ſide, Lud. XII. Rex Franc. Dux Mediol. and on the the other, Perdam Babylonem, *i. e.* I will deſtroy *Babylon* (3).

(3) *Pith. de magnitud. Reg. Franc.*

neceſſity

neceſſity, ordered ſome gallies to be prepared for his flight from *Rome*. About the ſame time, being accuſed of contumacy, he was ſuſpended from the pontificate by the council at *Milan*, who had celebrated eight ſeſſions without decreeing any thing of conſequence, or acquiring any authority in Chriſtendom.

THE pope, tho' in appearance reduced to the greateſt extremity, was quickly after more formidable than ever; for *Palice*, inſtead of proceeding to *Rome*, was obliged to return to the *Milaneſe* to oppoſe the *Swiſs*; and the *Engliſh* and *Spaniards* having invaded *Guienne*, *Lewis* was obliged to draw ſome of his troops from *Italy* to defend his own kingdom. The pope, in the mean time, being freed from his apprehenſions of the *French*, on the 3d of *May* opened the council of the *Lateran*, and appointed the firſt ſeſſion to be held on the 10th of the month, when, he himſelf preſiding, the officials and miniſters of the council were named. In the ſecond ſeſſion, which was held ſeven days after, the conventicle or ſchiſmatic council of *Piſa* was condemned, and cenſures were decreed againſt thoſe who either directly or indirectly adhered to that aſſembly. The third ſeſſion was then deferred till the beginning of *November*. The pope in the mean time, having rejected the terms of peace which he himſelf had propoſed to the king of *France*, and which had been accepted by that prince, afterwards pronounced a monitory againſt him, threatening him with excommunication if he did not ſet the cardinal of *Medicis* at liberty. This cardinal was then a priſoner at *Milan*, where, to the great offence of the ſchiſmatic council, he was acknowleged by the people as apoſtolic legate, and gave abſolution to thoſe ſoldiers who promiſed not to ſerve any more againſt the church.

A great revolution in his favour.

He opens the Lateran council.

THE *French* commander in the *Milaneſe*, upon the news of the victory at *Ravenna*, had imprudently diſcharged a great many *Italian* ſoldiers, a circumſtance which haſtened the ruin of the king's affairs in *Italy*; for the emperor, having now openly declared for the pope, and recalled 5000 *Germans* that had hitherto acted in conjunction with the *French*, and the *Swiſs* having likewiſe joined the *Venetian* army, *Palice* was no longer able to make oppoſition, and therefore retired with the greateſt part of his troops into *Pavia*, and put the reſt of them into one or two other places. About the ſame time the *Venetians* and *Swiſs*, taking poſſeſſion of *Cremona* and *Bergamo*, and the inhabitants of the country, in many places of the duchy, riſing againſt the *French*, *Trivulzi*, with many other gentlemen, abandoned the city of *Milan*, and fled towards *Piedmont*, along with whom went the ſchiſmatic car-

The French are almoſt wholly expelled from Italy.

dinals and their adherents. The cardinal of *Medicis* was carried with them as a priſoner, but eſcaped in paſſing the Po, while the *Venetians* took poſſeſſion of *Parma*, *Lodi*, and ſeveral other towns, in the name of the *holy league*. *Parma* and *Placenza* ſurrendered voluntarily to the pope, who claimed them as belonging to the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and *Janus Fregoſo*, having obtained ſome troops from the *Venetians*, marched towards *Genoa*, which city revolted from the *French*, and created him doge[p]. All thoſe cities likewiſe, which the *French* had ſeized in *Romagna*, returned to the obedience of the pope; who alſo, by the means of the duke of *Urbino*, recovered *Bologna*; which, as a puniſhment for its rebellion, he laid under a heavy contribution, and had even reſolved totally to have deſtroyed it, if he had lived[q].

Julius was ſtill intent upon accompliſhing his other deſigns, namely, to take poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Ferrara*, to expel the *Spaniards* and *Germans* from *Italy*, and to re-eſtabliſh the houſes of *Sforza* and *Medicis* at *Milan* and *Florence*. He was prevailed upon to agree to an accommodation with the duke of *Ferrara*, who, having obtained a ſafe conduct, went to *Rome* to aſk his pardon; and at the congreſs, which a few weeks after the allies held at *Mantua*, he procured the duchy of *Milan* to be reſtored to *Maximilian*, the ſon of the late *Lewis Sforza*, contrary to the inclination of the king of *Arragon* and the emperor, who deſigned it for one of their grandſons. He then ſent his army, with the *Spaniſh* auxiliaries, againſt the *Florentines*, who were compelled to ſurrender the government of their city to *Laurence Medicis* II. nephew of the cardinal.

Maximilian Sforza *is put in poſſeſſion of the duchy of* Milan.

As the *Swiſs*, from their enmity to the king of *France*, had been the chief inſtruments of the revolution in *Lombardy*, *Julius* ſent a ſtandard, a cap, and a ſword, to the cantons, and conferred upon them the title of *Defenders of Eccleſiaſtical Liberty*. Soon after the biſhop of *Gurck*, the emperor's plenipotentiary at *Mantua*, arrived at *Rome*, where *Julius* received him with the greateſt reſpect, and concluded an alliance with *Maximilian* againſt the *Venetians*, who obſtinately refuſed to deliver up *Vicenza* to the emperor. After the concluſion of this treaty, the *German* biſhop was preſent at the third ſeſſion of the council of the *Lateran*, which had been deferred till the 3d of *December*. In this ſeſſion the emperor approved of the *Lateran* council, and the pope denounced a ſentence of interdiction againſt the kingdom of *France*, eſpe-

[p] Barthol. Senarec. ut ſup. [q] Guicciard. l. x. in fin. Fugger. l. vi. c. 16.

cially the city of *Lyons*, where the ſchiſmatic cardinals ſtill pretended to hold their council. In the fourth ſeſſion, held on the 11th of the month, the letter of *Lewis* XI. of *France* was read, abrogating the pragmatic ſanction; and a monitory was then pronounced, citing the *French* king, and all the prelates, chapters, and parliaments, in that kingdom, to appear within ſixty days before the council, to juſtify the repealing of the ſaid abrogation (T).

Thus all *Italy* now enjoyed a profound tranquillity, and *Julius* was in poſſeſſion of almoſt the whole territories to which, as pope, he could form any pretenſions, yet his reſtleſs ſpirit ſtill formed new deſigns to diſturb the public peace. He reſolved in the ſpring to attack the duke of *Ferrara*, and, as the cardinal of *Medicis* ſeemed to adhere more to the king of *Arragon* than to him, he determined to alter the ſtate of *Florence*. He likewiſe recalled the cardinal of *Sion* from his legation in the *Milaneſe*, becauſe the new duke had conferred upon him a revenue of more than 30,000 ducats; and to encourage the king of *England* in the war againſt *France*, he reſolved, by a decree of the *Lateran* council, to transfer to him the title of *Moſt Chriſtian King*; for which purpoſe a bull was expedited, whereby likewiſe the kingdom of *France* was granted to whoever ſhould take poſſeſſion of it. But he was prevented from executing theſe and other deſigns by death, which happened to him on the 21ſt of *February*, having a few days before cauſed the council, in their fifth ſeſſion, to confirm the bull formerly publiſhed by him againſt ſimony. Being ſenſible of his approaching end, he declared that the election of his ſucceſſor belonged to the ſacred college, and not to the council, and intreated the cardinals to give the vicarlate of the city of *Peſaro* to his nephew the duke of *Urbino*. *Julius*, a few days before his death, according to ſome authors, expreſſed great penitence for his proceedings againſt the king of *France*, and wiſhed, with great earneſtneſs, that he had never enjoyed the pontificate [r].

The pope forms new deſigns to diſturb the peace of Italy. A.D. 1513.

He dies at Rome.

[r] FERRON. in Lud. XII. BUDÆ Comment. de Aſſe. l. iv.

(T) The biſhop of *Gurck*, during his reſidence at *Rome*, propoſed to the pope, that he ſhould accept of the emperor as his coadjutor; which *Julius* would by no means conſent to (4).

(4) *See the Hiſtory of the German Empire.*

UPON

Leo X. *is elected.*

UPON the news of the death of the pope, *Parma* and *Placenza* were immediately annexed to the duchy of *Milan*, and the duke of *Ferrara* recovered all his territories in *Romagna*. The ſtate of the church ſuffered no other alteration, and all was quiet at *Rome*; where, after the uſual time for the obſequies of the pope, twenty-four cardinals entered the conclave, and, having agreed to ſeveral articles for moderating the authority of the future pope, on the 10th of *March* they unanimouſly choſe the cardinal of *Medicis*, who aſſumed the name of *Leo* X. He was then only thirty-ſeven years of age; however his election gave univerſal ſatisfaction, as he had rendered himſelf famous by his liberality and humanity, and was beſides of unblemiſhed manners, and a great lover of learning and men of genius (U). Four days after his election, the ſchiſmatic cardinals, who, upon the news of the death of *Julius*, had ſet out for *Italy*, voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves to the new pope; who ſent the biſhop of *Orvieto* to them at *Florence*, to give them hopes of a reconciliation, but deſired them to lay aſide the habit of cardinals, as they had been deprived by the *Lateran* council, and to remain in that city till they ſhould be recalled to *Rome* [a]. On the 11th of *April*, the ſame day that he had been taken priſoner the year before, he was crowned with the greateſt magnificence in the *Lateran* church; in that ſolemnity, which coſt him 100,000 ducats, the duke of *Ferrara*, who had obtained a ſuſpenſion of the cenſures denounced againſt him, carried the banner of the church.

THE change of the pope and other circumſtances were not ſufficient to procure tranquillity to *Italy*; for the emperor refuſing to deliver up *Verona* to the *Venetians*, that republic would not hearken to a peace; and the king of *France*, having concluded a truce with the king of *Spain* for twelve months, again made preparations for recovering the *Milaneſe*, having for that purpoſe concluded an alliance with the *Venetians*, who preferred his friendſhip to that of the emperor.

[a] GUICCIARD. ut ſup. SPOND. Annal.

(U) *Leo* X. was the ſon of the famous *Laurence Medicis* of *Florence*, and *Clariſſa Urſini*. He was created a cardinal in the 14th year of his age. His preceptors were *Angelus Politianus*, *Demetrius Chalcondyles*, and *Urban Bolſanius*; and *Picus* of *Mirandola*, *Marſilius Ficinus*, *Chriſtopher Landi*, and ſeveral other learned men, were his intimate friends (5).

(5) *Jovius in vit. Leon. Spond. Annal. Onuphr. & Victorel. in Leon.*

Tho' the pope ſeemed inclined to peace, and had publiſhed a brief, exhorting the *Venetians* to conclude the war, yet he ſtill excited the king of *England* to make war upon *France*, and negociated with the *Swiſs* to enter *Lombardy* for the defence of the *Milaneſe*. In the mean time the *French* army, under the command of *Tremouille* and *Trivulzi*, paſſed the *Alps*, and, with great rapidity, recovered the whole duchy of *Milan*, except *Como* and *Novara*, while the *Venetians* took poſſeſſion of *Breſcia*, *Peſchiera*, *Lodi*, and *Cremona*. This proſperity, however, was of very ſhort continuance; for the *French* being ſurpriſed and defeated by the *Swiſs* in a ſally from *Novara*, the *Milaneſe* quickly revolted to *Sforza*, and the *Spaniards*, declaring for the emperor, attacked the *Venetian* territories, took ſeveral places, and entirely defeated the army of the republic [t].

The French recover the duchy of Milan, which is quickly loſt.

DURING theſe tranſactions in the field, *Leo* held the ſixth ſeſſion of the *Lateran* council on the 27th of *April*, when he publiſhed a bull, approving of all their paſt proceedings, and declaring his intention of continuing the aſſembly till peace ſhould be concluded among the Chriſtian princes. In the ſeventh ſeſſion, which was held on the 16th of *June*, the deputies of the king of *Poland*, and of the dukes of *Mazovia*, *Ruſſia*, *Milan*, and *Mantua*, were admitted; and, the king of *France* having ſent the biſhop of *Marſeilles* to treat of his re-union to the church, the pope, by a decree of the council, gave a liberty to the *French* biſhops, till the 1ſt of *September*, to clear themſelves from their contumacy. A writing was then read, ſigned by the depoſed cardinals *Carvajal* and *Sanſeverino*, wherein they approved of the *Lateran* council, and confeſſed themſelves juſtly deprived of their dignities. Notwithſtanding the great oppoſition of the cardinals of *York* and *Sion*, and the ambaſſadors of the emperor and the king of *Spain*, yet *Leo* conſented to their reſtoration, judging that the ſchiſmatic council of *Piſa* would be more eaſily extinguiſhed by lenity than rigour. Tho' the pope, by this proceeding, gratified the *French* king, he nevertheleſs did his utmoſt to detach the *Venetians* from their alliance with *France*, and to mediate a peace betwixt them and the emperor. After the defeat of their troops by the *Spaniards*, the *Venetians* conſented to accept of *Leo* as mediator, and ſent deputies to *Rome*; whither likewiſe *Maximilian* ſent the biſhop of *Gurck*, whom the pope promoted to the dignity of cardinal. The conferences continued three

The ſchiſmatic cardinals are reſtored to their dignities.

[t] BEMB. l. iii. ep. 19. l. iv. ep. 1. MARIAN. l. xxx. n. 92. Hiſt. de la ligue de Camb. t. ii. l. iv. p. 316. BELCAR. l. xiv.

months,

months, during which time the pope published a ceſſation of hoſtilities; however he had not influence ſufficient with the two parties to prevail with them to abate of their mutual demands, ſo that the time for the arbitration elapſed without any thing being determined [u].

The king of France *acknowledges the* Lateran *council.*

FRANCE in the mean time being invaded in *Picardy* by the king of *England*, and in *Burgundy* by the *Swiſs*, *Lewis* XII. found it abſolutely neceſſary to be reconciled to the apoſtolic ſee; he accordingly ſent deputies to *Rome*, who, in the eighth ſeſſion of the *Lateran* council, which was held on the 17th of *December*, renounced in his name the *Piſan* conventicle, and declared his adherence to the council of the *Lateran*, promiſing that ſix *French* prelates ſhould come to *Rome* to do the ſame in the name of the whole *Gallican* church. In the ſame ſeſſion a penal monitory was decreed againſt the parliament of *Provence*, which aſſumed to itſelf an authority over the clergy, and would not allow of appeals to the apoſtolic ſee, nor ſuffer the pope's letters to be put in execution without their leave. A decree of the pope was then read againſt certain philoſophers, who affirmed, that the rational ſoul was mortal, and identically the ſame in all men. A bull was likewiſe read for ſending cardinals to exhort the Chriſtian princes to peace and concord, and for inviting the *Bohemian* heretics, with a ſafe conduct, to the council; another was iſſued for reforming the officers of the *Roman* court, and for putting a ſtop to their rapaciouſneſs [v].

A.D. 1514. *Leo endeavours to reconcile the* French *and* Swiſs,

THE kingdom of *France* being now re-united to the ſee of *Rome*, *Leo* no longer deſired to ſee it depreſſed; and tho' he ſtill continued in his reſolution of preventing *Lewis* from poſſeſſing the *Milaneſe*, he had no deſire to ſee his kingdom attacked by the *Engliſh* and *Germans*, and was beſides afraid leſt *Lewis* ſhould be perſuaded to enter into an alliance with the emperor and the king of *Spain*, and aſſiſt them in conquering the *Milaneſe* for their grandſon *Charles*, by which the liberty of *Italy* would be more endangered than if the duchy were in his own poſſeſſion. He therefore exhorted the *Swiſs* to an accommodation with the king; but they refuſing the offers made to them by *Lewis*, the pope again endeavoured to mediate a peace betwixt the *Venetians* and the emperor, to prevent him from having any pretence to enter *Italy*, and propoſed a ceſſation of arms in *Lombardy* on certain conditions; which being rejected by the *Venetians*, as greatly prejudicial to their intereſt, the pope ſent a con-

[u] GUICCIARD. l. xi. in fin. ROD. l. xii. p. 593. [v] SPOND. Annal. hoc an.

deſirable

ſiderable body of troops to take poſſeſſion of *Crema*, to oblige the republic to agree to the preliminaries which he had propoſed. His troops, however, were defeated, and obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. *Leo* in the mean time being informed, that a peace was negociating betwixt the kings of *France* and *England*, he offered his mediation; which was accepted by both the princes, and a treaty of peace was concluded on the 7th of *Auguſt*. Tho' the pope had exhorted the king of *England* to this peace, yet, in reality, it was concluded againſt his inclination; but *Henry* VIII. after having made great preparations for the campaign, being diſappointed by the emperor and his father-in-law, who had both agreed to a truce with the *French* king, reſolved no longer to be their tool, and, in his turn, diſappointed them by entering into a defenſive alliance with *Lewis* [x]. Soon after the concluſion of this treaty, the pope ſent ſome preliminaries into *France* for an alliance with *Lewis* againſt the catholic king, having an intention of expelling the *Spaniards* from *Italy*, and conferring the kingdom of *Naples* upon his brother *Julian*; but, *Lewis* neglecting to return an immediate anſwer to his propoſals, *Leo* in the mean time renewed his alliance with the emperor and the catholic king for one year: and, deſpairing of conquering *Naples*, he procured the inveſtiture of *Modena* and *Reggio* from the emperor for 40,000 ducats, which he intended as a ſettlement for his brother, together with *Parma*, *Placenza*, and the duchy of *Ferrara*; which laſt he ſtill formed pretenſions to, notwithſtanding his promiſes to the duke.

and forms a deſign of ſeizing Naples.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the king of *France* was making great preparations for recovering the *Milaneſe*, and *Leo* had celebrated the ninth ſeſſion of the *Lateran* council on the 2d of *May*, when the ambaſſadors of the king of *Portugal* were admitted, and the deputies from the *Gallican* church, tho' they had not appeared, were abſolved from all cenſures, as by a letter to the pope, and a public inſtrument taken in a monaſtery in *Savoy*, it was proved they could not obtain a ſafe conduct from the *Genoeſe* or the duke of *Milan*. A decree was then read, enjoining prayers thro' all Chriſtendom for obtaining peace among Chriſtian princes, and union againſt the *Turks*. Indulgences were likewiſe publiſhed, and the divine wrath denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould interrupt the legates or apoſtolic nuncios, either directly or indirectly, in diſpoſing of the indulgences, and in collecting the revenue ariſing from their ſale. Another decree was alſo

Indulgences granted for defraying the

[x] BELCAR. l. xiv. GUICCIARD. l. xii.

publiſhed

expences of a war againſt the Turks.

publiſhed for the reformation of the *Roman* court; firſt, as to the ſupplying the vacancies of churches, monaſteries, and pariſhes, and prohibiting for the future all grants of reverſion; likewiſe, for the right adminiſtration of all benefices, for the correction of the vices of all eccleſiaſtics and laics, and for regulating the manners of the cardinals. The ancient canons were alſo renewed againſt all violators of the eccleſiaſtical liberty [y].

ITALY was at this time alarmed with the rumour of an invaſion from ſoltan *Selim*; who, having poiſoned his father *Bajazet* II. formed pretenſions to the weſtern empire as ſucceſſor of the emperors of *Conſtantinople*, and was making immenſe preparations at *Adrianople* for ſome warlike expedition. *Leo*, to avert the ſtorm from *Italy*, had ordered a cruſade to be preached in *Hungary*; but *Selim*, having no intention to attack that kingdom, concluded a peace with *Ladiſlaus* (W), and tranſported his army into *Aſia* againſt the ſophi of *Perſia*, whoſe general he defeated with conſiderable loſs. Tho' *Selim* himſelf a few months afterwards was defeated by the ſophi, yet, upon the news of his firſt victory, *Leo* wrote to all the Chriſtian princes, exhorting them to unite their forces againſt the infidels [z], who profeſſed publicly their intention of attacking *Italy*; which kingdom was not only threatened with a war from the *Turks*, but alſo from *Francis* I. who upon the death of *Lewis* XII. which happened on the 1ſt of *January*, ſucceeded to the crown of *France*.

Francis I. *ſucceeds to the crown of* France, *and* A.D. 1515.

FRANCIS ſollicited the friendſhip of the pope by means of his brother *Julian*, who had married his aunt, the ſiſter of the duke of *Savoy*, and likewiſe ſent ambaſſadors for that purpoſe to *Rome*, among whom was the famous *Budæus*; but his endeavours were in vain, for *Leo* had privately acceded to the alliance of the emperor, the king of *Spain*, and the *Swiſs*, againſt him, and, while he amuſed his ambaſſadors,

[y] SPOND. Annal. [z] BEMB. l. x. ep. 5. SAMB. Append. ad Bonfin. p. 537, 538.

(W) The army of cruſaders which was raiſed in *Hungary*, being prevented by the peace from acting againſt the *Turks*, turned their arms againſt the nobility by whom they were wont to be oppreſſed, and for ſome months committed the greateſt outrages thro' the kingdom; but, their chiefs being ſeized, they were at laſt diſperſed, tho' not without great bloodſhed (6).

(6) *Ifthuan. rer. Hung. l.* v.

he

he celebrated the tenth ſeſſion of the *Lateran* council o the 2d of *May*, in which the deputies of the duke of *Savoy* were admitted. Several decrees were then read for puniſhing delinquent canons and ſecular clerks; concerning the juriſdiction of the ordinary; concerning the celebration of dioceſan and provincial ſynods; and prohibiting the printing of any book or manuſcript without the approbation of the ordinaries and inquiſitors. After the reading of theſe decrees, the proctor of the council produced a writing, containing the ſubmiſſion of the parliament of *Provence*; which being inroſſed in the acts, the pope abſolved them from the cenſures contained in the former monitory. During theſe proceedings at *Rome*, the king of *France*, having renewed the alliance with the *Venetians*, marched towards the *Alps* with an army of upwards of 55,000 men. *Leo*, tho' he had not openly declared againſt him, yet ſent ſome troops into *Lombardy*, under pretence of guarding *Placenza* and *Parma*; but *Proſpero Colonna* being ſurpriſed by the *French* in *Piedmont*, the pope heſitated greatly whether he ſhould not agree to an accommodation with *Francis*; who, in the mean time arriving at *Vercelli*, there firſt heard that he was his enemy. The king, having continued a few days at *Vercelli*, advanced with his army to *Marignan*; where being attacked by the *Swiſs*, after a furious engagement of two days, he gained a ſignal victory, in conſequence of which he got poſſeſſion of the whole *Milaneſe*, except the caſtles of *Milan* and *Cremona*[a]. *recovers the Milaneſe.*

THIS victory of the *French* obliged *Leo* to think ſeriouſly of an accommodation with *Francis*. A treaty was accordingly concluded by the mediation of the duke of *Savoy*, by which the pope ceded *Parma* and *Placenza* to the king of *France*, and promiſed to reſtore *Modena* and *Reggio* to the duke of *Ferrara*; *Francis*, on his part, engaging to defend the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and to ſupport the authority of the houſe of *Medicis* in *Florence*. The king afterwards had a conference with the pope at *Bologna* about the middle of *December*, to conſult about invading the kingdom of *Naples*. At the ſame time he agreed upon certain articles inſtead of the the pragmatic ſanction, in conſideration of which *Leo* granted him the tythe of all eccleſiaſtical revenues in his kingdom for one year, and allowed him to nominate to all biſhoprics and abbacies, on condition, however, that the annates ſhould be paid to the court of *Rome*, not according to the ancient regulation, but according to the real value. The king like- *Leo concludes a treaty with him.*

[a] GUICCIARD. l. xii. P. JOV. l. xiii. MARIAN. l. xxx. PETR. JUST. l. i.

wiſe

wife interceded for the duke of *Urbino*, the nephew of the late pope, with whom *Leo* was offended, becauſe, from a diſguſt of *Laurence de Medicis*, he had recalled his troops from the eccleſiaſtical army; but the pope having been informed, that the duke had endeavoured to excite *Francis* againſt him, and being beſides deſirous of annexing his territories to his own family, refuſed the king's requeſt. *Francis*, after the conference, returned to *Milan*, and, having concluded an alliance with the *Swiſs*, diſbanded his army, and repaſſed the *Alps* in the beginning of *January*.

The emperor enters Lombardy *with a formidable army*; A.D. 1516.

THE pope about the ſame time went to *Florence*, and during his reſidence in that city aſſiſted the biſhop of *Petrucci*, his ancient friend, to take poſſeſſion of the city of *Siena*; and, notwithſtanding his late treaty with the king of *France*, upon hearing that the emperor had entered *Italy* to recover the *Milaneſe*, he appointed the cardinal *Bibiena* to attend him as his legate, and gave permiſſion to *Marc Antonio Colonna* to join him with 200 men at arms. However, he did not openly break with the *French*; for, at the requeſt of the king, he ordered his nephew *Laurence* to ſend from *Florence* a ſubſidy ſufficient to pay 3,000 *Swiſs* for one month, and he deſired the legate to ſtop on his journey under pretence of ſickneſs. *Leo* by this proceeding, in ſome meaſure, ſaved his honour; for *Maximilian*, being in great want of money, was obliged to leave his army upon a feigned excuſe, and return to *Germany*, while great part of his troops enliſted in the ſervice of the *French* and *Venetians*, and the reſt returned to *Germany* and *Swiſſerland*. While the emperor was in *Italy*, the pope, hearing of the death of the king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, wrote to the cardinal of *Strigonia* to take care of the education of his ſon *Lewis*, then a boy of ten years of age, and diſſuaded him from hearkening to the propoſals of the *Turks*, who had ſent an embaſſy, deſiring a peace or a truce with the *Hungarians* [b].

but is obliged to return to Germany.

The pope ſeizes upon the duchy of Urbino.

ABOUT the ſame time, being deſirous of poſſeſſing the duchy of *Urbino*, *Leo* publiſhed a monitory againſt the duke, in which he accuſed him of diſloyalty as a vaſſal of the church, and, in a few weeks, having conquered the territories of *Urbino*, *Peſara*, and *Sinigaglia*, he gave the inveſtiture of them to his nephew *Laurence*, obliging all the cardinals to ſign with their own hand the bull expedited for that purpoſe [c]. After this conqueſt he endeavoured to diſſuade the

[b] Ap. BEMB. Epiſt. l. xii. & xiii. CHIMAREL. Hiſt. d' Urbino.

[c] GUICCIARD. l. xii.

archduke

archduke *Charles*, who had succeeded his grandfather *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, from engaging in an alliance with *France*, and he secretly sollicited the emperor, the king of *England*, and the *Swiss*, to attack the *Milanese*. *Francis*, being informed of these designs of the pope, laid aside the thoughts of an expedition against *Naples*, and concluded an alliance with the young catholic king at *Noyon*. The emperor had a liberty for two months to accede to this treaty, on condition of accommodating all his differences with the *Venetians*[d]. *Maximilian* accordingly embraced this opportunity of supplying his empty coffers, and promised to deliver up *Verona* to the *Venetians*, on consideration of receiving from them 200,000 ducats; which article was actually put in execution in the beginning of the following year.

A treaty concluded betwixt the emperor and the kings of France and Spain.

The news of this accommodation betwixt the king of *France*, the emperor, and his grandson *Charles*, was very disagreeable to the pope; who in the mean time celebrated the eleventh session of the *Lateran* council on the 19th of *December*, in which three deputies were admitted from the patriarch of the *Maronites*, who desired to be instructed in the faith and rites of the *Roman* church[e]. A decree was then read against vain preachers, who were ordered, under severe censures, not to publish false miracles and prophecies, but to explain the scripture according to the interpretation of the fathers. The council after this confirmed the *Concordata* concluded betwixt the pope and the king of *France* at *Bologna*; and in the twelfth and last session, which was held on the 16th of *March*, a letter from the emperor was read, in answer to one from the pope, who had exhorted him to declare war against the grand signor, then more formidable than ever by his late conquest of *Syria*. *Maximilian*, in his turn, exhorted the pope and the cardinals to the sacred expedition, and promised to attend them, and assist them with his forces. After the reading of his letter, a bull was published, imposing a tythe upon all ecclesiastical revenues for three years for the *Turkish* war; and, all the acts of the fathers being confirmed, the council was solemnly dissolved, as the schism occasioned by the council of *Pisa* was at an end, and a peace concluded among the Christian princes (X).

A.D. 1517.

The Lateran council is dissolved.

Tho'

[d] Ballefor. l. vi. c. 27. Hecter. l. vii. c. 12. [e] Spond. Annal.

(X) The dissolution of the council was condemned by several of the fathers, who affirmed that they ought to have proceeded

The duke of Urbino *makes war upon the pope;*

THO' this general peace procured tranquility to the *Venetians* and the *Milaneſe*, yet the pope was thereby engaged in a new war; for upon the delivery of *Verona* to the *Venetians*, 6000 foreign ſoldiers entered into the ſervice of the duke of *Urbino*, by whoſe aſſiſtance he quickly recovered his former duchy. The pope was greatly afraid, that the duke was ſupported by the king of *France*, who he believed was greatly diſſatisfied with him, as he had not only neglected to fulfil his part of the treaty concluded at *Bologna*, but upon his return to *Rome* had even publiſhed a bull contrary to the convention. However, the kings of *France* and *Spain*, from their mutual jealouſy of each other, gave aſſiſtance to *Leo* againſt the duke of *Urbino*, and *Francis* renewed with him the treaty of *Bologna*. Notwithſtanding the *French* and *Spaniſh* reinforcements, the pope's army was not powerful enough to venture an engagement; and ſoon after, ſome thouſands of *Spaniards* and *Germans* deſerting to the duke of *Urbino*, his army became more formidable than in the beginning of the campaign.

againſt whom a conſpiracy is formed by the cardinals.

IN the mean time the pope himſelf was threatened with a conſpiracy at *Rome*, which was headed by the cardinal of *Siena*, who, with his brother *Borgheſe*, had been expelled from that place, altho' it was chiefly by his means that the family of the *Medicis* had recovered *Florence*, and *Leo* himſelf had obtained the pontificate. The plot being diſcovered, the cardinal of *Siena*, with ſeveral others of leſſer note, were put to death, and two other cardinals were degraded. By theſe ſeverities, *Leo* being ſenſible that he had rendered himſelf odious to the ſacred college, he therefore reſolved upon a promotion of new cardinals, and on the 26th of *June* nominated thirty-one perſons to that dignity, without regard to their merit, many of them having bought their preferment with money, and others owing their elevation to their

proceeded further in the reformation of the church, and that the tythe ought not to be exacted till the commencement of the expedition againſt the *Turks* (7). The levying of the tythe was likewiſe objected to by the clergy of *Spain*, who, in a council held at *Madrid* in the month of *September*, declared that they would not conſent to that tax (8). There is alſo a ſpeech extant, in the name of *Francis Picus* of *Mirandola*, ſaid to have been ſpoken by him in the laſt ſeſſion; by which, in the moſt earneſt manner, he recommended to the pope and the council to think of a reformation of manners (9).

(7) *Spond. Annal. hoc an. ep. Ep. Mirand. & ep. Orth. in Faſcic. rer. expetendar.* (8) *Anglor. Epiſt.* 596. (9) *Ext. in fin.*

domeſtic

domeſtic ſervices in his family [f]. Having by this new promotion provided for his ſafety at *Rome*, *Leo* proſecuted the war againſt *Urbino*, who, being unable to ſupport his troops, ſoon after conſented to a peace on theſe conditions, namely, that the pope ſhould pay to the *Spaniſh* troops 45,000 ducats, and 60,000 to the *Gaſcons* and *Germans*, who ſhould thereupon, within thirty days, evacuate the territories of the church, and of *Florence*; that the duke of *Urbino* ſhould reſign his duchy; that the pope ſhould abſolve him from all cenſures, and ſhould allow him to retire to *Mantua* with all his effects, particularly with his artillery, and the famous library that had been collected by his grand-father by the mother's ſide [g]. By this ſubmiſſion of the duke of *Urbino*, all hoſtilities ceaſed in *Italy*, which for many years had been the ſeat of ruinous wars; the temporal power of the pope was raiſed higher than ever it had been before, and his ſpiritual authority was quietly ſubmitted to by all *Europe*: however, this ſame year the papal uſurpations met with ſuch an oppoſition in *Germany*, as not only put a ſtop to their further progreſs, but gave them ſuch a blow, that they have been declining ever ſince.

The duke of Urbino *conſents to ſurrender his duchy to the pope.*

THE apoſtolic ſee, by its inſatiable avarice, was itſelf inſtrumental, tho' not deſignedly, in promoting this great revolution; for beſides the indulgences which had been granted by the *Lateran* council for an expedition againſt the *Turks*, *Leo*, who was in great want of money, this year, by the advice of cardinal *Pucci*, publiſhed other indulgences thro' all Chriſtendom, to be ſold indiſcriminately to all purchaſers (Y). Theſe he farmed out to the higheſt bidders; and his ſiſter *Magdalen*, who had received from him the revenue of thoſe that were diſpoſed of in ſeveral parts of *Germany*, appointed *Arcimboldus*, archbiſhop of *Upſal*, her commiſſary, who exerciſed his office with great avarice and extortion [h].

The beginning of the reformation in Germany.

[f] GUICCIARDINI, l. xiii. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem ibid.

(Y) Indulgences were originally exemptions from taxes, granted by the emperors and governors to provinces that had been harraſſed by enemies, earthquakes, unfruitful ſeaſons, &c. the popes applied them to ſpiritual matters, and granted them to thoſe who went to recover the *Holy Land* from the *Saracens*. They diſpenſed them likewiſe to thoſe who, inſtead of marching perſonally againſt the infidels, contributed to the expence of the expedition. Afterwards the indulgences and pardons became more common; but *Leo*, at this time, proſtituted them to a greater degree than they had ever been before.

The *Dominicans*, who had received the commiſſion from the archbiſhop of *Mentz* to publiſh the indulgences, acted with great indiſcretion; they printed ſeveral books, extolling the power of their abſolutions, to which they gave the name of *the Grand Pardons*; and for certain rates, ſet down in a tariff which had been given them, they not only abſolved the living from all their ſins, but delivered the ſouls of the dead from the pretended pains of purgatory. They likewiſe ſold the liberty of eating fleſh, eggs, milk, and cheeſe, upon prohibited days, and publickly ſquandered a great part of the money, ariſing from the ſale of the indulgences, in taverns, where they frequently ſtaked their abſolutions at a game of tables [i].

Martin Luther *publiſhes theſes againſt the indulgences of the pope.*

THESE proceedings occaſioned great murmurings over all *Germany*; and *John Staupitz*, vicar-general of the *Auguſtines*, offended, as it is ſaid, that his order had not been employed in diſpoſing of the indulgences, preached againſt them with great warmth at *Wittemberg*, where he was likewiſe aſſiſted by *Martin Luther*, a monk of his order, and profeſſor in that univerſity, who not only exerted himſelf in his diſcourſes againſt the indulgences, but likewiſe wrote to the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, complaining of the proceedings of the *Dominicans*; and, on the laſt day of *October*, publiſhed ninety-five propoſitions or theſes againſt indulgences, penance, purgatory, and the authority of the pope (Z). The archbiſhop

[i] SLEIDAN. l. i. COCHLÆ. de Act. & Script. Luther. ULEMBERG in vit. Luther.

(Z) *Martin Luther* was born in 1483, at *Iſlebe*, in the county of *Manſfield*, in *Upper Saxony*. His father, whoſe name was *Letter*, or *Lauther*, intended that he ſhould follow the profeſſion of the law; but *Luther*, after he had finiſhed his courſe of philoſophy, having, while he was walking in the fields, been terrified with a clap of thunder, which killed his companion, he made a vow of becoming monk, which he accordingly performed two years afterwards at *Erfort*, in the 22d year of his age. He was ſoon after appointed profeſſor in the univerſity, which *Frederic the Wiſe*, duke of *Saxony*, a few years before had eſtabliſhed at *Wittemberg*, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his active genius, his great memory, and natural eloquence. In 1516 he began to ſtudy the *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and publiſhed ſeveral theſes concerning free-will, the merit of good works, and human traditions, contrary to the opinions of the ſcholaſtic divines, for whom he had long teſtified a great contempt, as corrupters of the goſpel by their ſophiſtical philoſophy. By this proceeding it would appear, that the diſappoint-

biſhop took no notice of his letter, but ſoon after *John Tetzel*, a *Dominican*, and director of the ſales of indulgences in *Saxony*, publiſhed 106 propoſitions in defence of the pope's authority, and, as inquiſitor of the faith, ordered thoſe of *Luther* to be burnt. The ſtudents at *Wittemberg* treated the propoſitions of *Tetzel* in the ſame manner; and the diſpute, which at firſt was looked upon only as a ſcholaſtic controverſy, quickly began to be regarded in a more A.D. ſerious manner. The theſes of *Luther* were greatly read 1518. and approved; however, one *Eckius*, a profeſſor of divinity at *Ingolſtadt*, wrote againſt them; and at *Rome* they were impugned by one *Prieras* a *Dominican*, and maſter of the ſacred palace, who, in his book, treated *Luther* with contempt and ridicule, not knowing that he was attacking his adverſary with his own weapons; for ſoon after *Luther* publiſhed an anſwer to *Prieras*, in which he retorted the ridicule upon his opponent. He uſed the ſame arms againſt one *Holſtraten*, another *Dominican*, who had written with great bitterneſs againſt him, and exhorted the pope to condemn him as a heretic [k]. *Luther* judging likewiſe that his adverſaries were endeavouring to defame him, in the month of *June* he wrote in a ſubmiſſive manner to the pope, in his own juſtification, promiſing all obedience to the apoſtolic ſee, and declaring that he had publiſhed his theſes only with the intention of diſputing in a ſcholaſtic manner [l].

The Dominicans defend the pope's authority, and condemn the theſes of Luther.

Leo gave but very little attention to theſe commotions in a remote part of *Germany*, being much more alarmed by the progreſs of the grand ſignor *Selim*, who the year before had conquered *Egypt*, and put an end to the government of the *Mamalukes*. As he was a prince of great ambition, and had now no enemy in *Aſia*, *Leo* was apprehenſive leſt he ſhould turn his victorious arms againſt *Italy*; he therefore cauſed devout proceſſions to be made at *Rome*,

The pope endeavours to promote a general cruſade againſt the Turks.

[k] Sleidan. l. i. [l] Cochlæ. Ulemberg ut ſupra.

pointment of publiſhing the indulgences, was not the only motive of his preaching againſt them. In 1524 he quitted the habit of a monk, and the year after married a wife, by whom he had three ſons. He died on the 18th of *February* 1546. According to *Baſnage*, he had many faults, as all great men have; but he always preſerved that devotion which appeared in his early youth. He had an ardent zeal for the glory of God, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the church, and a firmneſs of mind that was unſhaken by the greateſt dangers (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal. Sleidan. l.* xvi. *in fin. Ulemberg in vita Lutheri. Baſnage Hiſt. de Calvin. des Egliſ. reform. t.* iii. *p.* 66.

and walked himſelf barefoot, with all his court, from the *Vatican* to the church of *Minerva* [m]. He then wrote to all the Chriſtian princes, exhorting them to a mutual truce for five years; and having ſettled the plan of the expedition, he ſent legates into the different kingdoms of *Europe*, to excite the princes to grant their contingents [n]. But *Selim* remaining inactive, the danger ſeemed to vaniſh; ſo that the ſecular princes, upon various pretences, refuſed to act, and the *Spaniſh* clergy abſolutely refuſed to pay the tythe, as they gave no credit to the reaſons urged by the pope. Cardinal *Cajetan*, a *Dominican*, went as legate to *Germany*, and was preſent at the diet of *Augsburg*, held in the beginning of *Auguſt*, where the emperor, the electors, and many other *German* princes, aſſembled, to conſult of the *Turkiſh* expedition. *Cajetan*, in the preſence of the diet, conferred a cardinal's hat on the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, a brother of the elector of *Brandenburg*, by which proceeding he diſguſted the *German* princes, who were offended that one of their members ſhould take a particular oath of obedience to the holy ſee. The elector of *Saxony*, and many other princes, made great complaints of the violation of the *Germanic Concordata*, and propoſed to ſuppreſs the mandates and grants of reſervation ſtill uſurped by the popes; but as the diet was not unanimous, nothing was effected [o].

A diet held for that purpoſe at Augſburg.

Leo *cites* Luther *to appear at* Rome.

THE emperor, in the beginning of the diet, had written to the pope, deſiring him to procced againſt *Luther*; but before his letter arrived at *Rome*, *Leo* having received repeated complaints againſt *Luther* from *Germany*, had cited him to appear at *Rome* within ſixty days, and had written to the duke of *Saxony* to deliver him to *Cajetan*. However, at the interceſſion of the elector of the univerſity of *Wittemberg*, he conſented that his cauſe ſhould be tried at *Augsburg*. *Luther*, having obtained a ſafe-conduct from the emperor, appeared before *Cajetan* about the middle of *October*, and had ſeveral conferences with him; but the legate inſiſting abſolutely upon his recantation, and refuſing to enter into any diſpute, excepting ſlightly urging the authority of a decree of *Clement* VI. *Luther* declared, that he would not retract the doctrines that he had preached and written, unleſs he was convicted of their error; but, as he was a man, and therefore fallible, he ſubmitted his opinion to the deci-

Luther *has a conference with the cardinal* Cajetan *at* Augſburg.

[m] VICTOREL addit. ad Ciacon. [n] Ap. GOLDAST. Conſt. imper. t. ii. ap. Bemb. Epiſt. l. xiv. & xv. [o] FUGGER. l. vi. c. xix. p. 1359. STRUV. period. x. p. 971. GEORGI. l. v. c. 7. n. 14.

ſion

sion of the church, and to the universities of *Germany*, and particularly to that of *Paris*. As he was then threatened by the legate, he privately left *Augsburg*; but before his departure he caused an appeal to the pope to be fixed up in the public places of the city [p]. *Cajetan* immediately wrote to *Rome*, complaining of *Luther*'s obstinacy, and sent a letter to the duke of *Saxony* to banish him from his dominions. At the same time *Luther* wrote a submissive letter to the pope, complaining against *Cajetan*; and, a few weeks after, being informed that his appeal was rejected, he again appealed from the pope, who, like other men, was fallible, to a future general council.

Leo, to put a stop to the disputes in *Germany* concerning the supremacy of the pope, on the 9th of *November* published a new bull, confirming his indulgences; in which he affirmed, that all ought to believe that the bishop of *Rome* had a power of forgiving sins. Soon after he sent a golden rose to the duke of *Saxony*, and sollicited his counsellors to persuade him to withdraw his protection from *Luther*. However, his endeavours were in vain; for the elector, upon the death of the emperor, which happened on the 12th of *January*, assuming, as vicar, the government of great part of the empire during the interregnum, *Luther*'s authority increased, and he began to be looked upon as a man sent from God, to remedy the disorders and abuses of the *Roman* church. The elector refused to accept of the rose; however the nuncio, who was a *German*, prevailed upon *Luther* to write in a submissive manner to *Rome*, and to submit his cause to the judgment of a *German* bishop. *Luther* accordingly wrote in very respectful terms to the pope, but he added, that he would not retract his opinions, unless they were proved to him to be erroneous. He afterwards refused to submit to the decision of the archbishop of *Triers*, as he heard that cardinal *Cajetan* was to be present at the conferences, and the pope had not authorized the archbishop to give a final determination. However, he consented to a public dispute with *Eckius* at *Leipsic*, a city under the dominion of *George*, duke of *Saxony*, cousin of the elector *Frederic*, whither he repaired with *Carolostadt* and *Philip Melancthon*, who the year before had been appointed *Greek* professor at *Wittemberg*. The dispute continued for several days, each party claiming the victory; but the universities of *Cologn*,

Leo revokes his bull for indulgences. A.D. 1519.

[p] Cochlæ. ut supra. Act. Luther. ap. Cajetan. t. i, Sleidan.

Louvain, and *Paris*, which laſt had been choſen as judge of the diſputation, decided in favour of *Eckius* [q].

DURING theſe proceedings, *Charles* of *Auſtria*, king of *Spain*, was elected emperor on the 28th of *June*, cardinal *Cajetan* having, by the pope's authority, diſpenſed with the impediment of his being king of *Naples*. *Leo* ſoon after, to prevent a war in *Italy*, granted him the inveſtiture of that kingdom, and wrote to him in *Spain*, exhorting him to war againſt the *Turks*. In the mean time, notwithſtanding his nephew *Lorenzo* had died without iſſue, he ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Florence*, and endeavoured to ſurprize the city of *Ferrara*; but his deſign being diſcovered, it proved ineffectual [r]. Mean while the favourers of *Luther* not only increaſed in the empire, but, according to *Guicciardini*, his doctrines began to be attended to in *Italy* [s]. The king of *Denmark* publickly approved of his proceedings [t]; and *Laurence* and *Olaus Petri*, two brothers that had ſtudied at *Wittemberg*, publiſhed his doctrines in *Sweden*, where they met with a favourable reception [u]. It appears likewiſe from the letters of *Eraſmus* to him and the duke of *Saxony*, that his opinions were well received in *England* and *Flanders* [w] (A).

Luther's doctrines meet with great reception.

While

[q] Idem ibid. [r] GUICCIARD. l. xiii. [s] Idem ibid. [t] HUITFELD. Hiſt. Dan. t. viii. [u] JORENSON. Hiſt. Guſtavus I. [w] Epiſt. ERASM. l. vi.

(A) *Eraſmus* was at this time about fifty years of age, and had rendered himſelf famous by his writings over all *Europe*. As he had written very freely againſt the monks, the ſcholaſtic divines, and ſeveral ſuperſtitions of the *Roman* church, *Luther* expected that he would declare for him, and both he and the elector of *Saxony* wrote to him to know his ſentiments. *Eraſmus*, in his anſwer, declared, that he had not read *Luther*'s books; that he greatly diſapproved of the bad uſage he had received from the monks, who had likewiſe expreſſed great enmity againſt himſelf; that he could neither condemn nor approve of his proceedings; and that what had not yet been examined, ought not to be condemned; but for the future he counſelled him to proceed with more moderation, and rather attack thoſe who abuſed the pope's authority, than the popes themſelves. Altho' he all his life refuſed to declare for the party of *Luther*, yet, on account of the notes which he publiſhed on ſeveral parts of ſcripture, contrary to the received opinions of the ſchool divines, and the liberty he took in ridiculing the ignorant clergy, he was looked upon by many as *Luther*'s forerunner and inſtructor, and was accuſed by the monks of hereſy, error, and impiety. His opinions, which

While his writings and doctrines engaged the attention of great part of *Europe*, *Ulric Zuinglius*, born in the canton of *Glaritz*, preached against the abuses and errors of the *Roman* church in *Switzerland*, without having any correspondence with him, from whom he differed in some points of his new doctrine. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the bishop of *Constance*, the magistrates of *Zurich* approved of the proceedings of *Zuinglius*, and that whole canton, with those of *Bern*, *Basil*, and *Schaffhausen*, embraced his opinions [x].

Zuinglius *preaches against the church of* Rome *in* Switzerland.

LUTHER, in the mean time, being assured of the protection of the duke of *Saxony*, and other princes of the empire, published a treatise on Christian liberty, which he sent to *Rome*, with a letter addressed to the pope, in which he declared, that he had no other design than the glory of God, and the discovery of truth, the profession of which he would never forsake. He then affirmed, that the court of *Rome* was more corrupt than ever *Babylon* or *Sodom* had been, and that it were better for *Leo* to be a simple priest, than to be surrounded by so many flatterers, like a lamb in the midst of wolves. About the same time he published several other treatises concerning confession, vows, the celibacy of the clergy, and the communicating under both kinds, some of which were soon after censured by the universities of *Cologn* and *Louvain*. *Luther* quickly wrote an answer in his own justification, and in his preface treated the universities with great freedom, affirming, that *Aristotle* was their chief God, and that it was their practice to persecute great men, such as *Picus* of *Mirandola*, *Laurence Valla*, and *Reuchlin*. To protect himself from the malice of his enemies, he wrote at this time to the emperor, intreating him to defend him from all violence, till his cause should be tried. *Charles* V. about the same time, was sollicited by cardinal *Adrian*, the pope's nuncio in *Spain*, to order *Luther* to be apprehended; but he declaring that he could not satisfy the pope till after his coronation at *Aix la Chapelle*, *Leo* assembled the cardinals and divines at *Rome*, and, on the 15th of *June*, drew up a bull,

A. D. 1520.

Luther *publishes several treatises against the doctrines of the church of* Rome.

[x] SLEIDAN. l. i. MELCHIOR. ADAM. in vit. Theol. Germ. RAINALD, ad an. 1520.

which after his death were condemned by the council of *Trent*, appeared so dubious, that they gave rise to the proverb, *Aut Lutherus Erasmisat, aut Erasmus Lutherisat*; Luther *has either turned* Erasmian, *or* Erasmus *turned* Lutheran (1),

(1) *Spond. Annal. Epist. Erasm.*

He is excommunicated.

by which he condemned forty-one of the propoſitions of *Luther*, and ordered them, and all his writings, to be burnt, commanding likewiſe the author, and all his followers, to recant within ſixty days, under pain of being excommunicated and reckoned heretics [y].

He exhorts the Germans *to ſhake off the authority of the church of* Rome, A. D. 1521.

By this bull, which was read for ſeveral days in the churches in *Germany*, *Luther* ſaw himſelf cut off from all hopes of an accommodation, unleſs he would recant, for otherwiſe it was impoſſible for the pope, without contradicting his claim to infallibility, to retract his decree. Reſolving, at all hazards, to defend the propoſitions which he had advanced, he immediately publiſhed a book againſt the church of *Rome*, exhorting the *German* nation to ſhake off its authority, and to oblige the pope and biſhops to ſubmit to the emperor. He likewiſe renewed his appeal to a future council; and as his books had been burnt at *Rome*, *Louvain*, and *Cologn*, he, in return, erected a pile of wood without the walls of *Wittemberg*, where, in the preſence of almoſt the whole city, and a great many doctors, he ſet fire to the wood, and threw the canon law and the pope's bull into the flames [z]. A few weeks after the pope celebrated a diet at *Worms*, which was opened on the 6th of *January*. Among other matters, this aſſembly propoſed to take cognizance of the cauſe of *Luther*, notwithſtanding the objections of *Aleandre*, one of the pope's nuncios, who aſſerted, that they ought not to intermeddle in an affair that had been already determined by the pope. The emperor having granted his ſafe-conduct to *Luther*, he arrived at *Worms* on the 16th of *April*, where he again abſolutely refuſed to retract his opinions, unleſs he was convinced, by reaſon or ſcripture, that they were erroneous. The elector of *Treves*, a few days after he had appeared before the diet, adviſed him, at a private conference, to think of ſome remedy for the preſent diſorders: but he ſtill continuing in his former ſentiments, the emperor ordered him to leave *Worms*, and granted him a ſafe-conduct for twenty-one days [a]. After his departure he put him to the ban of the empire, by an edict which was publiſhed on the 8th of *May*, by which, after accuſing him of hereſy, he confirmed the pope's bull againſt him and his followers, prohibited all from affording him any protection, and ordered him to be ſeized and impriſoned after the ex-

and is put to the ban of the empire.

[y] Sleidan. l. i. Spond. Annal. Pallav. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. l. i. c. 21. t. xiv. Conc. collect. Lab. p. 394. [z] Sleidan. l. ii. [a] Idem, l. iii. Cochlæ. ut ſupra. Pallav. l. i. c. 26, 28. Seckend. l. i. ſect. 44. n. 98.

piration

piration of the time preſcribed in his ſafe-conduct. All his books were likewiſe prohibited, and ordered to be burnt [b].

MEAN while the pope, who now began to be alarmed by the commotions in *Germany*, held frequent conſiſtories at *Rome*, to conſult of means to oppoſe *Luther* [c]. On the 2d of *January* he not only excommunicated him, but denounced the ſame ſentence againſt all who favoured or protected him [d]. This bull he again repeated on the *Thurſday* before *Eaſter* [e]; and having received a book from *Henry* VIII. king of *England*, in defence of the doctrines of the *Roman* church impugned by *Luther*, he conferred on that prince the title of *Defender of the Faith*. About the ſame time he, with great imprudence, fomented the jealouſies betwixt the emperor and the king of *France*, who had been rivals for the empire. In the vain expectation of expelling the *French* and *Spaniards* from *Italy*, and enlarging the poſſeſſion of the church by the acquiſition of *Ferrara*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, inſtead of uſing his authority as a mediator, he, with great earneſtneſs, promoted a war [f]. At firſt he adhered to the king of *France*; but being informed of his unſucceſsful expedition againſt *Navarre*, he entered into an alliance with the emperor and the king of *England* againſt him: and ſoon after ſending troops to the *Milaneſe*, which were reinforced with others from *Germany*, he quickly made himſelf maſter of *Milan*, *Pavia*, *Lodi*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*. In the midſt of theſe conqueſts, and while he was ſolliciting the *Venetians* to declare againſt the *French*, he was cut off by a ſudden death, which happened to him on the 2d of *December*, and which was believed to be the effect of poiſon, adminiſtered to him by *Barnabas Malaſpina*, gentleman of his bedchamber, who on that ſuſpicion was impriſoned, but afterwards ſet at liberty by the cardinal of *Medicis*, who ſuppreſſed all examination on that affair [g]. According to *Guicciardini*, *Leo* was poſſeſſed of a great many good qualities, which were blemiſhed with a great number of bad ones; and he diſcovered, during his pontificate, more prudence, and much leſs probity, than was expected [h]. He had a great love for the fine arts and ſciences, and was very liberal to learned men; but he is accuſed of having been a voluptuary, ambitious, and extremely revengeful. *Paul Jovius* charges

Leo renews the excommunication againſt him,

and enters into an alliance with the new emperor againſt the king of France.

He dies ſuddenly.

[b] Ap. GODDAST. Conſt. imper. t. ii. BZOV. hoc an. [c] GUICCIARD. l. xiii. [d] SPOND. Annal. [e] OLEIDAN. [f] GUICCIARD. l. xiv. [g] Idem ibid. ONUPHR. in vit. Leon. [h] GUICCIARD. l. xiv.

him

him with the crime of ſodomy, and *Picus* of *Mirandola* affirms that he was an atheiſt [i].

UPON the death of *Leo*, the college of cardinals were at a loſs whether to eſpouſe the party of the king of *France* or the emperor; and giving no orders to the army in the *Milaneſe*, the duke of *Urbino*, while they were deliberating at *Rome*, recovered his former duchy, and the duke of *Ferrara* again got poſſeſſion of ſome of his antient territories in *Romagna*; but the *French* ſtill continued too weak to face the imperialiſts. The cardinal of *Ivrea*, who favoured the *French*, being ſeized in *Lombardy* on his journey to *Rome*, the college made a decree not to proceed to the election of a pope till he was ſet at liberty. He ſoon after arriving at the city, thirty-nine cardinals entered the conclave on the 27th of *December*, and, after a long conteſt, on the 9th of *January* unanimouſly choſe *Adrian* cardinal of *Tortoſa*.

THE conteſt was occaſioned by the great number of competitors, the chief of whom at firſt was the cardinal of *Medicis*; but he was oppoſed by the others, in the intereſt of the emperor and of cardinal *Wolſey*, who relying on the emperor's promiſe in his favour, and the influence of his money, was in great hopes of ſucceeding. Tho' *Charles* had indeed made great promiſes to *Wolſey*, in order to ſecure the friendſhip of *Henry* VIII. yet he had no intention at that time of fulfilling them, but deſired to have a pope, who he knew would be entirely in his intereſts. He therefore, not to offend *Wolſey*, with great ſecreſy intrigued with the conclave; and, after having ſecured the majority of votes, one of the cardinals, on the laſt day of the election, propoſed *Adrian* as it were by chance; and being ſeconded by another, who made a long ſpeech in his favour, all that faction declared for him, and were followed by the whole conclave [k] (B).

Adrian VI. is elected. A. D. 1522.

[i] PAUL JOV. ONUPHR. VICTOREL. in vit. Leon. BASNAGE ut ſupra. [k] GUICCIARD. PAUL JOV. Acta literar. Faſcic. vi. p. 65. BURMAN ANELED. Hiſt. de Adrian VI. p. 141.

(B) *Adrian* was born at *Utrecht* in *Holland*; his father, according to ſome authors, being a weaver of tapeſtry, and, according to others, a brewer. Having made great progreſs in learning, he was promoted to the vice-chancellorſhip of the univerſity of *Louvain*, and afterwards appointed preceptor to *Charles* V. who created him one of his chief councillors of ſtate; and by the intereſt of his grand-father *Maximilian*, procured for him a cardinal's hat from *Leo* X. in 1519 (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal. Victorel in addit. ad Ciacon.*

As

As *Adrian* was utterly unknown to the cardinals, had never been in *Italy*, and was entirely unacquainted with the customs of the court of *Rome*, the *Romans* were greatly offended at his election; and when the conclave broke up, insulted and abused the cardinals, who, in their own defence, alleged, that they had been directed by the holy spirit [l].

THE new pope received the news of his election in *Spain*, where he was governor during the absence of the emperor; and retaining, contrary to the usual custom, his own name, he embarked at *Terragona*, and arrived at *Rome* on the 29th of *August*, where two days after he was solemnly crowned in the portico of *St. Peter's* church. Before his arrival in *Italy*, the *French* had entirely lost all their possessions in *Lombardy*, except the castles of *Milan*, *Cremona*, and *Novara*, and the Soltan *Soliman*, who had lately succeeded *Selim*, besieged the city of *Rhodes* with an immense army. In *Germany* likewise *Luther* persevered with great zeal in promoting the reformation. Upon his return from *Worms*, the elector of *Saxony*, to protect him from the consequence of the ban, had ordered a troop of masked horse-men to meet him on the road, and to conduct him to the castle of *Wartburg*, in which solitude he continued near ten months, neither his friends nor enemies at first knowing what was become of him. There he published several books, establishing his new doctrines; but being informed that *Carolostadt* was making himself a chief of a party at *Wittemberg*, and had excited the young people to destroy the altars, and pull down the images and crucifixes, he left *Wartburg* in the beginning of *March*, without leave of the elector, and again appeared in public. He blamed the proceeding of *Carolostadt*, who in resentment quitted *Wittemberg*, and went to a different part of *Saxony*, in the neighbourhood of the river *Sala*, where he associated with others who had thrown off the authority of the church of *Rome*, but began to pretend to have revelations from God, by whom they said they were commanded to kill all the wicked [m]. *Luther*, in the mean time, published a translation of the bible, which, not being conformable to the vulgate, and wanting several canonical books, was prohibited by several princes.

He arrives at Rome.

Luther zealous in promoting the reformation.

DURING these transactions, *Adrian* having arrived at *Rome*, employed his whole attention to understand the affairs of his court; but putting little confidence in the cardinals, his chief favourites were *John Rufus*, bishop of *Consenza*, and *William Eikenwort* and *Theodoric Hetius*, both *Dutchmen*,

[l] GUICCIARD. l. xiv. [m] SLEIDAN. l. iii.

the firſt of whom he created a cardinal, and biſhop of *Tortoſa*. The emperor *Charles*, about the ſame time, having gone into *Spain*, and his brother, whom he had appointed his vicar, ſoon after convoking a diet at *Nuremberg*, *Adrian* ſent *Francis Cheregat* as his legate into *Germany*, who was commiſſioned to demand of the diet, that they would put in execution the bull of his predeceſſor againſt *Luther*, and grant aſſiſtance to the knights of *Rhodes* againſt the *Turks*. Neither the pope nor the Chriſtian princes having exerted themſelves in earneſt in defence of that city, it was obliged to ſurrender to the Soltan, after a ſiege of ſeven months: and on the 1ſt of *January* the grand maſter, with all the knights, quitted the iſland, and ſailed for *Crete* [n]. *Adrian* was more intent on recovering *Rimini*, which had revolted during the vacancy of the ſee; for that purpoſe having ſent forces into *Romagna*, he obliged *Sigiſmond Malateſta* to quit the city, and ſoon after was reconciled to the dukes of *Ferrara* and *Urbino*, having annulled all the bulls that had been publiſhed againſt them by his predeceſſors, *Julius* II. and *Leo* X [o].

Adrian ſends a legate to the diet of Nuremberg;

A. D. 1523.

MEAN while *Luther*, having procured a copy of the pope's letter to the diet, tranſlated it into the *German* language; and *Adrian* having confeſſed that there was great need of a reformation, but that they ought to proceed ſtep by ſtep, *Luther*, in his notes, added, that the popes had hitherto taken 100 years betwixt each ſtep to reform any grievances. The diet likewiſe declared to the nuncio, that it was impoſſible to put the edict of the emperor againſt the *Lutherans* in execution, without hazarding a civil war, as the people, by the books that were lately publiſhed, were now well inſtructed in the oppreſſions of the court of *Rome*; and that the beſt means to quiet the diſturbances would be to aſſemble a general council, with the condition that the members ſhould ſwear to declare their ſentiments freely, and without diſguiſe. Notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the legate, they alſo drew up a memorial, which they intitled *Centum Gravamina*, or *the Hundred Grievances*; and on the 6th of *March* they publiſhed an edict, prohibiting the preachers to diſcourſe of any ſubject tending to diſturb the public peace, which, with the memorial, the pope's brief, and their anſwer to the legate, they ſent over all *Germany*, and even to *Rome*, where the ingenuous confeſſion of the pope, that his

which remonſtrates againſt the oppreſſions of the church of Rome.

[n] SPOND. Annal. FONTANI Hiſt. bell. Rhod. [o] GUICCIARD. l. xv. BELCAR. l. xvii.

court

court and the clergy were the original source of the evil, gave great offence to the prelates [p].

DURING these proceedings in *Germany*, the king of *France* was making great preparations for an expedition into *Italy*, especially as he heard the *Venetians* were strongly solicited to enter into an alliance with the emperor. *Adrian* at the same time earnestly exhorted the the Christian princes to agree to a truce, and to turn their arms against the *Turks*; but *Francis* I. not agreeing to this proposal, which would deprive him of the opportunity of recovering the *Milanese*, the pope, at the persuasion of the emperor and the king of *England*, on the last day of *April* published a bull, ordering all the Christian princes to observe a truce for three years, under pain of excommunication and interdict. *Francis* still continuing his preparations for his intended expedition, the pope, at the instigation of the viceroy of *Naples*, acceded on the 3d of *August* to the treaty that had been formed against *France* by the emperor, the king of *England*, the archduke of *Austria*, the duke of *Milan*, the *Florentines*, the *Genoese*, *Venetians*, *Luccheſe*, and *Sienneſe*. Notwithstanding this formidable alliance, *Francis* soon after sent an army into the *Milanese*, where he quickly recovered several towns, as *Prospero Colonna*, the general of the confederate army, had neglected to repair the fortifications. Mean while *Adrian*, having granted to the emperor *Charles* the right of presenting to all bishoprics in *Spain* [q], died at *Rome* on the 14th of *September*, in the 65th year of his age, and the 2d of his pontificate. His death, which was suspected to be the effect of poison, gave great joy to the *Romans*, who were offended with his sobriety and regular manners, having been debauched by the luxury introduced by his predecessor *Leo* [r] (C).

Adrian *dies at* Rome.

AFTER the funeral obsequies of *Adrian*, the cardinals entered the conclave, where they spent thirty days in disputes before they were determined in their choice of a successor to the papal dignity. According to some authors, *Nicolas*

[p] SPOND. Annal. SLEIDAN. l. iv. STRUV. per. x. sect. iv. COCHLÆ. de act. Luther, p. 85. SECKEND. l. i. p. 255. PALLAV. l. ii. GOLDAST. in Const. imper. t. ii. [q] MARIAN. in Summar. BULL. t. i. Hadrian VI. Const. I. [r] ONUPHR. SPOND. Annal. GUICCIARD. l. xv.

(C) He was buried in the church of *St. Peter's*, with this epitaph: Adrianus *papa VI. hic situs est,—qui nihil sibi infelicius in vita,—quam quod imperaret—duxit* (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal.*

Scom-

Scomberg, a *German*, and archbiſhop of *Capua*, was propoſed as a candidate [s]; but the chief conteſt was occaſioned by the cardinals *Colonna* and *Medicis*, the firſt of whom was ſupported by the intereſt of the king of *France*, and the laſt by that of the emperor. After long diſputes, the cardinal of *Medicis*, having increaſed his party by promiſing the vice-chancellorſhip of the church to cardinal *Urſino*, was at length unanimouſly elected on the 18th of *November*, and aſſuming the name of *Clement* VII. was ſolemnly crowned on the 25th of the ſame month [t] (D). As *Clement* was in the poſſeſſion of the ſtate of *Florence*, had been long practiſed in the adminiſtration of the affairs of the *Roman* church, and was diſtinguiſhed for his gravity, conſtancy, and application to buſineſs, great expectations were raiſed among the Chriſtian princes upon the news of his election. The duke of *Ferrara* immediately laid aſide his deſign upon *Modena*, and *John de Saſſatello* ceaſed all hoſtilities in *Romagna*, into which province, during the vacancy of the ſee, he had marched with a conſiderable body of troops [u] (E).

Clement VII. *is elected.*

He refuſes to become a party in the war betwixt the emperor and the king of France.

CLEMENT, ſoon after his election, received an embaſſy from the emperor and the king of *France*, each of whom endeavoured to draw him into their alliance; but he refuſed at firſt to engage in their diſputes, otherwiſe than as mediator; and in the beginning of the year ſent legates to them, and to the king of *England*, to exhort them to a peace or truce, which propoſition was rejected by all the princes. About the ſame time he ſent the cardinal *Campegio*, as his legate, to

[s] Addit. ad CIACON. [t] GUICCIARD. ONUPHR. MASSON in vit. Clement VII. JOV. in vit. Pomp. Colon. [u] GUICCIARD. ut ſupra.

(D) *Clement* VII. was the natural ſon of *Julian de Medicis*, who was murdered in the church of *Florence*, by *Pazzi* and other conſpirators. He was educated with great care by his uncle *Laurence*; after whoſe death, when his family was baniſhed from *Florence*, he was created knight of *Rhodes*, and grand prior of *Capua*. *Leo* X. his kinſman, conferred upon him the archbiſhopric of *Florence*, and dignity of cardinal, and likewiſe created him chancellor of the *Roman* church, which is the higheſt office in the pope's court (1).

(E) This year ſome of *Luther*'s followers were perſecuted in *France*; and at *Bruſſels*, two *Auguſtine* monks were burnt, for denying the ſupremacy of the pope (2).

(1) *Spond. Annal. Eraſm. Epiſt.* (2) *Idem ibid. Sleidan, l.* iv. *Bzov. hoc an.*

the

the diet of *Nuremberg*, who, at the desire of the princes, entered the city without any pomp, not to give any offence to the *Lutheran* party, which was there very powerful. He complained to the diet, that the ban published against the *Lutherans* was not put in execution; but the princes replying, that the most proper means to restore the public peace, was to redress immediately the grievances they complained of, he declared that he had seen a copy of the *Centum Gravamina* at *Rome*, which neither the pope nor cardinals believed to have been published by order of the *Germanic* body, as it contained many things derogatory to the authority of the apostolic see, on which articles he had no commission to treat; but that he was willing to regulate, with their concurrence, other matters tending to reform the abuses in *Germany* [w]. He accordingly drew up a form of reformation, which was rejected by the princes, as it regarded only the inferior clergy, and tended in the main to enlarge the pope's authority, and that of the ecclesiastic princes of the empire, to the prejudice of the lay princes [x]. The diet therefore, on the 18th of *April*, published a decree for observing the edict of *Worms* as far as possible, and for soliciting the emperor and pope to convoke a free council in *Germany* [y]. The legate objected to several articles in this new edict, as derogatory to the authority of the pope; but the diet breaking up, he went with the archduke *Ferdinand*, the two dukes of *Bavaria*, the archbishop of *Saltzburg*, the bishops of *Trent* and *Ratisbon*, with the deputies of nine other bishops, to the city of *Ratisbon*, where, on the 6th of *July*, they entered into a mutual alliance, and published a decree, ordering the edict of *Worms* to be fully executed within their respective dominions. On the other hand, the deputies of the states, that had embraced *Luther*'s doctrines, assembled in the same month at *Spire*, where they ordered all the controverted articles of religion to be collected by their own divines, with the intention of presenting them at the following diet, which was to be held in the same city in the month of *November*.

A. D. 1524.

The German princes insist upon a redress of their grievances.

A league formed for the support of the religion of the church of Rome.

This diet, however, never assembled; for the pope having written to the emperor, complaining of the proceedings of the diet of *Nuremberg*, *Charles*, who had great need of *Clement*'s assistance against the *French* in *Italy*, wrote from *Burgos* in *Spain* to the *German* princes, annulling the edict

[w] Sleidan. Cochlæ. ut supra. [x] Pallavicin, l. ii. c. 10. [y] Struv. period. x. p. 992. Sleidan. ut supra.

of *Nuremberg*, and prohibiting the assembling of the diet at *Spire* [z]. Notwithstanding this declaration of the emperor in favour of the papal authority, *Clement* still refused to join in the alliance against *France*: however, he secretly granted 70,000 ducats to the duke of *Bourbon*, the commander of the imperialists; who receiving a reinforcement of 6000 *Germans*, obliged the *French* army to evacuate *Italy*, and entering *Provence* took *Aix*, and several other places, and laid siege to *Marseilles*; but *Francis* I. marching to the relief of that city, with an army of 40,000 men, he was obliged to raise the siege, after forty days open trenches, and retreat with precipitation into *Lombardy*. *Francis* pursued him, retook *Milan*, and several other towns, and invested the city of *Pavia*, which he soon reduced to great extremity. The pope, by this unexpected success, was prevailed upon to conclude a treaty with him, and, according to some authors, advised him to attack the kingdom of *Naples* [a], tho' *Guicciardini* expressly affirms, that he dissuaded him from that expedition, and that the king intended chiefly by that diversion, to oblige the *Spaniards* to surrender *Pavia*. However it was, it proved very fatal both to the king of *France* and the pope; for the imperialists having received several reinforcements from *Germany*, on the 24th of *February* attacked the *French* army, weakened by the detachment to *Naples*, and harrassed with a siege that had continued four months, and after a fierce engagement of some hours entirely defeated them, and took the *French* king, with many nobles and chief officers, prisoners.

The French are expelled from Italy.

Francis I. repasses the Alps with an army, and concludes a treaty with the pope.

A. D. 1525.

A jubilee celebrated at Rome.

DURING these hostilities, the pope, on the 21st of *December*, had published a bull, for the celebration of a jubilee, to commence at *Christmas*. He accordingly on that day opened the *Holy Gate* of *St. Peter's* with great solemnity; but by the spreading of *Luther*'s doctrines, indulgences had greatly sunk in their value, so that very few persons appeared at *Rome*, especially as their pilgrimage was rendered dangerous by the great number of troops in *Lombardy* [b]. Upon the news of the victory at *Pavia*, all *Italy* was struck with consternation, but the pope especially was filled with great terror, as he had a few weeks before published his alliance with the *French* king, which had greatly irritated the emperor. The *Venetians* likewise were very apprehensive of the emperor's resentment; but being informed that the king of *England*,

[z] HENTER. l. ix. c. 1. RAINALD. ad an. 1524. SLEIDAN. ut supra. [a] MEM. DE BELLAI. l. ii. D. ANTON. DE VERA. Hist. Carol. V. [b] SPOND. Annal.

land, from a jealouſy of the emperor's over-grown power, inclined to favour *France*, they immediately ſollicited the pope to enter into a league for the defence of *Italy*, and propoſed to hire 10,000 *Swiſs*, which, with the *Italian* troops, would be ſufficient to oppoſe the imperialiſts, who, ſince the victory at *Pavia*, had even mutinied for want of pay. But *Clement*, by the arrival of his ſecretary, the archbiſhop of *Capua*, from *Lombardy*, having received ſome hopes of an accommodation, preferred his particular intereſts to the general welfare, and concluded a treaty with the viceroy of *Naples*, who ſtipulated that the emperor *Charles* ſhould oblige the duke of *Ferrara* to reſtore *Reggio*, ſhould allow the pope to diſpoſe of all benefices in the kingdom of *Naples*, and ſhould grant the inveſtiture of *Milan* to *Francis Sforza*; on which account the pope ordered the *Florentines*, who were included in the treaty, to pay 100,000 ducats to the viceroy, and promiſed to pay another 100,000 upon being put in poſſeſſion of *Reggio*.

The pope ſeeks an accommodation with the emperor.

THE *Venetians* had twenty days allowed them for acceding to this treaty, which was concluded on the firſt of *April*, but they refuſed to ſtrengthen their enemy by furniſhing them with money, which might be employed to better purpoſe againſt them: however, many other *Italian* ſtates followed the example of the pope, and purchaſed their peace with money. *Clement* being diſappointed by the emperor, who refuſed to ratify the treaty concluded with the viceroy, he entered into a confederacy againſt him, a few months afterwards, with the marquis of *Peſcara* his general, the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Milan*, whoſe chancellor, offended at the extravagant conditions on which the emperor offered the inveſtiture of the *Milaneſe*, formed the deſign of expelling the *Spaniards* and *Germans* from *Italy*. The pope promiſed to give the inveſtiture of *Naples* to the marquis, who on that account engaged to diſperſe the imperial army in ſuch a manner, that it ſhould not be able to make any reſiſtance againſt the confederates; but inſtead of fulfilling his engagements, he diſcovered the whole treaty to the emperor, who on that pretence ſeized the duchy of *Milan* [c].

His offers being rejected, he enters into a confederacy againſt him.

THE great commotions in *Italy* prevented the pope from attending to the affairs of *Germany*, where the enemies of the *Roman* church were divided into ſeveral ſects. *Muncer* and *Pliffer*, and ſeveral other anabaptiſt preachers, had excited the peaſants to take arms againſt the nobles and ma-

Great commotions in Germany occaſioned by anabaptiſts.

[c] BRANTOME Vie du Marq. de Peſc. ANTON. DE VERA hiſt. Carol. V. p. 124. GUICCIARD. l. xvi.

giſtrates, but they were at laſt reduced, with the loſs of 100,000 men. The emperor, upon the news of this general inſurrection, wrote to the *German* princes, appointing a diet to be held at *Augsburg*, which was deferred till the following year by the archduke *Ferdinand* [d]; and, in the mean time, a controverſy about the eucharift was carried on, with great warmth, betwixt *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, whoſe opinion was embraced by *Oecolampadius* miniſter at *Baſil*. Though *Clement* did not interfere in the affairs of *Germany*, yet being informed by the queen regent of *France*, that the doctrines of *Luther* began to be attended to in that kingdom, he wrote to the parliament of *Paris*, exhorting them to be vigilant in oppoſing the *German* hereſy, and defending the ancient religion [e].

Clement concludes an alliance with the king of France *and the* Venetians A. D. 1526.

BEING recovered from his conſternation, occaſioned by the victory of *Pavia*, the pope wrote to the emperor with great earneſtneſs in behalf of the duke of *Milan*: but *Charles* delaying, upon various pretences, to declare expreſly in what manner he intended to diſpoſe of the *Milaneſe*, *Clement* ſoon after concluded an alliance with the *Venetians* and the king of *France*, who, in conſequence of a treaty with *Charles* at *Madrid*, had returned to his own kingdom. Immediately after the papal and *Venetian* troops took the field, under the command of the duke of *Urbino*; and all *Lombardy*, eſpecially the city of *Milan*, being ready to revolt from the *Spaniards*, the imperial ambaſſador at *Rome* was very earneſt with the pope to abandon *Sforza*. *Clement* rejected all his offers; however, the negligence and bad conduct of the duke of *Urbino* gave leiſure to the imperialiſts to fortify themſelves; and they having received ſome reinforcements, not only quieted the diſorders in *Milan*, but obliged *Sforza* to ſurrender the caſtle, while the duke of *Urbino* continued inactive, waiting for ſuccours from *Switzerland*.

Is ſurprized by the Neapolitans *at* Rome.

THE imperialiſts were not only ſucceſsful in *Lombardy*, but by the aſſiſtance of the family of *Colonna*, who were wholly addicted to the emperor's intereſt, ſurprized the pope in *Rome*, and obliged him to agree to a truce with the emperor for four months, to forgive the outrage, and recal his troops from the *Milaneſe* [f]. The *Neapolitan* troops, however, had no ſooner retired from *Rome*, than *Clement*, refuſing to fulfil the articles which he had been compelled to promiſe, depoſed the cardinal of *Colonna*, declared all his family rebels, and ſending a conſiderable body of troops into

[d] SLEIDAN. l. 5. [e] Idem ibid. [f] GUICCIARD. l. xvii. SPOND. Annal.

their

their territories, plundered and burnt a great number of their towns. The cardinal of *Colonna*, in the mean time reſiding at *Naples*, appealed to a future general council; and knowing that the name of a council was a great terror to the pope, he cauſed writings to be fixed to the church doors in *Rome*, citing him, in the name of the emperor, to appear at *Spire* before a council [g]. A general diet of the empire had been held in that city in the months of *July* and *Auguſt*, in which the party of the *Lutherans* appeared more powerful than ever. The princes propoſed to petition the emperor to aſſemble a general council, or at leaſt a national one, to ſettle the diſputes about religion; and it was reſolved, that, till the celebration of the council, each prince ſhould ſo govern his ſubjects, as he ſhould be able to give an account to God and the emperor [h]. *Charles* likewiſe being greatly exaſperated againſt the pope, for abſolving the king of *France* from his obligations to obſerve the treaty of *Madrid*, and for entering into an alliance with him and the *Venetians*, he wrote a long letter to him, complaining of his proceedings, and appealing from him to a general council, which he inſiſted upon being immediately convoked [i]. In the mean time continual ſuccours arrived in *Lombardy* from *Spain* and *Germany*, and the viceroy of *Naples* returned to that kingdom from *Spain* with a ſtrong reinforcement. The pope likewiſe, having received a ſubſidy of 30,000 crowns from the king of *England*, paid no regard to the remonſtrance of the emperor, but ſent his troops againſt the kingdom of *Naples*, which was likewiſe at the ſame time attacked by his gallies, in conjunction with thoſe of *France* and *Venice*. The land forces made themſelves maſters of *Aquila*, while thoſe at ſea took *Salerno*, *Sorrento*, and ſeveral other maritime places [k]. However, the pope not being able to bear the expence of the war, as he received very little aſſiſtance from the king of *France*, and as the imperialiſts were daily growing more powerful both in *Naples* and *Lombardy*, he agreed to a truce for eight months with the viceroy of *Naples*, in conſequence of which the conquered places on both ſides were immediately reſtored.

Liberty of conſcience allowed to the Lutherans in Germany.

A.D. 1527.

The pope agrees to a truce with the viceroy of Naples.

THE chief motive which induced the pope to conclude a truce, was the fear of an invaſion of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate from the imperialiſts in *Lombardy*; for the duke of *Bourbon* having left 7 or 8000 men at *Milan*, had marched with about

[g] GUICCIARDINI, ut ſupra. JOVI. in Vite Pomp. Card.
[h] SLEIDAN. l. vi. [i] Ap. GOLDAST. Conſt. imper. tit. i.
[k] GUICCIARD. l. xviii.

30,000 men towards *Bologna*, the greateſt part of whom were *Germans*, and ſome *Lutherans* [1], who for five months that they had been in *Italy*, had received almoſt no pay. During their reſidence in the *Milaneſe* they had lived at free quarters, and ſubſiſted on their march by levying heavy contributions; and tho' *Bourbon* publiſhed that his intention was to march to *Naples*, yet it was generally believed that he propoſed only to ravage *Tuſcany*. The pope therefore, by the truce concluded with the viceroy, promiſed to pay *Bourbon* 60,000 ducats, on condition that he withdrew his army from the eccleſiaſtical ſtate and the territories of *Florence*; and as he had reſtored the towns in the kingdom of *Naples*, he, in full aſſurance of a peace, immediately diſmiſſed the greateſt part of his army. The duke of *Bourbon*, who had already advanced to the *Bologneſe*, refuſed his conſent to the truce, notwithſtanding the viceroy had come to his camp, and had offered to cauſe 140,000 ducats to be paid to him within two months. As his troops had already mutinied twice, and allowed him only the ſhadow of command, he was conſtrained to ſubmit to their impetuoſity, they calling out, in a tumultuous manner, *to Rome, to Rome.* He accordingly, partly by inclination and partly by conſtraint, continued his march; and, as there was no army to interrupt him, and as he was not encumbered with baggage or artillery, he arrived before *Rome* on the 5th of *May*, and demanded a paſſage through the city to *Naples*. His demand being refuſed, next morning he aſſaulted the city; and tho' he was killed himſelf in the beginning of the attack, yet his troops about ſun-ſet gained the place by ſtorm, and while the pope and the cardinals retired to the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, they were employed in committing all manner of violences and barbarities. The ſacking continued for ſeveral days: the *Lutherans* diſcharged their fury againſt the church of St. *Peter*, and the tombs of the popes, and dragging the bodies of the ſaints from their ſhrines, trampled them under their feet, while the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, more rapacious and cruel than the *Germans*, tortured the nobles, prelates, and magiſtrates, to oblige them to pay exceſſive ranſoms. As the duke of *Urbino*, tho' at the head of a numerous army, delayed advancing to the relief of *Rome*, the pope was obliged to capitulate with the prince of *Orange*, who, upon the death of *Bourbon*, ſucceeded to the chief command. It was agreed that the pope ſhould immediately pay 100,000 ducats, and 300,000 more within two months; that he ſhould put into

The imperial general in Lombardy *refuſes his conſent to the truce and marches to* Rome,

which is taken by ſtorm, and ſacked.

[1] Jov. in Prolog.

the

the hands of the emperor the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Citta Caſtellana*, *Parma*, *Placenza*, and *Modena*; and that upon paying the firſt 150,000, he ſhould be conducted with the cardinals to *Gaeta* or *Naples*, but until that payment he ſhould remain a priſoner. Upon theſe and ſome other conditions, proviſions were carried into the caſtle, where he continued ſix months longer a priſoner, not having money to complete the firſt payment [m]. Mean while the plague raged with great violence in *Rome*, by which great numbers of the imperialiſts daily periſhed. The *Florentines*, upon the news of the pope's calamity, expelled *Hippolito* and *Alexander de Medicis* from their city, and creating a *Gonfalonier*, reſtored the antient republican government. They likewiſe broke the ſtatues of *Leo* X. and of *Clement*, and perſecuted all thoſe that favoured that family. About the ſame time the emperor, being informed of the great ſucceſs of his arms in *Italy*, diſſembled his joy, and even put on mourning, and ordered proceſſions and public prayers, to implore the aſſiſtance of heaven for the diſtreſſed church. However, his actions did not correſpond with theſe profeſſions; for, to draw all the advantage that he could from the pope's diſtreſs, he delayed giving any orders to ſet him at liberty, tho' the plague was then very mortal, not only in *Rome*, but even in *St. Angelo*.

The pope is detained a priſoner in the caſtle of St. Angelo.

NOTWITHSTANDING this proſperous appearance of the emperor's affairs in *Italy*, by his too great ſecurity he ſoon found them in a worſe ſituation than in the beginning of the campaign; for while he neglected to reinforce his army, two thirds of which were cut off with the plague, the king of *France* prevailed with *Henry* VIII. of *England* to enter into the league with the *Venetians*, and other *Italian* ſtates, againſt him. In the beginning of *Auguſt*, he ſent an army into *Italy*, under the command of *Lautrec*, who took *Alexandria*, and ſome other places: and *Genoa* likewiſe ſubmitting to the *French*, he paſſed the *Po* about the middle of *October*, with the intention of marching to *Naples*. *Charles* being informed of the conqueſts of *Lautrec*, immediately ſent deputies to *Rome* to negotiate with the pope, with whom they concluded a treaty, much to the advantage of the emperor; but the conditions being ſuch, that it was impoſſible for the pope to fulfil them, by the aſſiſtance of cardinal *Colonna*, to whom he

He eſcapes,

[m] GUICCIARD. l. xviii. SPOND. Annal. Jov. in Vitæ Pomp. Colon. REINER, l. vi. p. 114. MYCON. Hiſt. Reform. c. 14. Mem. de DU BELLAI, l. iii. CÆSAR GLORIER. Hiſt. expugnat. Urb.

was reconciled, he escaped, on the 9th of *December*, from the castle, and was conducted to *Orvieto* [n].

and is sollicited by the king of England *to grant him a divorce from his queen.*

A. D. 1528.

Soon after he received an ambassador from the king of *England*, who desired him to renew his alliance with the confederates, and to declare his marriage with the queen *Katherine* null, which the divines and lawyers of *England* had already affirmed to be unlawful, as she had been first married to his elder brother prince *Arthur* (F). *Clement* was likewise sollicited by the king of *France* to declare for the league; but as he had suffered severely for interfering in the emperor's disputes with *France*, and by the first article of the late treaty in *St. Angelo* had promised not to act against him, he excused himself to the *French* and *English* ambassadors, and declared for a neutrality. He seemed inclined to satisfy the king of *England* in his demand of a divorce, but started several difficulties as to the manner of proceeding, which only heightened the king's hopes, and increased his importunity [o]. At length, however, he appointed several cardinals and divines to examine the validity of the marriage, who unanimously declared that it was agreeable to the law of God [p]. This examination of the cardinals, was perhaps only proposed by the pope as a means of delay, as he afterwards protracted the time for the decision of the affair upon various pretences. The *English* ambassadors again urging, that they could prove the dispensation of *Julius* II. in favour of the marriage not canonical, he appointed a second examination; and, at the desire of the cardinals, two judges were

[n] Bzov. hoc. an. Jov. in. Vite Pomp. Colon. & Histor. l. xxv. [o] Guicciard. ut supra. [p] Spond. Annal.

(F) *Henry* VIII. had then lived with his queen many years, and is said to have requested this divorce from various motives. He himself pretended a scruple of conscience, on account of his queen's former marriage with his brother, and was besides very desirous of having male issue, which he could not then expect from *Katherine*. His love for *Anne Bullen*, is assigned by some as his chief motive for objecting to his first marriage; and others affirm, that cardinal *Wolsey* chiefly excited him to think of a divorce, and intended for his second wife *Margaret Alençon*, the sister of the king of *France*, thereby to gratify his own resentment against the emperor, who was nephew of queen *Katherine*; and had not only baulked him twice in his expectations of the pontificate, but had lately refused him the archbishopric of *Toledo*, the richest benefice in Christendom (1).

(1) *Burnet's History of the Reformation.*

named

named to decide the affair in *England*, namely, the cardinals *Wolſey* and *Campegio*, to which laſt he gave a bull, annulling the marriage, with leave to ſhew it to the king and *Wolſey*, but with expreſs orders not to give ſentence till he ſhould receive a ſecond mandate from *Rome* q.

THIS dilatory proceeding of the pope was owing to the unexpected ſucceſs of the emperor's affairs in *Italy*; on which account *Clement* began to think of abandoning the neutrality, and attaching himſelf to *Charles*, by whoſe aſſiſtance he might recover the dominion of *Florence*. *Lautrec*, the general of the league againſt the emperor, had, about the middle of *January*, marched from *Bologna* to invade *Naples*, great part of which kingdom he quickly reduced. The remains of the imperial army, which for nine or ten months had committed all manner of violences in *Rome*, upon the motion of *Lautrec*'s army, left that city, and proceeded to the defence of *Naples*; but before their departure, not content to have ſtript the city of all its ornaments and riches, they inſiſted upon receiving two months pay. Their joining the *Neapolitan* troops did not interrupt the progreſs of *Lautrec*, who having reduced a great many cities, about the end of *April* ſat down before *Naples*; but here he experienced a reverſe of fortune, for during the ſiege, which continued four months, the plague carried off almoſt his whole army, and at laſt proved mortal to himſelf. The remains of the army retired to *Averſa*, where, in their turn, they were beſieged by the garriſons of *Naples*, and ſome other towns, and obliged to capitulate on very diſadvantageous terms, while *Doria*, the *Genoeſe* admiral, deſerted their alliance, and prevailed with that city to declare for the emperor.

The emperor is greatly ſuperior to the allies in Italy.

DURING theſe tranſactions the pope, who had fixed his court at *Viterbo*, and recovered ſome places that had been ſeized during his confinement, ſeemed inclined, in the beginning of the campaign, to declare for the league; but obſerving the ſucceſs of the imperialiſts, he entered into a private negotiation with *Charles*, before the departure of *Campegio* from *Rome*, who was ordered on that account to delay giving judgment on the divorce as long as poſſible. To prevent giving ſuſpicion to the allies, he pretended to be wholly occupied in reforming the church, and publiſhed his reſolution of going into *Germany* to oppoſe the progreſs of *Lutheraniſm*. The princes of that perſuaſion having entered into a league for their own defence, to which they invited the ſacramenta-

q GUICCIARD. l. xix. BELCAR. l. xix. GODWIN. SANDER. de ſchiſm. l. i.

rians,

rians, or followers of *Zuinglius*, whose doctrines had been received this year in *Berne*, *Constance*, and *Geneva*, in consequence of which the magistrates of *Strasburgh* published an order, prohibiting the celebration of the mass [r] in their jurisdiction (G).

A.D. 1529. THE pope had no real intention of going to *Germany*, but was chiefly attentive to the affairs of *Italy*; and as the king of *France* was still in possession of several places in *Naples*, he promised to adhere to the league, if he would oblige the *Venetians* to restore *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, which they had seized during his imprisonment [s]. At the same time he continued his negotiations with the emperor; and as he had greater expectations from him, and as he and his brother *Ferdinand*, king of *Hungary*, had both protested against judging of the affair of the divorce in *England*, he sent a nuncio to *Campegio*, with orders to burn the bull, and so delay the trial. Soon after, having concluded a treaty with *Charles* at *Barcelona*, and queen *Katherine* having appealed from *Campegio* and *Wolsey* as partial judges, he wrote to his legates, declaring his intention to judge the cause of the divorce at *Rome*, with which proceeding the king of *England* was greatly offended [t]. By the treaty with the emperor, which was published in the end of *June*, the pope promised to grant the investiture of *Naples* to *Charles*, for the yearly tribute of one white horse; but the concessions made by the emperor were very advantageous to *Clement*, *Charles* engaging to establish *Alexander de Medicis*, grand nephew of the pope, as prince and sovereign of the city and territory of *Florence*, and to give him his natural daughter *Margaret* in marriage, with a dowry of 20,000 ducats yearly revenue; to put the pope in possession of *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Rubiera*, to assist him in reducing the duke of *Ferrara*, and to reduce the *Lutherans* by force to the obedience of the church [u].

The pope concludes a treaty with him.

THO' the affairs of the king of *France* were quite ruined in *Italy*, yet *Charles* a few weeks after concluded a treaty of

[r] SLEIDAN. l. vi. COCHLÆ. ut supra. [s] GUICCIARD. l. 19. [t] Idem ibid. SANDR. ut supra. [u] GUICCIARD. l. xix. DUMONT. Corps Diplom. t. iv. par. ii.

(G) *Clement* this year confirmed the order of capuchins, which had been instituted three years before, by one *Matthew Basia*, a monk, born in the territory of *Romagna* (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal.*

peace

peace with him at *Cambray*, as the grand ſignor, who had invaded *Hungary* with an immenſe army, threatened an irruption into *Auſtria*, and the tranquility of *Germany* was in great danger of being diſturbed by the diſputes about religion. In conſequence of his mandate, the ſtates of *Germany* had aſſembled at *Spire* on the 15th of *March*, and, after long debates, publiſhed a decree, revoking the former edict, which allowed liberty of conſcience, as they alleged it had been productive of great miſchiefs. Several princes, and the deputies of fourteen imperial cities, proteſted againſt this edict, and appealed to the emperor and a free council, from whence the name of *Proteſtants* was given to all thoſe ſects in *Germany* that oppoſed the doctrines of the *Romiſh* church [w]. After the diſmiſſing of the diet, the proteſtants ſent ambaſſadors to the emperor to juſtify their proceedings; but *Charles*, who had then arrived in *Italy* from *Spain*, would not admit of their excuſe, and ordered them to obey the edict, under pain of his diſpleaſure. The ambaſſadors informing the proteſtants of this determination of the emperor, they aſſembled in the end of *November* at *Smalcald*, where they propoſed to enter into an alliance for their mutual defence.

The Lutheran princes proteſt againſt the edict of Spire.

In the beginning of the ſame month *Charles* and *Clement* both arrived at *Bologna*, where they had ſeveral conferences concerning the ſuppreſſing the reformation in *Germany*, and the reducing of the *Florentines*, who ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to the family of the *Medicis*. Beſides, at the ſollicitation of the pope, the emperor reſtored the duchy of *Milan* to *Francis Sforza*, and concluded a peace and an alliance with the *Venetians*, who, among other articles, reſtored to the emperor the towns they poſſeſſed in *Apulia*, and to the pope all that they had ſeized in *Romagna* [x]. By this laſt treaty tranquility was reſtored to *Italy*, after a long and deſtructive war of eight years continuance; however, the city of *Florence* muſt ſtill be excepted, which, refuſing to ſubmit to the pope, was at this time inveſted by the imperialiſts. Mean while *Charles* being earneſtly ſollicited by his brother *Ferdinand*, and the other electors, to return to *Germany*, would not proceed to *Rome*, but received the imperial crown at *Bologna*, on the 24th of *February*, being the day of his birth, and that on which he had gained the ſignal victory of *Pavia*. A few weeks after, having obtained a promiſe from the pope to conſent to a general council, if it ſhould be found

The pope and Charles V. have a conference at Bologna; A.D. 1530. *where the latter is crowned emperor.*

[w] Sleidan. l. vi. Pallav. l. ii. c. 18. Rainald, ad hunc an. [x] Guicciard. l. xix. in fin.

neceſſary,

neceſſary, for the extirpation of the *Lutheran* hereſy, he ſet out for *Germany*, attended by cardinal *Campegio*.

THE pope, after his departure, returned to *Rome*; and, in the mean time, the imperial and papal troops continuing the ſiege of *Florence*, that city, after being reduced to the greateſt extremity, was at length obliged to capitulate on the 9th of *Auguſt*, ſubmitting their form of government entirely to the pleaſure of the emperor, on condition that their liberties ſhould not be violated, and promiſing to pay 80,000 ducats within a few days to the beſieging army, provided a full pardon ſhould be granted to all thoſe who had injured the pope or his friends. In conſequence of this capitulation, the articles of which were afterwards obſerved with very little fidelity, *Alexander de Medicis* was acknowleged prince and ſovereign of *Florence*, with power to receive and ſend ambaſſadors, to coin money, to conclude alliances, and to make peace and war as he ſhould think proper [y].

The pope's nephew declared ſovereign of Florence.

DURING theſe proceedings in *Italy*, the emperor had aſſembled a diet at *Augsburg*, to conſult of the affairs of religion and of a war againſt the *Turks*. A few days after the opening of the diet, the *Lutherans* preſented their confeſſion of faith, which, after ſeveral objections, was publickly read in the emperor's palace on the 25th of *June*, and being examined by the popiſh doctors, a refutation of it was read in the ſame place on the 3d of *Auguſt*. The emperor and the catholic princes approved of this refutation, and deſired that it might be received by the proteſtant princes: but they ſtill adhered to their former confeſſion, and demanded that a free general council might be called, to whoſe determination they would ſubmit. Several private conferences were afterwards held for an accommodation of both parties, and the emperor privately ſolicited the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, and the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, by temporal motives, to be re-united to the church of *Rome*: but his endeavours proving ineffectual, he, on the 22d of *September*, publiſhed a decree, declaring, that tho' the proteſtant confeſſion had been refuted by ſcripture, yet he allowed them till the 15th of *April* to conſider of returning to the boſom of the church; in the mean time prohibiting them from publiſhing any thing concerning religion, and promiſing to uſe his endeavours with the pope and Chriſtian princes, that a general council ſhould be convoked within eighteen months. Next day the proteſtants proteſted againſt this decree, affirming, that their confeſſion had not

The proteſtants preſent their confeſſion of faith to the diet at Augſburg.

[y] Idem. l. xx. RAINALD, ad an. 1530.

been

been refuted by ſcripture; and, after their departure, their deputies, who remained at the diet, requeſted the emperor to grant a general peace through the empire, and liberty of conſcience in affairs of religion. The emperor, inſtead of granting their demand, entered into a league, for the defence of the old religion, with the catholic princes and deputies that ſtill remained at the diet; and on the 19th of *November* publiſhed an edict, prohibiting any other religion than that of the church of *Rome* [z].

ALTHOUGH the emperor had acted with great zeal in defence of the popiſh cauſe, *Clement* nevertheleſs was greatly diſſatisfied with the proceedings of the diet. He blamed the emperor for allowing the proteſtant confeſſion to be read, and for conſenting to aboliſh ſome ceremonies; but what chiefly offended him, was his promiſe for procuring a general council, the thoughts of which ſtruck him with great apprehenſions: he therefore aſked the advice of the cardinals, who declared, that the convocation of a general council at that time, when the *Turks* were threatening to invade *Germany*, was very improper [a]. The pope likewiſe thought himſelf greatly aggrieved, by the ſentence which *Charles* ſoon after gave in favour of the duke of *Ferrara*, by which *Reggio* and *Modena* were declared to belong to the duke, who was ordered to pay the pope 100,000 ducats, for a new inveſtiture of his duchy. *Clement* proteſted againſt this ſentence, and refuſed to accept of the money which was offered him by the duke, who, to excite the emperor againſt him, wrote to *Charles* that he had intercepted two letters of the pope to the kings of *France* and *England*, by which he promiſed to grant them whatever they ſhould deſire, provided they would, by any means, prevent the aſſembling of a general council. The pope challenged the duke to produce the letters, aſſured the emperor of his innocence, and ſoon after ſent his nephew, the cardinal of *Medicis*, to *Germany*, to attend him as legate in his expedition againſt the *Turks*, promiſing him likewiſe a ſubſidy of 40,000 ducats a month during that war [b].

A. D. 1531.

Reggio and Modena declared to belong to the duke of Ferrara.

A. D. 1532.

CHARLES, about that time, held an imperial diet at *Ratiſbon*, to conſult of the means to quiet the diſturbances in *Germany*, with regard to religion, and to provide againſt the invaſion of the grand ſignor, who was making immenſe preparations to invade *Auſtria*. As he had offended the proteſ-

[z] SLEIDAN. l. vii. CELESTIN de confeſ. Auguſt. MULLER. l. iii. c. 39. MYCON. Hiſt. Reform. c. 15. [a] GUICCIARD. l. xx. [b] Idem ibid.

tant princes the year before, by cauſing his brother *Ferdinand* to be elected king of the *Romans*, and by his rigorous proceedings againſt the *Lutherans*, they refuſed to appear at the diet, and aſſembled by themſelves at *Schweinfurt*, where they compoſed thirteen articles, for ſecuring the liberty of their religion, and the rights of the empire, which were rejected by the emperor. However, the proteſtants ſoon after aſſembling at *Nuremberg*, the elector palatine and the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, who acted as mediators, agreed to an accommodation with them on the 23d of *June*, which a few weeks after was ratified by the emperor, who ordered all proſecutions of the proteſtants to be ſuſpended, and a general peace to be obſerved through all *Germany*; and that all perſons ſhould enjoy a liberty of conſcience till the aſſembling of a general council, which he would endeavour to prevail with the pope to convoke within ſix months, to be aſſembled a year after [c]. In conſequence of this peace, the proteſtants, with great ardour, raiſed the ſupplies for the *Turkiſh* expedition, and *Charles* ſoon found himſelf at the head of an army of near 200,000 men; however, the grand ſignor not daring to advance, and retiring to *Conſtantinople*, *Charles* likewiſe retreated to *Germany*, diſbanded the greateſt part of his army, and marched with the *Italian* auxiliaries towards that kingdom. The *Italians* on their march, notwithſtanding the preſence of the emperor, plundered and burnt ſeveral towns and villages in *Germany*; and the cardinal legate, and one *Piermaria Roſſo*, being accuſed as the authors of the ſedition, the emperor ordered them to be apprehended, but quickly after ſet the cardinal at liberty, and excuſed himſelf to the pope.

Liberty of conſcience again granted to the proteſtants.

The emperor returns to Italy,

THO' *Clement* was greatly offended that the emperor had preſumed to grant liberty of conſcience to the proteſtants, yet he received him with great appearance of affection at *Bologna*; however, he ſtill refuſed to conſent to a general council, or to give his niece *Katherine* in marriage to *Francis Sforza*. A few weeks after he renewed the alliance with the emperor and the *Italian* ſtates, for ſecuring the peace of *Italy*, and to oppoſe the deſigns of the king of *France*, who ſtill formed pretenſions to the *Milaneſe*. *Clement* conſented very willingly to renew his alliance with the emperor, that he might thereby awe the kings of *France* and *England*, who, at a conference in the neighbourhood of *Boulogn*, had reſolved to compel the pope to grant their demands, by threatening to

and renews his alliance with the pope;

[c] Ap. GOLDAST. Conſt. imper. t. i. & iii. SLEIDAN. I. viii.

withdraw their kingdoms from the obedience of the apoſtolic ſee; as they ſuppoſed the *Turks* would find employment for the emperor in *Hungary*. By the unexpected retreat of the *Turks*, and the emperor's journey to *Italy*, their deſign was fruſtrated: however, *Henry* VIII. on his return to *England*, prohibited his ſubjects from all intercourſe with the court of *Rome*, prejudicial to the juriſdiction or prerogative of his kingdom; and *Cranmer*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſoon after pronouncing a ſentence of divorce betwixt him and queen *Katherine*, in the beginning of *April* he publickly married *Anne Bulleyn*, although the pope had prohibited, under ſevere cenſures, any proceedings in *England* with regard to the divorce. *Clement* being informed of the king's ſecond marriage, immediately laid him under an interdict, and threatened to excite all Chriſtendom againſt him. A.D. 1533.

ABOUT the ſame time alſo he ſent nuncios to *Scotland*, to exhort *James* V. not to follow the example of the king of *England*, and to puniſh the favourers of *Luther*'s doctrines, who began to be pretty numerous in that kingdom. His nuncios were very ſucceſsful; for the king aſſembling his parliament at *Edinburgh*, it was decreed, to pay the accuſtomed and ancient obedience and honour to the church of *Rome*, and to puniſh all heretics according to the ſeverity of the law [d]. To oppoſe the progreſs of *Lutheraniſm* in *Sweden*, *Clement* likewiſe created *John Magnus*, the hiſtorian, archbiſhop of *Upſal*; and having given him the pall, ſent him to that kingdom with the authority of legate *à latere*. The pope ſoon after embarked at *Piſa* with his cardinals, and in a few days landed at *Marſeilles*, where he had a conference with the king of *France*. The reaſons he pretended for this journey were, a deſire to promote an expedition againſt the *Turks*, to obtain the conſent of the king of *France* to a general council, and to uſe his mediation in reconciling the king of *England* to the church of *Rome*; but his chief purpoſe was to conclude a marriage betwixt *Francis*, ſecond ſon of the duke of *Orleans*, and his own niece. The marriage was accordingly ſolemnized with great pomp; and though there was no treaty concluded betwixt the pope and the king, *Clement* conſented to the ſeizing of the *Milaneſe* for his ſiſter's huſband; and *Francis* declared, that he would not oppoſe the judicial proceedings of the pope againſt the king of *England*, whoſe ambaſſadors at *Marſeilles* appealed from the deciſion of the pope to a general council [e].

who ſends nuncios to Scotland *to oppoſe the progreſs of* Lutheraniſm;

and has a conference with the French *king at* Marſeilles.

[d] LESLÆ, l. ix. COCHLÆ. & ULEMBRG in vit. Luther.
[e] GUICCIARD. in fin. SANDER. de ſchiſm. Ang. l. i.

CLEMENT,

He excommunicates the king of England, A.D. 1534.

CLEMENT, having continued ſome weeks in *France*, returned to *Rome* in the end of *December*, and ſoon after, at the inſtigation of the emperor's ambaſſadors, he excommunicated the king of *England* and all his ſubjects, becauſe he had rejected his lawful wife, and married another. *Henry* VIII. was no ſooner informed of this ſentence, which was publiſhed on the 24th of *March*, than he withdrew his obedience from the church of *Rome*, and by an act of parliament aboliſhed the pope's authority in *England*, and even made it capital to name the word pope. He declared the king head of the church under Chriſt in *England*, ordered the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* to lay aſide his title of apoſtolic legate, and prohibited the payment of the annual tribute to *Rome*, commonly called *St. Peter's pence*. *Clement* ſurvived this ſentence but a few months, and died at *Rome* on the 25th of *September*, in the 57th year of his age. Although he had a great capacity, was very grave and moderate, yet, according to *Guicciardini*, he died hated by his whole court, as he was reckoned avaricious and deceitful, and ſeldom ſhewed any inclination to oblige [f].

and dies at Rome.

THE funeral rites of *Clement* being performed with the uſual ceremonies, thirty-five cardinals entered the conclave on the 10th of *October*, and the ſame day, according to *Guicciardini*, or two days after according to others, unanimouſly elected cardinal *Farneſe* biſhop of *Oſtia*, then in the 67th year of his age, who, by artfully ſeeming more infirm than he really was, thereby more eaſily acquired all the votes. The new pope aſſumed the name of *Paul* III. and was ſolemnly crowned on the 2d of *November*, to the great joy of the *Romans*, who had again got a pope of their own nation, after an interruption of 103 years (H). *Paul*, immediately after his promotion, created two of his relations cardinals, though they were both baſtards; and being deſirous to know the ſtate of *Germany*, he recalled his nuncio *Vengerius* from that country: however, he quickly ſent him back to feed the

Paul III. *is elected pope.*

[f] Idem ibid. Jov. Hiſt. l. xxxii. ONUPHR. in vit. & Chron.

(H) The anceſtors of cardinal *Farneſe* had formerly come from *Germany*, and ſettled in *Italy*. He himſelf was born at *Canino* in *Tuſcany*, his paternal ſeat, and, after enjoying ſome of the inferior dignities in the *Roman* court, he was created a cardinal deacon by *Alexander* VI. and being afterwards made a biſhop, he was nominated for the pontificate at the death of *Leo* X. and *Adrian* VII (1).

(1) *Onuphr. in vit. Paul III.*

Germans,

Germans with the hopes of a council g, and to excite them against the king of *England* (I). He likewise sent nuncios to the emperor, the king of *France*, and other princes, to declare that he had determined upon celebrating a council, though he had not yet fixed a time or place. As he was naturally inclined to peace, he endeavoured to effect an accommodation betwixt the emperor and the king of *France*; and observing a strict neutrality with regard to their disputes, he refused to renew the treaty of *Bologna*. *Peter Paul Verger*, the nuncio in *Germany*, endeavoured to prevail with the protestants to agree to the celebration of the council at *Mantua*; but the princes of that profession assembling in the beginning of *December* at *Smalcald*, to renew their league, declared, that they desired a free council, unawed by the pope, and insisted that it should be held in *Germany*, according to the emperor's promise. They likewise concluded an alliance with *Henry* VIII. of *England*, but they rejected the offers of a treaty made by the king of *France*, as he desired them to enter into an alliance with him against the emperor h.

A. D. 1535. *He declares his intention of calling a general council;*

During these proceedings in *Germany*, the pope granted the tythe of the *Gallican* church to the king of *France*, on condition that he should maintain thirty gallies for the defence of the *Italian* coasts. He also granted the tythe of the ecclesiastical revenues in *Spain* to the emperor, to assist him in his expedition against *Barbaroſſa*, the pirate, who had expelled the prince of *Algiers*, and seized his government; and as a reinforcement to the emperor's fleet, he fitted out thir-

assists the emperor in his expedition against

g Sleidan, l. ix. h Idem ibid.

(I) This year *Ignatius Loyola*, a gentleman of *Biscay*, instituted the order of jesuits at *Mount Martre*, in the neighbourhood of *Paris*. He at first had followed the profession of arms; but being dangerously wounded at the siege of *Pampeluna*, during his sickness he made a vow to embrace an ecclesiastical life, and, after his recovery, he applied himself to study in *Spain* and *France*; and having undergone many dangers and difficulties, he, with six others, took the vows of his society in the church of the virgin *Mary*. The chief of these vows are to renounce all temporal pomp and grandeur, to preserve an inviolate chastity, to receive nothing for celebrating mass, to go preach at *Jerusalem*, but if prevented from undertaking that pilgrimage, to offer their service to the pope without any reserve (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal.*

Barbarossa *the pirate;*

teen gallies, and went to *Civita Vecchia*, where he give his benediction to the whole armament. A few months after, the emperor having restored the banished prince and returned to *Naples*, *Paul* sent two legates, to him to congratulate him upon his victory.

and pronounces a sentence of excommunication and deposition against the king of England. A. D. 1586.

AT the same time, being informed that *Henry* VIII. of *England* had seized the revenues of 376 monasteries, had obliged upwards of 10,000 monks and nuns to resume the lay habit, and had executed *Thomas More* his late chancellor, and *Fisher* bishop of *Rochester*, lately created a cardinal, because they had refused to acknowlege the king as supreme head of the church, he published a bull against him, ordering him to repent, under pain of excommunication and deposition, allowing him ninety days to appear by proxy at *Rome*; and, in case of his disobedience, declaring him immediately excommunicated and deposed, absolving his subjects from their obedience, and prohibiting all catholics from holding any commerce with the *English*. He likewise ordered all the clergy to quit his dominions, the nobles to take up arms against him, and absolved foreign princes who were in alliance with him from the obligation of their treaties. This bull, which was published on the 28th of *November*, he ordered to be fixed up in several places on the opposite shore of *Holland*[1]; but his attention was soon after called off in some manner from the affairs of *England*, by new commotions in *Italy*.

FRANCIS SFORZA, duke of *Milan*, dying in *October* without heirs, the *Milanese* again became the subject of dispute between the king of *France* and the emperor. *Francis* I. renewed his pretensions in right of his great-grandmother *Valentina Viconti*, and, having commenced a war against his uncle the duke of *Savoy*, threatened to enter *Lombardy* with a formidable army. *Charles*, who claimed the *Milanese* as a fief devolved to the empire, immediately ordered forces into *Italy* from *Spain* and *Germany*, and, leaving *Naples*, arrived in a triumphant manner at *Rome* on the 5th of *April*, where he continued thirteen days. The day before his departure, in a full consistory, and in the presence of the foreign ambassadors, he made a long harangue in *Spanish* against the king of *France*, for disturbing the peace of *Italy* by his ambition, and concluded with requesting the pope's mediation for an accommodation, or his assistance in case the king of *France* should obstinately continue the war. The pope declared his willingness to act as mediator, and, as the em-

A bull published

[1] SOND. Annal. ex. t. 1. Bull. PAUL. III. const. vii.

per

peror was very importunate for the convocation of a general council, he ordered ſix cardinals and three biſhops to draw up the bull [k]; which was accordingly publiſhed a few weeks afterwards, appointing a general council to be held at *Mantua*, to begin the following year on the 22d of *May*. *for a general council.*

PAUL likewiſe, refuſing to engage as a party in the war betwixt the king of *France* and the emperor, in the month of *September* publiſhed another bull for reforming the corrupt manners of the city of *Rome*, and ordering all perſons, under ſevere penalties, to obey thoſe cardinals to whom he had given the direction of that affair. Soon after he ſent cardinal *Poole*, a relation of *Henry* VIII. as his legate to the king of *France*, to excite him, and *James* V. of *Scotland*, who was then at *Paris*, againſt the king of *England*. But *Henry*, being informed that the cardinal intended to raiſe an army in *France* to invade his kingdom [l], deſired of the *French* king to deliver him up as his ſubject, and ſet a price of 50,000 crowns upon his head; which obliged the pope to recall him to *Rome*, and to appoint him a guard of ſoldiers for his protection [m]. *Paul* about the ſame time appointed four cardinals, and three other learned men, to draw up a form of reformation of the church, with regard to manners and diſcipline (K); and, as the duke of *Mantua* made ſeveral A.D. 1537.

[k] BELL. l. v. & vi. SLEID. l. x. [l] CALV. ep. xiii.
[m] SLEID. l. x. SPOND. Annal.

(K) This plan of reformation was preſented to the pope in the beginning of the following year; however, it was then kept ſecret, and no alteration or amendment enſued. Tho' it propoſed a very ſuperficial and partial reformation, and was therefore ridiculed by *Luther* and *Sturmius* at *Straſburgh*, who procured a copy of it from *Rome*, yet it contains ſeveral particulars which ſcarcely could have been expected from the compoſers. They complained of the pride and ignorance of the biſhops, and propoſed that none ſhould receive orders but learned and pious men, and therefore care ſhould be taken to have proper maſters to inſtruct the youth. They condemned tranſportations from one benefice to another, grants of reſervation, non-reſidence, and pluralities; and declared it intolerable, that biſhoprics ſhould be conferred on cardinals, or that an *Italian* ſhould enjoy a benefice in *Spain* or *England*, and a *Spaniard* or *Engliſhman* in *Italy*. They propoſed that ſome convents ſhould be aboliſhed, that printers ſhould be prohibited from publiſhing ſome kinds of books, and that the colloquies of *Eraſmus* ſhould not be taught in the ſchools; that the queſtors of St. *Antony*, and of many other ſaints, ſhould be

The assembling of which is prorogued.

several objections to the assembling of the council in that city, he prorogued the time of its meeting till the month of *November*, and soon after appointed it to be held at *Vicenza*, and to be opened on the first of *May* the year following. The king of *England*, however, objected to the assembling of the council in *Italy*, and published a writing, wherein he affirmed, that the emperor and other Christian princes had an authority to call a general council, and not the pope.

THE protestants of *Germany* likewise, in their diet at *Smalcald*, declared to *Helde*, the emperor's vice-chancellor, that they would not consent to a council in *Italy*, where the pope, who was their adversary, would likewise be their judge, and had even already, in some measure, condemned them, by declaring in his bull, that the council was called on account of some late raised heresies. They insisted on a free council in *Germany*, in which they intended to accuse the pope and his accomplices of having corrupted the doctrine of the church, and ordained many things in direct opposition to the laws of God [n]. *Helde*, not being satisfied with the answer of the protestants, retired from *Smalcald*, and, assembling the catholic princes at *Nuremberg*, concluded a league with them, in the name of the emperor, for eleven years, for the defence of their religion, which was afterwards known by the name of the holy league. The protestants, being informed of this league, assembled the following year at *Brunswick*, and received into their alliance *Christiern* king of *Denmark*, who a few months before had entirely renounced the authority of the pope in his dominions,

The holy league formed by the catholic princes of Germany. A.D. 1538.

[n] SLEID. l. xii.

be abolished, and that the effects and personal estate of ecclesiastics should, at their death, be given to the poor. They concluded with complaining of the infinite number of indigent and ragged priests that frequented *St. Peter*'s church, and declared that it was a great scandal to see the whores lodged so magnificently in *Rome*, and riding through the streets on fine mules, and the cardinals and others accompanying them in a familiar manner. The several articles of this plan of reformation were published at *Antwerp* two years after, with the answer of *Cochlæus* to the objections of *Sturmius*. They are likewise prefixed to the History of the Council of *Trent* by *Peter Crabre*, and were afterwards published at *Paris* in 1612 (1).

(1) *Pauvin. in Paul. III. Sleid. l. xii. Spond. Annal.*

and

and had been ſolemnly crowned by *Bugenhagius*, a *Lutheran* miniſter, ſent thither at his deſire by *Luther* [o].

PAUL in the mean time concluded an alliance with the emperor and the *Venetians* at *Rome* againſt the *Turks*, with ſuch aſſurance of ſucceſs, that he even made a partition of the *Turkiſh* empire with his allies. By the treaty, which was concluded in *February*, the war was to be carried on every year with 200 gallies, 100 armed ſhips, 50,000 foot from *Italy*, *Germany*, and *Spain*, and 4,500 horſe. The pope was to bear one ſixth-part of the expences of the war, and to furniſh 36 gallies; and *Andrew Doria*, who ſome years before had been created prince of *Melphi* by the emperor, was to have the chief command of the confederate fleet. In conſequence of this alliance a numerous fleet aſſembled at *Corcyra*; but, inſtead of making conqueſts on the *Turks*, *Doria*, who commanded, twice declined an engagement, tho' his fleet was ſuperior to that of the enemy; which behaviour gave confidence to *Barbaroſſa*, who purſued him, and took and ſunk ſeveral ſhips [p]. *The pope concludes an alliance againſt the Turks, and*

IMMEDIATELY after the concluſion of the alliance, and before the confederate fleet had aſſembled, the pope earneſtly ſollicited the king of *France* and the emperor to agree to a peace or truce, and was ſo ſucceſsful as to prevail with them to conſent to a perſonal conference with him at *Nice*, a maritime city belonging to the duke of *Savoy*. The pope accordingly arrived there in the end of *May*, and *Charles* and *Francis* arriving a few days after, he prevailed with them to agree to a truce for ten years. At the ſame time he concluded a treaty of marriage betwixt his grandſon *Octavian* and *Margarite* the emperor's natural daughter, and widow of the duke of *Florence*, who died a few years before. He could not, however, prevail with the emperor and the king of *France* to ſee each other, which *Jovius* and *Onuphrius* ſay was owing to their reſentment againſt the pope, who, they found, was chiefly intent upon his own private intereſt [q]. But others affirm, that *Paul* endeavoured from policy to prevent their conference, which he thought would interrupt his private ſchemes [r]. He preſſed them both earneſtly to repair to the council at *Vicenza*, and to order the prelates of their dominions thither; but, each excuſing himſelf, he returned to *Genoa* by ſea, accompanied by the emperor; where, being informed that only a very few prelates had arrived at *Vicenza*, he prorogued the council till the following year at *Eaſter*. *has a conference with the emperor and the* French *king at* Nice.

[o] Idem ib. CHYTR. Saxon. l. xv. [p] SPOND. Annal. MAUROC. l. v. JUSTIN. l. xv. [q] Jov. l. xxxvii. ONUPHR. in Paul. III. [r] MEZER. abr. Chron. t. iii. p. 914.

The protestants are falsly supposed to desire a re-union with the church of Rome.

HE likewise soon after sent cardinal *Alexandre* into *Germany* at the request of *Ferdinand* king of the *Romans*, who had declared, that there were some hopes of reconciling the *Lutherans* to the church of *Rome*. This declaration, however, was false; for the protestants absolutely refused to acknowlege the authority of the pope, and only continued to express their desire of living in friendship and peace with the catholics: but *Ferdinand*, who had come to an accommodation with his competitor, the vayvode of *Transilvania*, and had received certain intimation from him and the king of *Poland*, that the *Turks* were making great preparations to invade *Germany*, resolved, if possible, to conclude a peace with the protestants, that he might have their assistance against the infidels[1]. Accordingly a diet was held at *Frankfort* of the catholics and protestants, where, after long debates, an accommodation was agreed to on the 19th of *April*; by which a truce was granted to the protestants for fifteen months, excluding however the anabaptists and sacramentarians. It was decreed likewise, that, during the time of the truce, a conference should be held betwixt learned and moderate men of both parties to settle the contested points of religion; that, if they could not come to an agreement in that affair, nevertheless the peace should continue till the first general diet of the empire; and lastly, that the present treaty should have no effect, unless it was ratified by the emperor within six months.

A. D. 1539.

The pope blames the emperor for granting a truce to the protestants.

THE pope, upon the news of this accommodation, was greatly offended with the catholic princes for daring to treat of religion to the prejudice of the council which he had convoked, and immediately sent a nuncio to *Spain*, who dissuaded the emperor from ratifying the treaty. About the same time, as no prelates repaired to *Vicenza*, he suspended the celebration of the general council for an unlimited time; and soon after, being informed that the emperor intended to pass thro' *France* to quell a revolt of the city of *Ghent* in *Flanders*, he sent cardinal *Alexander Farnese* as his legate to him, who accompanied him from *Paris* to *Ghent*, where *Charles* immediately received an embassy from the protestants, to desire the continuation of the peace. The protestants a few weeks after received a very ambiguous answer from the emperor, which was laid before their deputies, who were then assembled at *Smalcald*. As *Charles*, by the persuasions of his counsellor *Granvelle*, was inclined to prevent a rupture, and had sent two ambassadors to that assembly, the protestants,

A. D. 1540.

[1] Sleid. l. xii.

on the 11th of *April*, presented a long memorial to them, in justification of their proceedings.

THE pope's legate exerted himself with great earnestness to prevent an accommodation, and declared that it could not be done without the authority of the apostolic see; however the emperor, being persuaded of the necessity of a peace, appointed a diet to be held at *Haguenau* for that purpose, at which the legate, who had not been consulted, was greatly offended, and immediately left *Flanders* [t]. *Paul* in the mean time was engaged in reducing *Perugia*, which had revolted on account of the imposition of a new tax. Having quieted that insurrection, he soon after confirmed the order of the *Jesuits*; but as the great multitude of monks began now to be even a nuisance at *Rome*, he restricted the number of the professed in the new order to sixty [u]. Finding likewise, that the emperor and his brother *Ferdinand* inclined greatly to an accommodation, and that, tho' nothing had been effected at the diet of *Haguenau*, yet a conference was appointed at *Worms*, to put an end, if possible, to all differences, he sent *Campegio*, bishop of *Feltri*, to be present at the assembly as his legate, being afraid that something should be transacted to the prejudice of the church of *Rome*. Both parties started a great many difficulties about the manner of disputing, and the papists particularly, being apprehensive lest the majority of the votes of the assembly would be against them, proposed very extravagant conditions.

He confirms the order of the Jesuits.

A. D. 1541.

IT was at last agreed, that *Eckius* for the papists, and *Melancthon* for the protestants, should begin the dispute; but three days after the assembly was transferred by the emperor's order to *Ratisbon*, where cardinal *Contareni*, famous for his learning and abilities, soon after arriving as legate from the pope, the diet was opened on the fifth of *April*. A few days after the emperor nominated three doctors of each party, and ordered them to resume the dispute which had been begun at *Worms*. They accordingly debated for more than two months, but were as far from an accommodation as at first. At length the protestants presented a memorial to the emperor, containing several articles for a general reformation, which *Charles* immediately communicated to the legate *Contareni*, who insisted that the whole should be referred to the determination of the pope, or a general council, who alone had authority to decide in matters of faith. The emperor, after considering the remonstrances of both parties,

A public disputation betwixt the catholics and protestants.

The legate wants the contended articles to

[t] Idem, l. xiii. Jov. l. xxxix. [u] SPOND. Annal. ONLAND. Annal. Societ. Jes. l. ii. & iii.

finally determined to continue the truce, and to poſtpone all farther diſputes till the aſſembling of a general or national council; which laſt abuſe greatly offended the legate, who wrote to all the princes, deſiring it to be annulled, as a *German* council could not decide affairs that concerned the univerſal church [w].

be referred to the pope.

HOWEVER *Contareni* might ſeem to the proteſtants to have defended the popiſh cauſe, yet he was accuſed by the catholics, both in *Germany* and at *Rome*, of having betrayed their religion to the heretics. Cardinal *Caraffa* accuſed him in the conſiſtory, and *Eckius* condemned him in an apology which he ſoon after publiſhed for the catholics; however, he was defended by his friend cardinal *Fregoſa*, and the emperor, arriving in *Italy*, juſtified him to the pope at *Lucca*, where he had a conference with his holineſs, and, contrary to his advice, embarked for *Africa* with an army of 23,000 men, which was almoſt entirely deſtroyed by the cold and tempeſtuous weather, it being then about the beginning of winter [x].

A.D. 1542. THE emperor having returned to *Spain* with the remains of his army, ſoon after, by his deſire, a diet was held at *Spire* by his brother *Ferdinand*, who had lately been defeated by the *Turks* in *Hungary*. The pope ſent the biſhop of *Modena* as his nuncio to this aſſembly, who exhorted the princes to arm againſt the infidels, promiſing, in the name of the pope, a body of 5000 foot, if the emperor ſhould command in perſon. He likewiſe declared, that the pope had abſolutely determined to celebrate a council in the city of *Trent*, on the confines of *Germany*, as the proteſtants had objected to a city in *Italy*, and as he himſelf, being loaded with years and infirmities, could not be able to bear the fatigue of a journey into *Germany*. The proteſtants ſtill refuſed to acknowlege the pope's authority to call a council, and declared they would not appear at *Trent*; but, as the catholic princes gave their aſſent, the pope, on the 20th of *May*, publiſhed a bull for the aſſembling of the council on the 1ſt of *November* of the ſame year [y], and about the ſame time ſent *Alexander Vitellius* with 3000 foot, as a reinforcement to the allied army in *Hungary*; which, acting without unanimity and vigour, ſpent the campaign without gaining any advantages over the infidels.

A bull publiſhed for celebrating a council at Trent.

IN the mean time the pope endeavoured by his legates to reconcile the emperor and the king of *France*, which laſt had

[w] SLEID. l. xiv. GOLDAST. Conſt. Imper. t. ii. [x] SPOND. Annal. JOV. l. xl. BELCAR. l. xxii. [y] SLEID. l. xiv. Hiſt. Hung. l. xv.

renewed

renewed the war, and attacked the dominions of *Charles* in five different places, but without any conſiderable advantage. As the time for the opening the council approached, he likewiſe ſent three cardinals to *Trent* to preſide as his legates *à latere*; and, being informed that the doctrines of *Luther* began to meet with a favourable reception in many places of *Italy*, he appointed a congregation of ſix cardinals, who ſhould act with full power as inquiſitors of the faith [z]. Soon after hearing that the emperor, who lately had concluded an alliance with *Henry* VIII. of *England* againſt *France*, intended to paſs into *Flanders* by the way of *Italy*, he reſolved to have a conference with him on his journey, and for that purpoſe left *Rome* on the 26th of *February*, and ſoon after arrived at *Bologna*, where he continued till the middle of ſummer, when *Charles* landed at *Genoa*. The emperor conſented, with great difficulty, to an interview; but, upon repeated intreaties, he agreed to meet the pope at *Buſetto*, a caſtle betwixt *Parma* and *Placentia*. *Paul* intreated the emperor to reſtore theſe cities to the holy ſee, and, according to *Sleidan*, made an offer to purchaſe the duchy of *Milan* for his grandſon *Octavius Farneſe* [a]; but, the emperor rejecting both theſe propoſals, he then began to treat of public affairs, and exhorted him to a reconciliation with the king of *France*, that the Chriſtians might be at leiſure to turn their arms againſt the infidels. *Charles*, who was greatly exaſperated againſt *Francis*, refuſed likewiſe to hearken to this exhortation, ſo that the pope, having ſpent three days at *Buſetto*, returned diſappointed to *Bologna*; where, on the 4th of *July*, he ſuſpended the celebration of the council of *Trent*, as ſcarce any prelates had arrived at that city. From *Bologna* likewiſe he wrote to the chapter of *Cologn*, commending them for their zeal in oppoſing the innovations introduced by their archbiſhop, who was eminent for his piety and charity; but, having employed *Bucer*, *Melancthon*, *Piſtorius*, and other reformers, to preach in the cities of his juriſdiction, and to reform abuſes, was now ſtiled a wicked captain of heretics [b].

A college of inquiſition appointed at Rome. A.D. 1543.

The pope offers to purchaſe the duchy of Milan.

Soon after the pope ordered public proceſſions and ſupplications to be obſerved through all Chriſtendom, and granted the ſame indulgences to thoſe who prayed for the peace and tranquility of the church, as the pilgrims enjoyed who viſited *Rome* in the year of jubilee. And, being informed that the emperor had convoked a diet at *Spire*, he

[z] Spond. Annal. [a] Sleid. l. xv. [b] Idem ibid. Spond. Annal.

ſent

A.D. 1544. sent the bishop of *Amalphi* as his nuncio to *Germany*. This diet, which was very numerous, opened in the month of *January*, and, with great unanimity, subsidies were decreed against the king of *France* and the *Turks* his allies. As their united fleet a few months before had made an unsuccessful attempt on the city of *Nice*, on the *Genoese* coast, some of the princes, at the desire of the emperor, wrote to the pope, thanking him for the assistance that he had given to the duke of *Savoy*, and intreating him to continue his succours to that prince, as they were informed that the *Turks* were refitting their fleet at *Toulon*, and intended a second descent in *Savoy*. *Paul*, in his answer, related the great pains he had taken to oppose the *Turks*, and, in his turn, recommended to the diet the care of the Christian common-wealth, and exhorted the princes to a reconciliation with *France*, that the council might assemble for the reformation of the church. Not long after, being informed that the emperor had prolonged the truce to the protestants, had ordered a suspension of all processes against them, and had even promised to cause a plan for a general reformation to be drawn up, he wrote a long letter to him, reproving him for intermeddling with sacred affairs, which only belonged to the apostolic see; and declaring, that, by treating of religious matters in the diet, he had endangered his soul. He therefore enjoined him, under pain of his displeasure, to revoke the concessions he had made to the rebels of the holy see [c].

The French and Turkish fleet attack the city of Nice.

The pope is offended with the emperor's indulgence to the protestants.

CHARLES paid no regard to this letter; but, having entered *France* with a powerful army, advanced in the month of *September* within two days journey of *Paris*, which obliged the king of *France* to make proposals of peace; in consequence of which a treaty was concluded betwixt them at *Crepy*. The pope expressed great satisfaction upon the news of this peace, congratulated both princes by his nuncios, and ordered supplications for three days through all Christendom; however, he is said to have been a little piqued, that he had not been desired to act as mediator. A few weeks after, having published another bull for the assembling of the council of *Trent* in the month of *March*, he thereby irritated the emperor, who expected to have been first consulted; and therefore soon after *Charles* prohibited three *Spaniards*, whom, among others, the pope had promoted to the dignity of cardinal, from assuming the title or wearing the habit.

A. D. 1545. As it had been an article of the peace concluded at *Crepy*, that both the princes should use their utmost endeavours to

[c] SLEID. l. xv. & xvi.

restore

reſtore the old religion, the king of *France* ordered the *Pariſian* divines to aſſemble at *Melun* to compoſe ſome fundamental articles of religion proper to be eſtabliſhed at the council. They accordingly aſſembled at *Melun*, and confirmed twenty-five articles, which had been drawn up two years before at *Paris*. About the ſame time the emperor, by an imperial edict, confirmed thirty-two fundamental articles that had been drawn up by the divines of *Louvain*, and ordered them to be taught and received thro' all the provinces of *Lower Germany* (L). He likewiſe gave ſeveral orders to the prelates of *Spain* and *Flanders*, and that he might ſeem the principal promoter of the council, he ſent ambaſſadors to different princes to intreat them to ſend their deputies to *Trent*. *Paul* in the mean time, being informed that the emperor intended to be preſent at the diet of *Worms*, which was opened in the end of *March*, ſent his nephew cardinal *Farneſe* to attend him as his legate. The cardinal arrived at *Worms* about the middle of *May*, but he did not concern himſelf with the diet, or tranſact any buſineſs in public; however, it was firmly believed, that the intent of his journey was to excite the emperor to declare war againſt the proteſtants, as news ſoon after arrived from *Rome*, that the pope had promiſed 12,000 foot and 500 men at arms to act againſt the heretics.

He excites him to declare war againſt them.

WHAT probably provoked the pope was the firmneſs of the proteſtants, who inſiſted that the peace ſhould be continued and maintained without any reſpect to the determinations and concluſions of the council of *Trent*, the authority of which they abſolutely refuſed to acknowlege: nor would they grant any ſuccours againſt the *Turks*, till their religion was ſecured; on which account the emperor, who replied, that he could not exempt them from obedience to the council, ſent his ſecretary to *Solyman* to demand a truce, and on the 4th of *Auguſt* broke up the diet, when he renewed the former edicts for the peace, appointed another diet to be held in *January* at *Ratiſbon* to determine the affair of religion, and in

They refuſe to acknowlege the council of Trent.

(L) As theſe articles of *Louvain*, as well as thoſe of *Paris*, were publiſhed in a magiſterial ſtile, without any proofs of ſcripture, *Bucer* publiſhed a comment upon them at *Straſburgh*, and *Luther*, in oppoſition to them, wrote ſeventy-five theſes in *Latin* and *German*; in which he accuſed the popiſh divines of hereſy, idolatry, and impiety, for compelling people by fire and ſword to give their aſſent to propoſitions, which they either would not, or could not, defend by ſcripture (1).

(1) *Sleid. l.* xvi. *Spond. Annal.*

the

the mean time nominated four doctors of each party to settle the disputed points by a conference [d]. This condescension of the emperor gave great offence to the bishops assembled at *Trent*, who thought it very injurious to the council that points of religion should be debated in a diet; and therefore, notwithstanding the intreaties of the legates, many of them, upon various pretences, returned home. About the middle of *March*, the pope had sent three cardinals to preside at the council as his legates *à latere*. The emperor, the king of the *Romans*, and the king of *France*, had likewise sent their ambassadors to *Trent*; however, as the diet about the same time opened at *Worms*, the legates deferred opening the council till they received an immediate answer from the pope [e]. A decree for that purpose at length arriving from *Rome*, the council was opened with great solemnity on the 15th of *December*, and the second session appointed to be held on the 7th of *January*.

The first session of the council.

PAUL in the mean time cited the archbishop of *Cologn* to appear within sixty days at *Rome*, to justify himself with regard to the charge of favouring heretics. He likewise, without any regard to the general murmur of the public, and the opposition of several cardinals, gave the investiture of *Parma* and *Placentia* to his son [f]. Being also greatly offended with the protestants for still refusing to acknowlege the council of *Trent*, he solicited the emperor, with great earnestness, to declare war against them. By the great warlike preparations in *Germany*, it soon appeared that the sollicitations of his holiness were not without effect; for the emperor, without publishing his design, gave orders for raising troops with all expedition; which alarming the protestants, they began with great vigour to prepare for their defence. *Charles*, that he might the better deceive his adversaries, pretended a great desire of peace; and tho' the pope, on the 16th of *April*, had excommunicated and deposed the archbishop of *Cologn*, and ordered all to yield obedience to his coadjutor count *de Schawemburg*, the emperor nevertheless still acknowleged the archbishop, that he might not seem to regard the difference of religion, as he intended to declare war against the protestants only as seditious persons and disturbers of the public peace.

A. D. 1546.

The archbishop of Cologn is excommunicated and deposed.

MEAN time, besides his levies in *Germany*, he ordered *Spanish* and *Neapolitan* troops to march from *Italy*, and sent the cardinal of *Trent* to the pope to demand the succours which he had formerly promised. As *Paul* was greatly ter-

[d] Idem, l. xvi. [e] SPOND. Annal. PALLAV. [f] RAINALD. ad an. 1546.

rified

rified with the news of the ſtrength of the proteſtants, who were reported to have a deſign of marching directly to *Rome* with an army of 80,000 foot and 40,000 horſe [g], he immediately concluded a treaty with the emperor on the following conditions: that he ſhould depoſit 200,000 crowns for the expences of the war, ſhould furniſh 12,000 foot and 500 horſe, ſhould grant the emperor one half of the eccleſiaſtical revenues of *Spain* for one year, and allow him to mortgage 500,000 crowns of the income of the monaſteries in that kingdom, provided he gave ſecurity for repayment of that ſum out of his royal domains; that the emperor ſhould not make any peace with the proteſtants for ſix months without the pope's conſent, who ſhould likewiſe be intitled to a certain proportion of the conqueſts [h]. Soon after the concluſion of this treaty, which was ſigned on the 26th of *June*, the pope's troops began their march for *Germany*, under the command of his grandſon *Octavius*, and his elder brother cardinal *Farneſe*; which laſt, upon his departure from *Italy*, was reported to have ſaid, *That there would be ſuch a fine butchery in* Germany, *that his horſe would ſwim in the blood of the* Lutherans [i]. Beſides theſe troops, the duke of *Florence* ſent 200 bombardeers, and the duke of *Ferrara* 100 men at arms.

The emperor makes preparations for war, and concludes a treaty with the pope.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the fathers of *Trent* held their ſecond ſeſſion on the 7th of *January*; in which a decree was read, ordering prayers for the unity of the church, the celebration of maſs every *Sunday*, the obſervation of a faſt each *Friday*, and the beſtowing of alms; after the reading of which, the following ſeſſion was appointed to be held on the 4th of *February*. They accordingly aſſembled on that day, when a decree was read concerning the creed uſed by the *Roman* church, which was accounted a ſhield againſt all hereſies. They afterwards appointed the fourth ſeſſion to be held on the 8th of *April*, to give time to ſeveral prelates to arrive at the council, as there were then only preſent five cardinals, ſix archbiſhops (M), thirty biſhops, three abbots,

Proceedings of the council of Trent.

[g] PALLAV. l. viii. c. 1. [h] BELCAR. l. xxiv. n. 21. SLEID. l. xvii. RAINALD, ad an. 1546. [i] SLEID. ibid.

(M) Among the archbiſhops were two nominal ones; namely, *Olaus Magnus*, titular archbiſhop of *Upſal* in *Sweden*, and *Robert Venace*, by ſome called *Robert Wachop*, a *Scotchman*, who had obtained from the pope the title of archbiſhop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*. There were beſides in the beginning only two *French* biſhops, five *Spaniſh*, and one *Illyrican*, all the reſt being *Italians*, ſo that, with great juſtice, the proteſtants might refuſe to ſubmit their cauſe to the deciſion of ſuch intereſted judges (1),

(1) *Sleid. l.* xvii.

and

and five generals of monkish orders. Mean time general congregations were held twice a week on *Mondays* and *Fridays*, in which the points to be treated of in the sessions were examined and discussed. Besides several extraordinary congregations were held, after which the fourth session was celebrated according to appointment; in which a decree was published, whereby the fathers professed, that, according to the example of the orthodox fathers, they received all the books of the Old and New Testament, together with the traditions regarding faith and manners, as dictated verbally by Christ or by the Holy Spirit, and preserved by a continual succession in the catholic church. An anathema was then denounced against those who did not receive the sacred books as canonical, as they were published in the old vulgate *Latin*, or who wilfully despised the aforesaid traditions. The scripture was ordered to be received according to the sense of the church, which alone has a right to interpret the sacred writings; and all were prohibited from printing books on sacred subjects without adding the name of the author, or from keeping or selling them without the leave of the ordinaries [k].

As the emperor had not yet proceeded to an open rupture, the proceedings of the council gave him great offence. He was afraid lest the decision of controverted points of faith would alarm and irritate the protestants, who, perceiving their doctrines so publicly condemned, would unite more firmly in their own defence; whereas he intended to detach the imperial cities from the princes of the *Smalcaldic* league, and had even succeeded so far, that he had received several reinforcements of protestant troops. He therefore intreated the pope and the fathers at *Trent* to defer deciding points of faith for a few months, till he had finished the war, and in the mean time to treat only of a reformation. However his request was refused both by the council and his ally the pope, who, notwithstanding the pretences of the emperor, declared the war to be undertaken on a religious account, and pressed *Charles* to allow his legate to publish a crusade [l]. The fathers at *Trent* likewise, in their fifth session, which was held on the 17th of *June*, published a decree concerning the doctrine of original sin; in the end of which they declared, that they had no intention to comprehend, under original sin, the blessed and immaculate virgin *Mary*. They also added some rules for regulating the manner of instructing the people and preaching the gospel, and appointed the next session

[k] Spond. Annal. l. viii. Sleid. l. xvii. [l] Adrian. l. v. & vi. Pallavicin.

to be held on the 19th of *July*; which, however, was afterwards prorogued till the 13th of *January* in the following year, the fathers in the mean time aſſembling in general congregations, and diſcuſſing other points of faith [m].

A FEW weeks after this prorogation, the pope's troops, with 5000 *Spaniards* and *Neapolitans*, having joined the emperor's camp, he marched againſt the elector of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Heſſe*, whom he had put to the ban of the empire. Tho' the proteſtant army at firſt was more numerous than the imperialiſts, and gained ſome ſmall advantages, yet, upon account of diviſions among their chiefs, the emperor, before the end of campaign, was greatly ſuperior, and obliged the elector palatine, the duke of *Wirtemberg*, and ſome imperial cities, to ſubmit and aſk pardon [n]. The pope being offended, that, in the accommodation which he made with thoſe who had ſubmitted, he had tolerated hereſy, recalled his troops from the emperor's ſervice, and refuſed to continue the grant of the ſubſidy from the church revenues of *Spain*, as *Charles* would not allow his legate to preſide in the army, and had not, according to the treaty, ſhared with him the contributions which he had raiſed from the proteſtant towns.

Several proteſtant princes ſubmit to the emperor.

AS the emperor likewiſe would not agree to a ſuſpenſion of the council, *Paul* wrote to his legates at *Trent* to proceed to determine the points of faith. They accordingly, on the 13th of *January*, held the ſixth ſeſſion of the council; in which, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the imperial prelates, a decree was read and approved concerning juſtification, containing the doctrine of the *Roman* church on that point, and thirty anathemas were added againſt thoſe who ſhould corrupt that doctrine in any article. Another decree was likewiſe read concerning reformation; namely, regarding the reſidence of prelates, and the puniſhment of thoſe who ſhould be abſent from their dioceſes above ſix months at a time, and for compelling the inferior clergy to reſidence; concerning the viſitation of the chapters of cathedral churches, and for prohibiting any from officiating as prieſts out of their own dioceſes, without the leave of the ordinaries [o]. Before the following ſeſſion, which was appointed to be held on the 3d of *March*, the fathers held ſeveral congregations, in which they debated with great warmth concerning the ſacraments, and the compatibility or incompatibility of holding more benefices than one. At length, after many conferences and

The ſixth ſeſſion of the council. A. D. 1547.

[m] SPOND. Annal. [n] SLEID. l. xviii. [o] SPOND. Annal. DUVAL de Diſcipl. Eccleſ. p. 3. q. 7.

diſputes,

diſputes, the decrees were publiſhed; firſt, concerning the ſeven ſacraments in general, in thirteen canons, with as many anathemas; then particularly of baptiſm; and laſtly of confirmation. A decree was afterwards added concerning reformation, and the eighth ſeſſion appointed to be held on the 21ſt of *April*; however, it was celebrated on the 11th of the ſame month, when a decree was publiſhed for transferring the the council for a time to *Bologna*, on account of a dangerous diſtemper that prevailed in *Trent* and its neighbourhood, owing, as it was ſuppoſed, to continual rains that had altered the temperament of the air, and, according to the opinion of the phyſicians of the council, rendered it dangerous for the prelates to remain in that city. Of the ſixty fathers who at that time compoſed the council, cardinal *Paciecus*, and fifteen other biſhops of the imperial party, diſſented from this decree, affirming that the danger of the diſtemper was magnified beyond the truth, and that the conſent of the pope, the emperor, and other princes, was neceſſary to the transferring of the council[p]; they therefore remained at *Trent*, and their conduct was approved by the emperor.

The council is transferred to Bologna.

THO' the pope two years before had given his legates a power to transfer the council, yet it is probable the laſt decree was publiſhed in conſequence of an immediate order from himſelf; for he was greatly diſſatisfied with the emperor for granting liberty of conſcience to the proteſtants that had ſubmitted, and he even began to be afraid of his power. The emperor had likewiſe diſobliged him, by refuſing to confirm the inveſtiture of *Parma* and *Placentia* to his ſon *Peter Lewis*, and the prelates of the imperial faction had advanced ſome things in the council derogatory to the authority of the apoſtolic ſee[q]. Soon after his jealouſy of the emperor's power was greatly increaſed; for *Charles*, on the 24th of *April*, having entirely defeated the proteſtants near the city of *Muhlberg*, took the duke of *Saxony* priſoner, and deprived him of his electorate, obliged the landgrave to ſurrender himſelf, and, beſides the immenſe ſums of money which he raiſed from the proteſtant cities, ſtripped them of 500 pieces of cannon which he ſent to *Milan*, *Naples*, *Spain*, and the *Low Countries*[r]. The pope expreſſed great joy upon the news of this victory, and immediately ſent cardinal *Sfondrato* to *Germany* with a letter of congratulation to the

The emperor entirely defeats the proteſtants at Muhlberg.

[p] SLEID. l. xix. SPOND. Annal. ex Act. Couc. edit. Archiep. Aquens. [q] ONUPH. in vit. Paul. III. [r] SLEID. l. xix.

emperor;

emperor; however, he would not agree to his requeſt, for the return of the council to *Trent* [s]; but ſollicited *Charles* to order the *Spaniſh* biſhops to repair to *Bologna*, where, on the 21ſt of *April*, the council had held the ninth ſeſſion, in which they had only read a decree appointing the next ſeſſion to be celebrated on the ſecond of *June*, when they again prorogued the ſeſſion to the 15th of *September*. As there were very few prelates at *Bologna*, the council was afterwards prorogued to a limited time [t].

An unſucceſsful attempt to eſtabliſh the inquiſition at Naples.

PAUL in the mean time ſent a legate to *France*, to congratulate *Henry* II. who had ſucceeded his father *Francis* on the 31ſt of *March*, and ſoon after he granted a bull for eſtabliſhing the tribunal of the inquiſition in the kingdom of *Naples*, to which he had been ſollicited by the *Spaniſh* vice-roy; but, upon the publication of the edict for the eſtabliſhment of the holy office, ſo violent an inſurrection followed, that the emperor was apprehenſive of a general revolt, and a few months after conſented to repeal his decree [u]. During theſe diſturbances at *Naples*, the pope was alarmed with the news of the murder of his ſon *Peter-Lewis*; who, having rendered himſelf odious by his infamous vices, was aſſaſſinated in his palace at *Placentia*. This city was immediately after ſeized by *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, the emperor's lieutenant in *Lombardy*; which raiſed a great ſuſpicion that *Charles* himſelf was conſcious of the murder. About the ſame time he likewiſe received a letter from the princes and prelates of *Germany*, aſſembled at the diet of *Augsburg*, intreating him to reſtore the council of *Trent*; and a few weeks after an ambaſſador arrived at *Rome* from the emperor, to inform him that the proteſtant princes and cities had agreed to ſubmit to the council (N) of *Trent*, and to urge him to order the fathers to return to that city [w].

[s] PALLAVICIN. Hiſt. l. x. c. 3. ADRIAN. l. vi. p. 412.
[t] SPOND. Annal. [u] SLEID. l. xix. THUAN. l. iii. Natal. Comes, l. ii. & iii. [w] SLEID. ut ſupra.

(N) The elector palatine, and *Maurice* the new elector of *Saxony*, to ſatisfy the emperor, conſented, after many difficulties, to ſubmit to the council. The imperial cities, intimidated by their compliance, and afraid of the emperor's power, preſented a writing, wherein they expreſſed the conditions under which they likewiſe would acknowlege the council; which *Charles* pretended to accept of as an entire ſubmiſſion (1).

(1) *Sleidan. l. xix.*

The pope proposes an alliance with the king of France. A. D. 1549.

THE pope seemed inclined to grant the request of the imperial ambassador, but desired first to have the opinion of the fathers at *Bologna*, who declared that they could not return to *Trent* without violating the dignity of the council. He himself had no real inclination to gratify the emperor, and had even several months before proposed an alliance with *Henry* II. of *France* against him, which he solicited with greater earnestness since the murder of his son and the seizing of *Placentia*. *Henry* II. having sent the cardinal *Guise* to *Rome*, to declare his obedience to the apostolic see, and having likewise given his secret orders to offer assistance to the pope, *Paul*, in the beginning of *January*, wrote an answer to the letter from the *German* bishops, wherein he blamed them severely for declaring, that, unless the council returned to *Trent*, they should be obliged to take other measures, and assured them he was indifferent in what city the council was celebrated; but at the same time affirmed, that there was no place more proper than the city of *Bologna* [x]. The emperor, finding the pope unmoved by all his sollicitations, sent ambassadors to *Bologna*, who, on the 16th of the same month, protested against the translation of the council as frivolous and illegal, while *Diego Mendoza*, his ambassador at *Rome*, read the same protestation, with a few alterations, to the pope and cardinals, in the presence of all the foreign ambassadors [y]. The pope in his answer, which he made to *Mendoza* on the first of *February*, accused him of having exceeded his instructions, and affirmed that the emperor had not ordered him to protest against him and the sacred college, but to protest before them against the fathers at *Bologna*; he therefore, as lawful judge of the dispute concerning the legality of the translation of the council, cited the fathers at *Trent* and *Bologna* to justify their proceedings within a month before the cardinals *Paris*, *Burges*, *Crescentius*, and *Pool*.

The emperor protests against the translation of the council.

A new form of reformation drawn up by his order;

NOTWITHSTANDING this answer, *Mendoza*, in a second declaration, affirmed, that he had received express orders from the emperor to protest in the manner he had done [z]; and *Charles*, resolving to accommodate the differences with regard to religion independently of the council, about this time appointed several doctors to draw up a form of ecclesiastical reformation [a]. *Paul* in the mean time cited the fathers at *Trent* and *Bologna*, the first of whom excused themselves from appearing; but the others immediately sent their

[x] BELCAR. l. xxv. sect. 4. SPOND. Annal. [y] SLEID. l. xix. & xx. [z] PALLAVICIN. l. x. c. 13. RAINALD. ad an. 1548. [a] SLEID. l. xx.

proxies

proxies to *Rome*; yet the judges, being apprehenſive of a ſchiſm, delayed giving ſentence during the whole pontificate of *Paul*, ſo that the prelates at *Bologna* diſperſed, excepting a few penſionaries of the holy ſee [b].

THO' the pope, in compliance with the emperor, ſuſpended the council, and would not proceed againſt thoſe prelates that remained at *Trent*, yet he expreſſed great diſſatisfaction upon receiving a copy of the new form of reformation drawn up by the doctors in *Germany*, which was called the *Interim*, denoting, by that title, that its articles were to remain in force till others ſhould be compoſed by the pope and a univerſal council. He ordered his legate *Sfondrato*, who had continued with the emperor ſince the victory at *Mullberg*, to cenſure it in general, but particularly the two articles allowing the marriage of prieſts, and the communicating under both kinds; the firſt of which had never been known, and the other could not be permitted by any authority but that of the apoſtolic ſee. *Charles* paid no regard to this remonſtrance; but, on the 15th of *May*, preſented his *Interim* to the diet, for which the archbiſhop of *Mentz* thanked him in the name of all the princes, without having previouſly demanded their conſent. The emperor, interpreting this ſpeech as a general approbation of his book, immediately ordered it to be printed in *Latin* and *German*, and peremptorily commanded it to be received both by the catholics and proteſtants. By this proceeding, inſtead of putting an end to the diviſions, he greatly inflamed both parties againſt himſelf; for the proteſtants objected to the book as containing the doctrines of popery, artfully diſguiſed, and the catholics rejected it for not having the ſanction of eccleſiaſtic authority; however, he would receive no excuſe from the *Lutherans*, many of whom were compelled by his *Spaniſh* and *Neapolitan* troops to give their aſſent to his book, while many doctors of that perſuaſion, to avoid perſecution, were obliged to quit *Germany* [c].

which is condemned both by the papiſts and proteſtants.

CHARLES likewiſe intreated the pope to ſend legates into *Germany*, to aſſiſt in putting his edicts into execution. *Paul* refuſed this requeſt, as derogatory from the apoſtolic authority; however he ſent three nuncios into *Germany*, with full power to reſtore all perſons, even kings and princes, to their dignities, to grant the privilege of communicating under both kinds upon certain conditions, and to abſolve the uſurpers of

Three nuncios ſent to Germany with a power of reforming abuſes.

[b] SPOND. Annal. [c] SLEID. l. xx. & xxi. RAINALD, ut ſup. Conſtit. Imper. GOLDAST. t. i. p. 518. PALLAVICIN. l. x.

ecclesiastical possessions, after restitution made by them of the lands, and a reasonable composition for the revenues already consumed. They had likewise authority to absolve the catholics from their oaths given to heretics, and to unite ecclesiastical benefices to universities, schools, and hospitals; but, tho' the bull was expedited on the last of *August*, they did not lay their mandates before the emperor till the 25th of *May* in the following year [d]. *Charles*, being dissatisfied with their powers, prohibited the nuncios from putting them in execution, till they should be altered in some articles by the pope; and even after they received some alteration, the nuncios were still prevented from acting, by new difficulties that were started; so that they were at last obliged to delegate their powers to the *German* bishops, to each within his own diocese, and to the other prelates within the extent of their jurisdiction [e].

A.D. 1549.

The pope sollicits the restoration of Placentia.

DURING these transactions, the pope earnestly sollicited the emperor to restore *Placentia*, which city he affirmed belonged to the dominions of the church; but finding his sollicitations had no effect upon the emperor, he began to think of restoring *Parma* to the church, and to give his grandson *Octavius* another territory. He accordingly appointed *Camillo Ursini* governor of *Parma*; but his grandson refused to accept of any other territory, and privately left *Rome*, with the intention of taking possession of that city. Being frustrated in his attempt to surprise the place, he wrote to his brother cardinal *Farnese*, declaring, that, if his grandfather would not restore the city, he would treat with the emperor's lieutenant *Gonzaga*. This letter, being read to the pope, had such an effect upon him, that he immediately fainted, and, reviving with much difficulty, about four hours after was seized with a violent fever, of which he died on the third day, being the 10th of *November* [f]. He is commended for his prudence and moderation, but he was greatly addicted to judicial astrology, and had made but small proficiency in the learning of those times (O). The expence of his funeral

He dies at Rome.

[d] SPOND. Annal. SLEID. l. 21. [e] RAINALD. ad an 1549. ADRIAN. l. vii. PALLAVICIN. l. xi. c. 2. [f] SLEID. l. xxi.

(O) *Sleidan* relates, that, a little before his death, a book was published in *Italian*, under the name of *Ochinus*, and dedicated to *Ascanio Colonna*; in which he was accused of the most infamous vices, such as murder, incest, adultery, and parricide (1).

(1) *Sleidan. l.* xxi.

solemnity

ſolemnity, which continued nine days, was ſuppoſed to amount to 50,000 crowns.

AFTER the death of *Paul* III. the cardinals delayed entering the conclave till the 28th of *November*; during which time the imperial and *French* miniſters warmly ſollicited the favour of cardinal *Farneſe*, who was at the head of a party of the ſacred college. Upon ſhutting the conclave, cardinal *Poole* was propoſed by a great many voices, and, upon the firſt ſcrutiny, wanted only two votes to be legally elected; but the old cardinals, being jealous of his promotion, did their utmoſt to thwart his election, and at the next ſcrutiny cardinal *Caraffa* even accuſed him of hereſy. Several new *French* cardinals arriving, their faction appeared the moſt numerous; but cardinal *Farneſe* and his party joining the imperialiſts, cardinal *de Monte* was elected on the 9th of *February*, tho' one of the cardinals ſome days before had objected to him on account of his wicked life g. Cardinal *Farneſe*, before he conſented to give him his vote, obliged him to ſwear, that he would grant the poſſeſſion of *Parma* to his brother *Octavius*.

A. D. 1550. Julius III. *is elected.*

THE new pope, aſſuming the name of *Julius* III. (P), was crowned with the uſual ſolemnity on the 22d of the ſame month; and two days after he publiſhed a bull, declaring that the year of jubilee had commenced at *Chriſtmas*. The ſame day, according to the uſual ceremony, he opened the holy gate of *St. Peter*'s with a golden hammer, and gave acceſs to an infinite number of pilgrims, who waited to have remiſſion of their ſins. Soon after he reſtored *Aſcanio Colonna*, who had been deprived of his poſſeſſions by *Paul* III. and, according to his agreement with cardinal *Farneſe*, conferred the government of *Parma* upon his brother *Octavius*, with a monthly revenue of 2000 crowns h. He likewiſe confirmed the election of patriarch of *Greater Armenia*, who had been perſuaded by the *Dominican* miſſionaries to ſubmit to the church of *Rome*, on promiſes of preferment which were never afterwards fulfilled. About the ſame time he made a pro-

A jubilee celebrated at Rome.

g ONUPHR. de Rom. Pontif. ADRIAN. l. vii. h SPOND. Annal. SLEID. l. xxi.

(P) *John Maria de Monte* was born at *Rome* in the year 1487, and when archbiſhop of *Siponto*, and auditor of the apoſtolic chamber, was created a cardinal by *Paul* III. and appointed by him firſt preſident of the council of *Trent* (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal.*

motion of twenty cardinals, and beſtowed his own hat on a boy of thirteen years of age, born of mean parentage at *Placentia*, whom he likewiſe adopted into his family; which gave occaſion to many ſevere paſquinades at *Rome* [i].

The pope publiſhes two bulls for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy.

To manifeſt his deſire of ſuppreſſing hereſy, on the 28th of *April* he publiſhed two bulls; by one of which he prohibited all perſons, except the inquiſitors of the faith, from poſſeſſing or reading the books of the *Lutherans* or other heretics; and by the other he allowed all thoſe, who ſhould repent of their hereſies within three months, to be received into the church by the inquiſitors, upon performing private penance; but from this indulgence were excepted all thoſe who were under the general inquiſition of *Spain* and *Portugal* [k]. The emperor in the mean time urging him to re-eſtabliſh the council of *Trent*, he aſſembled a congregation of cardinals and other prelates, by whoſe advice he conſented to the emperor's requeſt, on theſe conditions; that the council ſhould be approved by the king of *France*, and the decrees already publiſhed be received by the proteſtants. Accordingly, having received the approbation of the king of *France*, on the 14th of *November* he publiſhed a bull for reſtoring the council to *Trent*, ordering all prelates and perſons concerned to repair to that city on the 1ſt of *May*, when he intended to reſume the council, and to preſide at it either perſonally or by his legates. He ſent a copy of this bull before it was publiſhed to the emperor, who then held a diet at *Augsburg*, and, upon conſulting with his miniſters, intreated *Julius* to ſoften ſome expreſſions, but without any effect; for, on the 27th of *December*, he expedited a brief, ordering his bull to be read and affixed to the doors of the churches of *St. Peter* and *St. John*, and printed copies of it to be ſent to all the biſhops of Chriſtendom [l].

Another for reſtoring the council of Trent.

THE emperor objected to the bull, becauſe he was afraid it would irritate the proteſtants, ſome of whom in the diet had agreed to the continuation of the council without any conditions; but others had inſiſted that the proteſtant divines ſhould not only be heard in the ſeſſions, but even have a power of deciding; that the pope ſhould not preſide, but ſubmit to the council; and that the decrees already publiſhed ſhould be of no force [m]. His apprehenſions proved to be juſt; for when the bull was read in the diet on the 5th of *January*, the proteſtants expreſſed great diſſatisfaction:

A. D. 1551.

[i] SLEID. ibid. [k] SPOND. Annal. [l] HARÆUS, p. 656. PALLAVICIN. l. xi. c. 8. 10. & 11. RAINALD. [m] SLEID. l. xxii.

Charles,

Charles, however, appeased them in some measure, by declaring that he would take such methods, that nothing should pass in the council prejudicial to the liberties of the *German* nation. The emperor then dissolved the diet on the 23d of *February*, and soon after sent three ambassadors to *Trent*, who were present on the first of *May*, when the pope's legates celebrated the eleventh session, in which a decree was read for resuming the council, and the next session appointed to be held on the first of *September*, because very few prelates were then arrived, and on account of some disturbances in *Lombardy*, which threatened to interrupt the tranquility of *Italy* [n]. These were occasioned by *Octavius Farnese*, who, being afraid of the designs of *Gonzaga*, the emperor's lieutetenant, and deprived of his monthly subsidy from the pope, had introduced a *French* garrison into *Parma*. Tho' the pope had allowed *Octavius* to provide for his own security as he thought proper, yet he never imagined he would have recourse to the *French*; therefore, to clear himself from any suspicions of the emperor, he cited *Octavius* to appear at *Rome* within thirty days. As he neglected the citation, he applied to *Gonzaga* for assistance, and about the middle of *May* the pope's troops and imperialists invested *Parma* and *Mirandola*. The king of *France* ordered his ambassador at *Rome* to justify his proceeding to the pope, and to declare, that, unless he ceased hostilities, he would prohibit his bishops from going to *Trent*; but *Julius*, being assured of the emperor's assistance, ordered the king to withdraw his troops, and even threatened him with excommunication. Mean-while the *French* troops, being reinforced in *Italy*, made several incursions into the *Bolognese*, and attacked the *Milanese* on the side of *Piedmont*; hostilities likewise commencing betwixt *France* and the emperor in *Lorrain* and *Flanders* [o].

A new war in Italy *betwixt the emperor and the king of* France.

Tho' the emperor, by besieging *Parma*, had given *Henry* II. a pretence for a rupture, and had thereby involved himself in a new war with *France*, yet he did not neglect the affairs of religion, and wrote to the protestant states, desiring them to send ambassadors to *Trent*; and, as they insisted upon a safe conduct from the council, he promised to apply to the fathers for that purpose. In the mean time the electors of *Mentz* and *Triers*, with several other *German* bishops, repaired to *Trent*, and were present at the twelfth session; when a decree was read, appointing the following session on

Several German *bishops repair to* Trent.

[n] Spond. Annal. [o] Bellefor. l. vi. c. 71. Paradin. ad an. 1551. Sleid. l. xxii.

the 11th of *October*, and declaring that a canon would then be publiſhed concerning the ſacrament of the euchariſt. A letter and proteſtation from the king of *France* were then read, wherein he declared, that unleſs the pope would ceaſe his hoſtilities againſt *Parma*, he would not acknowlege the council. The fathers declared that they would anſwer the king's deputy at the next ſeſſions, but being then called he did not appear: they, however, drew up an anſwer to the proteſtation, and publiſhed a decree concerning the euchariſt, adding eleven anathemas againſt thoſe who ſhould deny or alter the doctrine they had eſtabliſhed. At the perſuaſion of the imperial ambaſſador, they delayed diſputing concerning the uſe of the cup to laymen, till the arrival of the proteſtants; but they publiſhed another decree for reformation, particularly concerning the reſidence of biſhops [p]. They likewiſe complied with the emperor's requeſt, and granted a ſafe-conduct to the proteſtants; in conſequence of which the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Wirtemberg*, ſent their ambaſſadors to *Trent*, who were ſoon followed by *Sleidan* the hiſtorian, as deputy from the city of *Straſburg*, who relating his own and his collegues negotiations, ſays, that they would not confer with the pope's legates, leſt they ſhould thereby ſeem to allow them a right of judging; but addreſſed themſelves to the emperor's ambaſſadors, and to the cardinal of *Trent* and the electoral archbiſhops, deſiring their confeſſion of faith to be preſented to the council. A few days before they propoſed to preſent their confeſſion, the fourteenth ſeſſion was celebrated, on the 25th of *November*, when a decree was read concerning the ſacrament of penance and extreme unction, and thirteen articles concerning reformation [q].

The pope agrees to a neutrality with the emperor and the king of France. A.D. 1552.

THE pope in the mean time, being tired of the expences of a war, ſent a legate to the emperor, and another to the king of *France*, with propoſals for a neutrality or truce for two years. *Henry* II. very readily embraced this offer, and in the beginning of the following year concluded a treaty with the pope, which gave great offence to the emperor, who was, however, afterwards obliged to conſent to it. *Charles* reſided then at *Inſpruck*, within three days journey of *Trent*, and was chiefly attentive to the proceedings of the council. About the beginning of *January* the *Saxon* ambaſſadors arrived at *Trent*, and demanded that a ſafe-conduct ſhould be given to the divines whom prince *Maurice* intend-

[p] SPOND. Annal. SLEIDAN, l. xxii & xxiii. [q] Idem ibid.

ed

ſend to the council, like that which was formerly
ed by the council of *Baſil* to the *Bohemians*; that the
ſhould not preſide; and that the prelates who compoſed
ouncil ſhould be abſolved from their oath of obedience
n. A few days after, the ambaſſadors of the duke of
mberg preſented their confeſſion of faith, in a general
egation which was held at the legate's lodgings, and
nded that proper judges ſhould be appointed to decide
iſputes betwixt their divines and thoſe of the catholics,
hat all the paſt acts of the council ſhould be revoked.
ſame demands were likewiſe made by the *Saxon* ambaſ-
s, who were admitted in the evening; but they did not
r their confeſſion of faith, compoſed by *Melanchon*, as
had no inſtructions for that purpoſe. The fifteenth
n was held the next day, which was the 25th of *January*,
a decree was read, declaring, that, at the demand of
roteſtants, all points which ſhould have been decided
day were deferred till the 19th of *March*, and a new
onduct was granted to them, which the council affirm-
is more ample than the former. A few days after the
ſtants received copies of the ſafe-conduct; but perceiv-
hat the articles which they inſiſted upon being inſerted
wholly omitted, they complained of this proceeding to
mperial ambaſſadors, without receiving any ſatisfactory
er (Q). News in the mean time arriving that prince
rice had declared war againſt the emperor, the electors
rentz and *Cologne* immediately left *Trent*; and the *Saxon*
ſſadors having declared that they were intirely ignorant
eir maſter's deſigns, retired to *Breſcia*, from whence
returned home by different routes. A few days after
departure, ſix divines arrived at *Trent* from *Wirtemberg*
Straſburg; and the fathers of the council ſtill refuſing

The proteſtants deliver their confeſſion of faith to the pope's legates at Trent.

Their complaints are diſregarded.

RAINALD, SPOND. ad an. 1552. PALLAVICIN, l. xii. r.

Q) Theſe articles, which formerly been granted to *Bohemians*, and were now ted, were, 1. That the eſtants ſhould have the t of voting in the council. That the holy ſcripture, the tice of the primitive church, ancient councils, and the ers, whoſe writings agreed with the ſcriptures, ſhould be the judges of all controverſies. 3. That all ambaſſadors, during the continuance of the council, ſhould be allowed the free exerciſe of their religion in their own lodgings 4. That nothing ſhould be ſaid or acted in contempt or ridicule of their religion (1).

(1) *Sleidan*, l. xxiii. *Belcar*, l. xxv.

to allow their confeſſion to be publicly read, they cauſed it to be printed and diſperſed, which gave great offence to the catholics. The next ſeſſion, which was appointed to be held on the 19th of *March*, was deferred till the 1ſt of *May*; and, in the mean time, the proteſtant ambaſſadors declared to thoſe of the emperor, that although the council had not granted their firſt demand, their divines offered themſelves to diſpute on the points of religion, on condition that their right ſhould not thereby be prejudiced; but as the catholics had diſputed on the firſt fundamental articles, it was reaſonable that the proteſtants ſhould be allowed to do the ſame. The legates paying no regard to this declaration, the proteſtant divines a few days after wrote to the imperial ambaſſadors, deſiring that their adverſaries would publiſh their objections to their doctrine in writing, which they were ready to anſwer [s].

Many prelates leave Trent *on account of the diſturbances in* Germany.

THE legates, inſtead of complying with this requeſt, began to be afraid that the emperor was acting in concert with the proteſtants, and intended, by means of the prelates in his intereſt, to depreſs and reform the court of *Rome*. They therefore readily embraced all pretences for delays; and news arriving that the elector *Maurice* had made himſelf maſter of *Augsburg*, and that the confederate army was marching to ſeize the paſſes of the *Alps*, the greateſt part of the *Italian* biſhops fled to *Verona*, and the proteſtants, after giving in a writing in juſtification of their paſt proceedings, likewiſe left *Trent*. The legates immediately diſpatched an expreſs to the pope, who having ſent a bull for ſuſpending the council in caſe of neceſſity, they held the ſixteenth ſeſſion on the 28th of *April*, in which the council was formally ſuſpended for two years, notwithſtanding a proteſtation given in by twelve *Spaniſh* biſhops, who alleged, that the war in *Germany* was not a ſufficient reaſon for the ſuſpenſion of the council, which, by being continued, would rather be a means of procuring peace [t].

The council is ſuſpended for two years.

BY this ſuſpenſion of the council the emperor loſt all hopes of inducing the proteſtants to return to the old religion, eſpecially as he was ſoon after obliged to conſent to a peace with the elector *Maurice* and the confederates, which was concluded at *Paſſau*. Among other matters it was agreed, that a diet ſhould aſſemble within ſix months, to conſult of the means of terminating all differences on account of religion; that, in the mean time, none ſhould be moleſted on account of their religious opinions; and that, although no

[s] SLEIDAN, l. xxiii. [t] Idem ibid. BELCAR. l. xxiii. ADRIAN. l. viii. PALLAV. l. xiii. SPOND. Annal.

means

means ſhould be found in the diet for accommodating the religious difference, the preſent peace and concord ſhould, nevertheleſs, continue for ever firm and unviolated [u]. *Julius*, in the mean time, appointed ſeveral cardinals to conſult of means to reform the abuſes of the church, and the corrupt and diſſolute manners of the clergy; but, after ſeveral meetings and adjournments, nothing was determined of any conſequence. His attention began to be engaged by the new commotions raiſed in *Italy*, on account of the revolt of *Siena*, which city had expelled the *Spaniſh* garriſon, and admitted *French* troops. As Don *Pedro de Toledo*, the viceroy of *Naples*, in the month of *January* began his march for *Tuſcany* with a formidable army, in order to reduce the rebels, *Julius*, remembering the fate of *Clement* VII. immediately levied 8000 men for the defence of the eccleſiaſtical territories, the command of whom he gave to *Camillo Urſini*. About the ſame time he ſent legates to the emperor and the king of *France*, offering them his mediation for a general peace.

The proteſtants obtain an honourable peace.

A.D. 1553.

Soon after, at the deſire of *Mary* queen of *England*, who intended to reſtore the authority of the pope in that kingdom, he ordered cardinal *Poole* to repair thither as his legate *à latere*, and in his journey through *Germany* to exhort the emperor to peace. The cardinal left *Rome* about the end of *October*; but as he had not yet taken prieſt's orders, the emperor was apprehenſive leſt *Mary* ſhould chuſe him for her huſband, in preference to his ſon *Philip*: he therefore found a pretence to ſtop him at *Augsburg*, and repreſented to the queen, that the cardinal's forward zeal for the intereſts of the holy ſee would certainly inflame the people of *England*; and, at the ſame time, he urged the alliance with his ſon ſo ſucceſsfully, that the queen gave her conſent to the match, which was likewiſe approved by the parliament [w]. During theſe proceedings, *Julius* confirmed *Simon Sulaka* the patriarch of the Chriſtians on the eaſt ſide of the *Euphrates*; and having ordered him to be ordained a biſhop, he inveſted him with the patriarchal pall with his own hands, in the conſiſtory, conferred upon him ſeveral rich preſents, and ſent with him to his own country ſeveral religious men, ſkilled in the *Syriac* language, and the rites of the *Roman* church [x]. At the ſame time he ſent ſome troops to aſſiſt the imperialiſts and *Florentines* in the ſiege of *Siena*, and ſoon

Cardinal Poole *ſent as legate a* latere *to* England.

[u] Chytræ. Saxon. l. xvii. p. 458. Goldast. Conſt. imper. [w] Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. vol. ii. Sleidan. l. xxv. Pallav. l. xiii. Rain. [x] Onuphr. in vit. Jul. III.

after-

A. D. 1554. after he received an embaſſy from the emperor's ſon *Philip*, informing him of his marriage with the queen of *England*, and offering homage for the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, which, before the celebration of the nuptials, his father had reſigned to him.

He in vain endeavours to reconcile the emperor and the king of France.

MEAN while, upon the complaints of cardinal *Poole*, the emperor had allowed him to proceed to *Bruſſels*, where he himſelf then reſided; but that he might delay his journey to *England* till the marriage ſhould be concluded, he pretended an inclination to a peace with *France*; and deſired the cardinal to act as mediator. *Poole* accordingly had a conference with *Henry* II. but quickly found that neither he nor the emperor had any real inclination to peace [y]. Soon after an embaſſy arriving from king *Philip* and queen *Mary*, inviting him to *England*, he took leave of the emperor, and ſet out for *London*, where, on the 23d of *November*, he was received with great demonſtrations of joy; and a few days after, being reinſtated in his former poſſeſſions and dignity, he ſolemnly abſolved the nation from the cenſures they had incurred on account of the ſchiſm and hereſy. Ambaſſadors were then ordered to proceed to *Rome*, to declare the obedience of that nation to the apoſtolic ſee; the news of which proceedings being brought by an expreſs to the pope, he immediately ordered public ſupplications over all *Italy*, and publiſhed general indulgences as in the year of jubilee [z]. About the ſame time, being informed that the emperor had appointed a diet to be held at *Augsburg* in the beginning of *February*, he ſent

1555. the cardinal *Moron* to *Germany* as his legate, to exhort the proteſtants to follow the example of *England*, and to acknowlege the authority of the ſee of *Rome*, charging him, however, to avoid all conferences on the diſputed points of religion [a]. *Moron* had hardly arrived at the diet, when being informed of the death of pope *Julius*, he immediately ſet out for *Rome*, together with the cardinal of *Augsburg*. *Julius* died on the 23d of *March*, of a lethargy, according to ſome authors; but others affirm, that his death was occaſioned by a change of diet, which his phyſician adviſed him to on account of the gout, while many alleged, that he altered his diet at firſt under a pretence of ſickneſs, that he might avoid calling a conſiſtory, which he knew would oppoſe the demands of his brother *Baldwin*, who deſired earneſtly to be put in poſſeſſion of *Camerino* [b].

Julius *dies at* Rome.

[y] SPOND. Annal. ad an. 1554. [z] BURNET, ut ſupra. SLEIDAN, l. xxv. [a] SLEIDAN, l. xxvi. PALLAVICIN, l. xiii. ADRIAN. l. xii. [b] SPOND. Annal. PANVIN. in vit. Jul. III.

JULIUS

JULIUS III. was ſucceeded in the pontificate by *Marcellus Cervinus*, a native of *Montfano*, and cardinal of the holy croſs at *Jeruſalem*, who being elected on the 9th of *April* retained his own name, and was next day conſecrated biſhop, and then ſolemnly crowned. Upon his promotion he prohibited all his relations from coming to *Rome*, and communicated to the cardinal of *Mantua* his deſign of aſſembling a general council for a thorough reformation of the church, which, he ſaid, would rather eſtabliſh than depreſs the authority of the *Roman* ſee. However, he was prevented by death from putting his deſign in execution; for having greatly fatigued himſelf with the many ſuperfluous and troubleſome ceremonies, which he performed in the holy week before *Eaſter*, he died of an apoplexy, or, according to ſome authors of poiſon, on the laſt day of *April*, on the 22d day after his election, and in the 54th year of his age [c]. Marcellus II *is elected pope, and dies within twenty-two days after his election.*

A FEW days after the death of *Marcellus*, forty-five cardinals, who were then at *Rome*, entered the conclave, where the cardinal of *Augsburg*, ſeconded by *Moron*, propoſed that, among other the articles which the ſacred college uſually ſwore to at an election, the two following ſhould be added, by which the new pope ſhould be obliged, within two years, to aſſemble a general council, for completing the reformation already begun, and to induce the proteſtants to receive the decrees of the council of *Trent*; and that he ſhould likewiſe bind himſelf by oath, not to create above four cardinals in the firſt two years of his pontificate [d]. This motion, however, was oppoſed, and on the 22d of *May* cardinal *Caraffa* was elected pope, notwithſtanding the great oppoſition of the imperial party. As he ſeemed to have a great averſion to the *Spaniards*, and had received ſome bad offices from the emperor, it was generally concluded that he would favour the king of *France*. He aſſumed the name of *Paul* IV. and was crowned on the 3d day after his election (R). As he was of a moroſe diſpoſition, and had been the author and contriver of the inquiſition, his election ſtruck a great terror in- Paul IV. *is elected.*

[c] PANVIN. in vit. Marcellus II. GENEBR. Chron. l. iv.
[d] RAINALD, ad an. 1555. PALLAV. l. xiii.

(R) *Paul* IV. was born of a noble *Neapolitan* family in the year 1476, and had obtained a great reputation for integrity and purity of manners. He was ſkilled in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*; and having been created archbiſhop of *Chieti* by *Julius* II. he inſtituted the order of regular clerks called *Theatins*, in 1524. He was elevated to the dignity of cardinal by *Paul* III. and *Julius* III. created him archbiſhop of *Naples*.

to

to the *Romans*, who expected that he would proceed with great severity in the reformation of abuses. However, he began his pontificate with great magnificence, exceeded all his predecessors in pomp and ceremony at his coronation, and told the steward of his household, that he would be served *as became a prince*. Soon after he began to follow his natural temper, and published some very severe edicts for correcting the dissolute manners of the city. He reformed the offices of the datary, the penitentiary, and the rota, and ordered the priests to be more moderate both in their dress and in their tables. He likewise conferred several new privileges on the *Romans*, who, as a testimony of their gratitude, erected a marble statue to him in the capitol, and chose more than 100 of their nobles, who were appointed to serve without any pay, as a life-guard to the popes, and were by him created knights of the faith [e].

He receives the submission of the English *ambassadors:*

In the beginning of his pontificate, the *English* ambassadors, who had been sent to *Julius*, arriving at *Rome*, he gave audience to them, with great state and pomp, in his first consistory; and, after they had continued for some time prostrate at his feet, begging that the nation might again be received into the bosom of the church, he raised them and embraced them, and, in reward for the piety of the king and queen, he gave the title of a kingdom to *Ireland*. Afterwards, at a private conference, he insisted that all the ecclesiastical possessions which had been seized by *Henry* VIII. should be restored, and that the *Peter-pence* should immediately be collected for the use of the *Roman* see [f]. Soon after, being informed of the decree which was published by the diet of *Augsburg* on the 25th of *September*, confirming the peace of *Passau*, which the elector *Maurice* and the protestant confederates, three years before, had obtained from the emperor, he was greatly offended with *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, who presided at the diet, and even declared, that he would make the emperor and his brother repent the injury they had done to the holy see; that he would excommunicate the protestants, and all those who protected them; but if *Charles* and *Ferdinand* would retract what they had granted them, he offered to second them with his authority, and to oblige all Christian princes, under pain of censures, to assist them with their forces [g].

He condemns the toleration granted to the protestants of Germany.

His resentment against the emperor was owing to another cause than the peace granted to the protestants; for having

[e] Panvin. in vit. Paul IV. [f] Spond. Annal. [g] Pallavicin. l. xiii. Rainald.

formerly

formerly received a perſonal injury from the *Neapolitan* viceroy, who had refuſed to allow him to take poſſeſſion of the archbiſhopric of *Naples*, on pretence that he favoured the *French* party, he had then endeavoured, with great earneſtneſs, to excite *Paul* III. to declare war againſt the emperor. His hopes of revenge, however, being at that time fruſtrated, he now thought it a proper time to diſcover his enmity to the *Spaniards*; and having formed a deſign to deprive them of the kingdom of *Naples*, on the 16th of *September* he privately concluded a treaty with *Henry* II. for ſeizing that kingdom, by which means he hoped to aggrandize the princes of his family [h]. About the ſame time, by their inſtigation, he began to perſecute the family of *Colonna*, and others, who were known to have an attachment to the emperor. Under pretence of a plot, which he alleged had been formed by the imperialiſts againſt him, he increaſed his troops and guards by new levies, thruſt the cardinal *Sforza*, *Camilla*, *Colonna*, and the abbot of *Briſegna* into priſon, and confiſcating all the territories belonging to the *Colonna* family within the dominions of the church, beſtowed them on his nephew *John*, count of *Montorio*, whom he created duke of *Paliano*, and general of the forces of the church [i]. He likewiſe confiſcated the marquiſate of *Montebello*, which he conferred on *Anthony Caraffa*, another of his nephews; and being fully reſolved on a war, he fortified *Paliana*, which was conveniently ſituated on the frontiers of *Naples*.

Reſolves to deprive the emperor of the kingdom of Naples, and

MEAN while he was greatly alarmed with the news of a truce, which his ally the king of *France* and the emperor had agreed to for five years. Tho' he was not a little offended with *Henry* II. yet he diſſembled his reſentment, and ſent the cardinal of *Piſa* to the emperor and *Philip*, and his nephew cardinal *Caraffa* to the *French* king, to congratulate them upon the truce, and to exhort them to a general peace, that the council might be re-aſſumed. *Caraffa*, however, preſſed *Henry* very much to engage in a *Neapolitan* war; and being ſeconded by the cardinal of *Lorrain*, and his brother the duke of *Guiſe*, he at length ſucceeded, and abſolved the king from the oath he had taken to obſerve the truce. In the mean time the imperialiſts, having marched to the aſſiſtance of the family of *Colonna*, under the command of the viceroy, the duke of *Alva*, quickly made themſelves maſters of all the *Campania* of *Rome*, while the duke of *Guiſe* was preparing to march into *Italy* with an army of 12,000

perſuades the king of France to violate his truce with the emperor, and

A. D. 1556.

[h] BELCAR. l. xxvi. in fin. in vit. Paul IV.

[i] ADRIAN, l. xiii. PANVIN.

French,

French, to the aſſiſtance of *Paul*. This unexpected ſucceſs of the *Neapolitans* greatly diſtreſſed the pope, who, to ſupport the war, miſerably harraſſed his ſubjects. He exacted half a year's revenue from all offices, doubled the tythes upon all benefices, converted many of the churches into magazines and ſtorehouſes, ſeized all the horſes in *Rome* to ſerve in the war, and compelled all the monks, of what order ſoever, to labour at the works, and to carry earth to the fortifications. He likewiſe ordered all private debts to be paid into his treaſury, promiſing to ſatisfy the creditors afterwards, and raiſed all the cuſtoms and taxes to an exceſſive degree. However, the miſeries and groans of his ſubjects were not able to incline his fierce and implacable ſpirit to a peace; but the duke of *Guiſe* having, in the beginning of the year, entered *Lombardy*, he preſſed him earneſtly to advance with his army, and invade *Naples*, contrary to the opinion of the moſt prudent *French* generals, who thought it would be more advantageous to carry on the war in the *Milaneſe*, which was then in a very defenceleſs ſtate [k].

to ſend an army into Italy.

A. D. 1557.

PAUL, in the mean time, having been informed that *Charles* V. had abdicated the empire in favour of his brother *Ferdinand*, he wrote to the eccleſiaſtical electors to prohibit them from receiving his reſignation; which, however, was approved of by the electors at a diet held at *Frankfort*, where *Ferdinand* conſented to receive the imperial enſigns, on condition that he ſhould be allowed to ſend an embaſſy to the pope, to aſk his confirmation. While *Paul* thus manifeſted his enmity againſt the emperor, the arms of his ſon *Philip*, to whom he had reſigned his hereditary dominions, were very ſucceſsful in *Italy*. The duke of *Alva* had obliged the *French* to raiſe the ſiege of ſome places on the frontiers of *Naples*; and towards the end of *Auguſt* approached with his army towards *Rome*, in hopes of ſurprizing the city. At the ſame time the duke of *Guiſe* being recalled with his forces to oppoſe the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, who in the beginning of the month had gained a ſignal victory over the *French* at *St. Quintin*, *Paul*, with great regret, was obliged to conſent to a peace, which was concluded on the 13th of *September*.

He is obliged to conclude a peace with the viceroy of Naples:

THE war being finiſhed, *Paul* immediately ſent legates to the kings of *France* and *Spain*, offering himſelf as mediator of their differences, but without any ſucceſs. In the mean time, applying himſelf to the reformation of abuſes, he ordered the inquiſitors to compoſe an index of books, proper

[k] ONUPHR. in vit. Paul IV. BELCAR. l. xxvii.

to

to be condemned and prohibited as impious and heretical (S). He likewiſe ordered the tribunal of the inquiſition to take cognizance of ſeveral crimes, which before had been under the juriſdiction of the other courts; and was ſo active and diligent in his enquiry after criminals, that he quickly filled all the priſons of the inquiſition. Suſpecting that cardinal *Moron* had ſome ſecret correſpondence with the proteſtants in *Germany*, he impriſoned him, together with the biſhop of *Cava*, in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, where they underwent a ſevere inquiſition; and tho' they both proved their innocence, and were afterwards ſet at liberty, yet, on their account, he detained the biſhop of *Modena* a long while in priſon [l]. About the ſame time, to the general ſurprize of his court, he deprived cardinal *Poole* of his legation in *England*, and recalled him to *Rome*, thereby, as it was ſuppoſed, gratifying his own private reſentment againſt that prelate, whom he had formerly accuſed of hereſy in the conclave [m] (T). He likewiſe, ſoon after, publiſhed a ſevere bull againſt thoſe who ſhould receive benefices under the name of others, or ſhould offer annual penſions for them, or ſhould reſign their their own for an annuity, or, laſtly, ſhould for a reward procure any benefices for another [n]. To put a ſtop to the cabals and intrigues of the cardinals of the imperial faction, he renewed all the former laws and canons againſt thoſe who ſhould hold conventicles or ſecret meetings, to ſollicit the votes of the ſacred college for the pontificate during the life of the pope, declaring them guilty of treaſon and ſimony, of whatever rank and degree, whether eccleſiaſtical or ſecular.

impriſons cardinal Moron *on ſuſpicion of hereſy:*

recals cardinal Poole *from* England, *and*

[l] Onuphr. Panvin. ut ſupra. [m] Spond. Annal. [n] Idem ibid.

(S) This *index expurgatorius* was publiſhed two years afterwards; and all were prohibited, under pain of excommunication, incapacity of enjoying any offices or benefices, perpetual infamy, and other arbitrary puniſhments, from poſſeſſing or reading any of the books mentioned in that catalogue (1).

(T) Some allege that he was offended with the cardinal for being the author of the truce betwixt the emperor *Charles* and *Henry* II. others ſay, for not preventing queen *Mary* from declaring war againſt *France*, while the duke of *Guiſe* was in *Italy*. But whatever was the motive of proceeding, he thereby greatly leſſened his own reputation, without injuring in the leaſt that of the cardinal, who died in the end of the following year in *England*, in the 59th year of his age (2).

(1) *Spond. Annal.* (2) *Godwin. de præſul. Angl. Cambden.*

refuſes to acknowlege Ferdinand *as emperor.* A. D. 1558.

THE following year an ambaſſador arrived at *Rome* from the emperor *Ferdinand*; who, upon the reſignation of his brother, had accepted the imperial dignity. *Paul*, however, would not admit him to an audience, but affirmed, that the reſignation of *Charles*, and the ſubſtitution of *Ferdinand*, were both null, as done without the authority of the pope, into whoſe hands the reſignation ought to have been made. He therefore inſiſted that *Ferdinand* ſhould ſend a proxy to *Rome*, to renounce all the proceedings of the diet at *Frankfort*, and to reſign the whole affair to his arbitration, declaring, that he would then confirm *Ferdinand* in the imperial dignity. The emperor hearing of the pope's determination, wrote to his ambaſſador to enter a proteſtation, and to leave *Rome*, if he was not admitted to an audience within three days after the receiving of his letter. Notwithſtanding this peremptory command, *Paul* ſtill remained inflexible. He only admitted the ambaſſador to a private interview, in the preſence of ſome cardinals; deſired him to enter his proteſtation, and to return to *Ferdinand*; and declared, that he would forthwith ſend a legate to the emperor *Charles*, to treat of the affair of the reſignation. *Charles* died a few months after at a monaſtery in *Spain*, whither he had retired from worldly grandeur. *Paul*, however, during his whole pontificate, would never conſent to acknowlege *Ferdinand* as emperor [o].

The pope's nephews puniſhed, and baniſhed, 1559.

THO' the pope, by his arrogance and ſeverity, had rendered himſelf odious to the *Romans*, yet he gave general ſatisfaction in puniſhing the crimes of his nephews, who had greatly abuſed the truſts committed to their charge. On the 26th of *January*, in a full conſiſtory, he removed the cardinal *Caraffa* from all adminiſtration of affairs, deprived him of his legation of *Bologna*, and baniſhed him to *Patricia*: he diſmiſſed the duke of *Paliano* from being admiral of the gallies, and general of the army of the church; and ordered the marquis of *Montebello* to reſign the office of captain of his guards, and to retire to his own caſtle: he refuſed to hearken to any interceſſions made by the cardinals in their behalf; and ſuppreſſing ſome new taxes, which he pretended had been raiſed without his knowlege, he removed all thoſe who had received any places from his nephews, and even put ſeveral of them in priſon [p] (U). Applying his mind then

[o] GODELEV. de abdicat. Carol. in tit. ii. OPER. Hiſtor.
[p] ONUPHR. in vit. Paul IV. Natal. Comes. l. xii.

(U) After the baniſhment of his nephews, he behaved for ſome time with more than uſual ſerenity, and is reported to have ſaid,

then wholly to the office of the inquiſition, he ordered a box to be fixed in a public place of his palace, into which all perſons were at liberty to put accuſations and informations; and he commanded all cauſes belonging to the holy office to be tried before himſelf once a week. About the ſame time he publiſhed a bull, by which he renewed all the puniſhments and cenſures againſt heretics, which had ever been decreed by any popes, councils, and fathers, declaring all prelates, emperors, kings, and princes, convicted of hereſy, to be thereby, without any farther declaration, deprived of their benefices, empires, kingdoms, and principalities [q]. He likewiſe ordered all biſhops to proceed to their own dioceſes, and all thoſe who had embraced a monaſtic life to return to their monaſteries, admitting of no excuſe in theſe laſt, but denouncing an anathema againſt thoſe who ſhould diſobey; and executing his mandate in his own territories with ſuch rigour, that many of the vagrant monks were impriſoned, and ſeveral of them ſent to the gallies [r] (W).

Several new biſhoprics erected in Flanders.

AT this time he alſo erected thirteen cities in the *Low Countries* into biſhoprics, where there were only two before, namely *Cambray* and *Utrecht*, which, with the city *Mechlin*, he raiſed to the dignity of metropolitan ſees, with juriſdiction over the new-erected biſhoprics; by which proceeding he greatly irritated the minds of the inhabitants, many of whom had embraced the doctrines of *Luther*, *Calvin*, and other reformers; and being apprehenſive that theſe alterations were only a prelude to the introduction of the inquiſition, began to conſult about freeing themſelves from the oppreſſion of the *Spaniards* [s]. A few days before the bull for theſe alterations was publiſhed, he received the news of a peace, concluded on the 2d of *April*, between the kings of *France* and *Spain*, at which he expreſſed great joy.

HE was greatly diſſatisfied, however, with the elevation of queen *Elizabeth* to the throne of *England*, which about this time was ſignified to him by the *Engliſh* ambaſſadors. He alleged, that as *England* was a fief of the apoſtolic ſee,

[q] SPOND. Annal. [r] ONUPHR. ut ſupra. [s] VANDERHAER. de init. tumult. Belg. l. i.

ſaid, that from that period he ought to begin to count the years of his pontificate (1).

(W) In conſequence of this edict 30,000 monks of different orders, who could not be received into monaſteries, took refuge in the ſtate of *Venice*, where the authority of the pope is greatly limited (2).

(1) *Epiſt. Princip. t. iii. Vittorel. in Paul IV.* (2) *Spond. Annal.*

Paul *refuſes to acknowlege the right of queen* Elizabeth *to the throne of* England.

ſhe could not aſſume the adminiſtration of the kingdom without the leave of the pope, eſpecially conſidering the defect of her right by birth; nevertheleſs, if ſhe would ſubmit to his arbitration, he would act towards her with paternal tenderneſs. This ridiculous and abſurd declaration was of great ſervice to the queen, in weaning her ſubjects from any attachment to the *Roman* ſee. The pope, however, is ſuppoſed to have been only the dupe of the *French* ambaſſador, and to have objected to her ſucceſſion from his inſinuations of her ſecret attachment to *Lutheraniſm*, *Henry* II. being afraid that ſhe would conclude a marriage with his rival in power the king of *Spain*; and beſides, being deſirous to promote the intereſts of his daughter-in-law, *Mary* queen of *Scotland*, who formed pretenſions to the *Engliſh* crown, on the ſuppoſition that *Elizabeth* was an adulterous baſtard [t].

He dies at Rome, *greatly hated by the* Romans.

PAUL did not long ſurvive the news of the revolution of religion in *England*; but having been for ſome time afflicted with a dropſy, died on the 16th of *Auguſt*, in the 84th year of his age, and the 5th of his pontificate, after exhorting the cardinals, whom he called into his chamber, to unite in chuſing a worthy ſucceſſor, and recommending to them the continuance of the inquiſition [u]. Scarce any pope had ever acted with more arrogance and deſpotiſm. His intentions were good and ſincere, but there was ſo much ſavage ferocity in his behaviour, that he rendered himſelf univerſally hated; ſo that, even before his death, while he lay expiring, the *Romans* aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, curſed his name and family, and, after having given liberty to the priſoners, ſet fire to the new building of the inquiſition, and were with great difficulty prevented from doing the ſame to the convent of the *Dominicans* at *Minerva*. He was no ſooner dead than they ran to the capitol, broke off the head and right hand of his ſtatue, which they toſſed about the ſtreets for three days, and at length threw into the *Tyber*; and an edict being publiſhed, in the name of the *Roman* people, for aboliſhing the arms of the *Caraffa* family, it was executed with ſuch diſpatch, that the ſame day there was no memorial of that name left in the city [w].

UPON the death of *Paul* IV. the *Roman* ſee was vacant more than four months, occaſioned by the diſſenſions among the cardinals, who, to the number of forty-four, entered the conclave on the 5th of *September*, where, after long con-

[t] BELLEFOR. l. vi. c. 86. CAMBDEN. in vit. Eliz. THUAN. l. xx. [u] ONUPHR. ut ſupra. [w] Idem ibid.

teſts

teſts and repeated ſcrutinies, they at length, on *Chriſtmas* evening, unanimouſly choſe *John Angelo Medicini*, cardinal of *Sancta Priſca*, who aſſuming the name of *Pius* IV. was crowned on the 6th of *January* (X). *Pius* began his pontificate with pardoning the riotous proceedings of the *Romans* upon the death of his predeceſſor, on condition that they repaired all the damages done to the holy office of the inquiſition. He received without any ſcruple the ambaſſadors of the emperor *Ferdinand*, whoſe election he confirmed; and examining the ſeveral innovations of his predeceſſor, he revoked the trials of common cauſes to the uſual forms of law. A few months after his promotion, he ordered the nephews of the late pope, with ſeveral others of their kindred and ſervants, to be apprehended and impriſoned in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, where, after long confinement, they were condemned and executed, on account of their enormous crimes, though the legal form of proceeding was not ſtrictly obſerved at their trial. Cardinal *Alfonſo*, the grand nephew of the late pope, was only fined; but ſeveral other cardinals were likewiſe thrown into priſon, and deprived of rich biſhoprics. *Pius IV. is elected.* A.D. 1560.

WHILE he acted with this ſeverity towards the nephews of *Paul* and their dependents, he called his own nephews to his court, on whom he conferred ſeveral dignities and rich benefices. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe was *Charles Borromeo*, then in the 22d year of his age, whom he created a cardinal, and, on account of his eminent virtues and abilities, appointed ſupreme adminiſtrator of all eccleſiaſtical affairs. Having likewiſe ſet cardinal *Moron* at liberty, he communicated his moſt ſecret councils with him and his nephew *Borromeo* [x]. Mean while he was ſollicited by the duke of *Savoy* to allow a conference to be held in his dominions, to ſettle the diſputes concerning religion, as many of the inhabitants of the vallies in the *Alps* had renounced the faith and obedience of the *Roman* church, and ſtill perſiſted in their opinions, notwithſtanding the puniſhments of the inquiſition. *Pius* refuſed his demand; and perſuading the duke that heretics were more eaſily refuted by the ſword than by confe- *He excites the duke of* Savoy *to make war on the proteſtants.*

[x] ONUPHR. ut ſupra.

(X) *John Angelo Medicini*, or, according to ſome, *de Medicis*, was born at *Milan* in 1499. His father was a farmer of the public revenue; and his brother, the marquis of *Marigniano*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a general in the ſervice of the emperor *Charles* V. (1).

(1) *Spond. Annal.*

rences, a war was begun in the vallies, which continued for a long time.

Great commotions in France on account of religion.

THE intention of the pope was chiefly engroſſed at this time by the diſturbances in *France*, where the proteſtants, together with ſeveral popiſh malecontents, had formed a deſign for depriving the duke of *Guiſe*, and his brother the cardinal, of the adminiſtration of the kingdom, and obliging the young king, *Francis* II. to allow the free exerciſe of their religion. Tho' the plot was diſcovered before it could be put in execution, and was thereby fruſtrated, yet the power of the proteſtants or *Hugonots* appeared ſo formidable, that an edict was publiſhed, prohibiting all puniſhments on account of religion, provided that the doctrine and ceremonies of the *Romiſh* church ſhould be obſerved for the future. By another edict, that was ſoon after publiſhed, the trial of hereſy was taken from the ſecular courts and committed to the biſhops, thereby depriving the eccleſiaſtics of any pretence for introducing the inquiſition, which it was apprehended would have occaſioned a general inſurrection in the kingdom. Beſides, a general convention of eſtates, in the end of *Auguſt*, was held at *Fontainbleau*, in which ſome biſhops of *Dauphiny*, after exclaiming againſt the vices and ignorance of the popiſh clergy, and extolling the modeſty, learning, and piety of the *Calviniſt* miniſters, had propoſed to call a national council, as the moſt proper means to put an end to the diſturbances of the kingdom. The pope was greatly alarmed with the news of the proceedings of this convention, and was even apprehenſive that *France* intended to follow the example of *England*, and to form a church independent of the ſee of *Rome*, as the *French* prelates expreſſed a great deſire that the pragmatic ſanction ſhould be again renewed. He therefore ſent the biſhop of *Viterbo* immediately to *France*, to repreſent to the king, that a national council would be a great diminution of his royal authority, and would have the appearance of a ſchiſm from the univerſal church. He likewiſe wrote to the king of *Spain*, deſiring him to diſſuade the *French* king from aſſembling the *Gallican* clergy: but *Francis* ſtill inſiſting on the expediency of a national council, and deſiring the pope to ſend a legate into *France*, to aſſemble the biſhops of that kingdom, *Pius*, to cut off all pretences for aſſembling the *French* clergy by themſelves, reſolved to call a general council; and after long conſultations, at length determined to renew that of *Trent*, which had only been ſuſpended.

The pope determines to renew the council of Trent.

THE emperor and the king of *France* both objected to this propoſal, alleging, that the very name of *Trent* was odious both

both to the proteſtants and *Hugonots*; and that they expected a new council, where all articles of faith might be canvaſſed with freedom. Notwithſtanding their objections, *Pius*, thinking it moſt for the honour of the *Roman* ſee to renew the old council, after long diſputes with the imperial and *French* ambaſſadors, on the 28th of *November* publiſhed a bull, taking off the ſuſpenſion of the council of *Trent*, which he appointed to be again opened on the following *Eaſter*. Immediately after he diſpatched nuncios to all the Chriſtian princes, deſiring them not to be offended with the word *continuation*, which he had put into his bull, as it would be no impediment to the reviſal of any former proceedings, and would not prevent the council from altering what had been decreed during the pontificate of *Paul* and *Julius* III. *Pius* began to be very anxious for the aſſembling of the general council, as *Francis* II. had died in the ſecond year of his reign, a few days before the publiſhing of his bull, and the ſtates of that kingdom, who about the middle of *December* had aſſembled at *Orleans*, had by a decree ordered all thoſe who were impriſoned on account of religion, to be ſet at liberty, and that none ſhould be reproached or puniſhed for their opinions, or religious profeſſion; from whence he concluded, that *France*, as well as *Germany*, intended to revolt from the obedience of the holy ſee [y].

His nuncios meet with a general bad reception. A. D. 1561.

ABOUT this time two of his nuncios arriving with the ambaſſadors of the emperor at *Naumberg*, where the proteſtants were aſſembled, invited them to ſend their deputies to the council of *Trent*. The proteſtant princes declared to the imperial ambaſſadors, that they did not reject a council, provided their divines were allowed to ſit and vote, and the ultimate deciſion ſhould be left to the word of God, and not to the pope; but they replied to the nuncios, that as they did not acknowlege any authority or juriſdiction of the pope, they did not deſire to know his intention in calling a council, and returned the letters unopened, which the pope had addreſſed to each of them ſingly [z]. One of the nuncios retiring from this diet, proceeded to *Lubec* in the north of *Germany*, from whence he ſent to the king of *Denmark*, deſiring leave to enter his kingdom: but *Frederic*, who two years before had ſucceeded to the throne, replied, that as neither he nor his father had ever any concern with the pope, he knew

[y] BELLEFOR. l. xvi. c 91. 92. BELCAR. l. xxix. THUAN. l. xxvi. [z] ONUPHR. in vit. Pii IV. CAYTRÆ Saxon. l. xxii.

no buſineſs his nuncios could have with him. The nuncio to the queen of *Scotland* was obliged to enter that kingdom in diſguiſe, and obtained a promiſe from the queen, that ſhe would adhere to the decrees of the council [a]. But queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, notwithſtanding the intreaties of the emperor and the king of *Spain*, abſolutely refuſed to allow the nuncio to enter her kingdom [b]. In *Poland* the nuncio was received in an honourable manner; but the duke of *Muſcovy* replied to his ſollicitations, that as he was an ally of the proteſtants, he would not conſent to the council [c]. The nuncios likewiſe did not meet with great encouragement from the emperor nor the king of *France*, who both objected to the word *continuation*, and declared, that unleſs there was an alteration made in the bull, they could not approve of the council, which, inſtead of doing any good, would only occaſion new ſchiſms [d]. *Charles* IX. of *France*, who was then a minor, and in ſome meaſure under the direction of the admiral *de Caligni*, declared, that if the pope did not grant his demand, he ſhould be obliged to have recourſe to a national council, as the moſt proper means to quiet the diſturbances of his kingdom.

Pius offends the king of Spain, *by granting an audience to the ambaſſador of the king of* Navarre.

THE king of *Spain* alſo formed objections to the council, from his reſentment againſt the pope, who had granted a public audience to the ambaſſador of the king of *Navarre*. This *Philip* II. interpreted as a condemnation of his right to that kingdom, which had been unjuſtly ſeized by his grand-father *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*. *Pius*, to appeaſe the king, ſent a legate into *Spain* to excuſe his proceeding; and as the time for the opening of the council approached, he ſent two legates to *Trent*, who arriving at that city on the 9th of *April*, three days after *Eaſter*, found only nine biſhops, who had come thither a few days before. The pope likewiſe, to encourage the biſhops and prelates to repair to the council, publiſhed a bull, granting ſeveral privileges to thoſe who undertook that journey.

He ſends his legates to Trent.

MEAN while the authority of the *Roman* ſee appeared to be daily ſinking in *France*, where, by a royal edict, the *Hugonots*, who were in the priſons, were ordered to be ſet at liberty, and thoſe who were baniſhed in the reign of *Francis* I. were permitted to return. In an aſſembly of the ſtates, which was held in the month of *Auguſt* at *St. Germains*, the admiral *de Coligni*, who was the chief of the *Hugonots*, having by his intereſt procured a confirmation of the adminiſtration

[a] SPOND. Annal. [b] SANDER. de Schiſm. l. iii. [c] SPOND. Annal. [d] Idem ibid. POLAN. Hiſt. Trident.

to the queen mother, ſhe promiſed to allow the free exerciſe of his religion. A conference was likewiſe granted to the *Hugonot* divines, which the pope uſed great pains to prevent; but not ſucceeding, he ſent the cardinal of *Ferrara* thither as his legate, to prevent any thing being determined concerning the controverted points. The conference opened at *Poiſſer* on the 2d of *September*, in which *Auguſtine Marloratus*, *Theodore Beza*, *Peter Martyr*, and ten other *Hugonot* divines, defended their doctrines in the preſence of the king, the queen mother, the king of *Navarre*, a great many peers, ſix cardinals, and about ten biſhops; but after long diſputes the conference broke up on the 25th of *November*, without any thing being determined [o]. However the *Hugonots*, having obtained this public diſputation, grew more confident; and the queen regent, at the perſuaſion of ſome of their chiefs, and with the conſent of ſome of the catholic clergy, aſked of the pope, in the name of the *French* prelates, to allow the communion under both kinds in *France*, and divine ſervice to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, which demands the pope abſolutely refuſed to grant.

A conference betwixt the Hugonots and the papiſts.

As the reformation was ſpreading into all parts of *Europe*, *Pius* determined to delay the opening of the council no longer; and having ſent other three legates to *Trent*, declared the firſt ſeſſion to be opened in the month of *December*. It was however deferred, on account of the emperor's ambaſſador, till the 18th of *January*, ſome preliminaries having been ſettled three days before in a general congregation. Upon reading the decree for the renewal of the council, a debate enſued; for it being therein propoſed that no queſtion ſhould be debated in the council, but what was firſt moved by the legates *(proponentibus legatis)*, four *Spaniſh* prelates refuſed their aſſent to that article, and urged, that it was an innovation, had never been uſed at former councils, and ſeemed to deprive all others of the liberty of propoſing any queſtion. Their oppoſition, however, was over-ruled, and the next ſeſſion appointed to be held on the 26th of *February*. The king of *Spain*, upon the repreſentation of his prelates, objected to the above article in the decree by his ambaſſador at *Rome*; but he received nothing but evaſive anſwers from the pope, who in his turn complained, that the *Spaniſh* biſhops plainly diſcovered their alienation from the holy ſee, as they had granted their king a free gift of 400,000 crowns annually for ten years, by which great injury was done to the *Spaniſh* church.

The council is again opened at Trent. A. D. 1562.

[o] Sponn. Annal.

MEAN

The Hugonots obtain the free exerciſe of their religion.

MEAN while the queen regent of *France*, at the perſuaſion of the prince of *Conde*, the admiral *de Cologni*, and the chancellor, publiſhed an edict, allowing the *Hugonots* the free exerciſe of their religion, without the walls of the cities, on condition that they taught nothing contrary to the old and new teſtament, and to the council of *Nice*, and abſtained from railing againſt the maſs and other rites of the *Roman* church. The pope was greatly offended with this edict; nevertheleſs the queen, being afraid of an inſurrection, ſoon after publiſhed another, confirming the former, and even allowing them to hold their aſſemblies in all the cities of the kingdom except *Paris*. This ſecond edict, however, had not the deſired effect; for the *Hugonots* reſolving to ſecure to themſelves liberty of conſcience by arms, ſeized the cities of *Orleans*, *Rouen*, *Lyons*, *Poictiers*, *Anjou*, *Berry*, and *Tours*, which occaſioned a civil war, that continued for ſome time with great animoſity.

Proceedings of the council.

BEFORE the commencement of hoſtilities in *France*, the council celebrated the ſecond ſeſſion, which was held on the 26th of *February*, in which a decree was read concerning an *index expurgatorius* of books; the biſhops of five churches, the emperor's ambaſſador for *Hungary*, the patriarch of *Venice*, four archbiſhops, nine biſhops, one *Benedictine* abbot, two generals of the orders of *Franciſcans* and *Auguſtines*, having been appointed at a general congregation to compoſe the index, which was ordered not to be publiſhed till the concluſion of the council, for fear of exaſperating the proteſtants. The 14th of *March* being appointed for the next ſeſſion, the fathers, in the mean time, aſſembled in general congregations; in one of which they granted a very ample ſafe-conduct to all thoſe, of whatever nation, who differed from the ſynod in points of faith. They then diſputed about thoſe points which were afterwards to be decided in the ſeſſions, particularly about the reſidence of prelates and prieſts in their dioceſes and pariſhes. The greateſt part of the divines and fathers aſſerted, with great warmth, that reſidence was *de jure divino*, or appointed by divine revelation; but the party for the pope maintained, that ſuch a doctrine would be the ruin of the hierarchy, as every biſhop would then conclude that he himſelf was ſupreme in his own dioceſe; nay, every prieſt would allege, that he had the ſole juriſdiction in his own pariſh. This diſpute continued for ſeveral days; but though the majority of the fathers propoſed to form a decree for confirming the divine right of reſidence, yet the legates found means to drop the affair, and leave it unde-

undetermined [f]. The *Spaniſh* ambaſſador likewiſe propoſed, that the preſent council ſhould be declared a continuation of the former, held in the ſame city; but his motion being oppoſed by the imperial ambaſſadors, and the legates being alſo divided, nothing was decided on that head: and as the *French* ambaſſadors were upon their journey to *Trent*, the third ſeſſion was formally celebrated without any buſineſs being propoſed, and next ſeſſion was appointed to be held on the 4th of *June*.

The French ambaſſadors exclaim againſt the papal uſurpations.

In the mean time the *French* ambaſſadors arriving, were admitted to an audience in a general congregation on the 26th of *May*, when one of them made an elegant oration, wherein he exhorted the fathers to uſe freedom of debate, and to take ſuch meaſures as would free the flock of Chriſt from uſurpation and oppreſſion, as there was then no hazard of having the ſafe-conduct violated, or of diſputing with flames in that city. They then deſired the legates to declare the council a new one, as the *Hugonots* would not otherwiſe acknowlege it; but they replying, that they were only commiſſioned by the pope to preſide at the ſeſſions, the ambaſſadors conſulted with thoſe of the emperor, and agreed not to inſiſt upon their former demand, provided no mention ſhould be made of the continuation of the council in the public acts. They afterwards deſired that the diſcuſſing of the articles of faith might be delayed, till the arrival of the deputies from the proteſtants and *Calviniſts*; and added, the *Engliſh* ambaſſador in *France* had declared, that queen *Elizabeth* intended to ſend deputies to the council. In conſequence of their repreſentations all buſineſs was likewiſe deferred at the following ſeſſion, only the prolocutor of the council made an harangue in anſwer to that of the *French* ambaſſador, wherein he endeavoured to prove that the council was free, notwithſtanding the pope's legates preſided, and it had been called by his authority. The next ſeſſion was then appointed on the 16th of *July*, the pope in the mean time expreſſing great diſſatisfaction at the proceedings of the fathers. He blamed his legate, the cardinal of *Mantua*, becauſe he had oppoſed the motion of the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, who wanted the preſent council to be declared a continuation of the former; and he accuſed the *French* ambaſſadors as favourers of the *Hugonots* and proteſtants, alleging, that one of them had ſaid that he would bring as many biſhops to the council from *France* and *Germany*, as would be able to deſtroy the idol of *Rome*.

[f] Spond. Annal.

Great

The imperial ambaſſadors preſent the grievances of the Germanic *body.*

GREAT part of the council appeared no leſs diſſatisfied with *Pius*, and intended to moderate and limit his authority. The imperial ambaſſadors preſented the grievances of the *Germanic* body in a memorial, and demanded, that the pope ſhould ſubmit to a reformation both in his perſon and court; that the number of cardinals ſhould be reduced to twelve, as at the firſt inſtitution, or at leaſt to twenty-four; that all exemptions, contrary to law, ſhould be revoked; that diſpenſations ſhould not be granted, unleſs for urgent reaſons; that plurality of benefices ſhould be aboliſhed, and eccleſiaſtical offices ſhould not be ſet to ſale; that all ſuperfluous canons ſhould be repealed, and the reſt not accounted of the ſame obligation with divine laws; that divine ſervice ſhould be ſo celebrated, that it might be underſtood by the people; that the diſtinction of meats, and the rigour of faſts, ſhould be moderated; that eccleſiaſtics ſhould be allowed to marry, and the communion be granted to the laity under both kinds[z]. The legates, to whom the memorial was preſented, anſwered, that, before the next ſeſſion, they could only have time to determine the diſpute concerning the communion, and then propoſed ſome articles on that head to be diſcuſſed. A great many of the fathers were of opinion that the cup ought to be granted to thoſe of the laity who demanded it, very many catholics, as well as the proteſtants, expreſſing a great deſire to communicate under both kinds. *Gonzaga*, cardinal of *Mantua*, ſeemed inclined to this opinion; however, the papal party prevailed, and in the ſeſſion they eſtabliſhed four articles with regard to the communion; but, on account of the abſence of the *German* and *French* biſhops, they delayed determining whether the cup ought to be granted to the laity, and under what conditions it ſhould be allowed. They then read nine articles concerning reformation, by the laſt of which they entirely aboliſhed the name and office of queſtors (Y).

[z] RAINALD. ad an. 1562. n. 60 & 61. GOLDAST. Conſt. imper. t. ii.

(Y) Theſe queſtors were a kind of ſpiritual tax gatherers, who dreſſed themſelves in ſtrange habits; and aſſembling the people with little hand bells, extorted money from them, under pretence of alms and contributions for pious works, thundering out curſes and anathemas againſt thoſe who refuſed to buy their indulgences. They appropriated the money they raiſed to their own uſe, after having given part of it to the officers at *Rome*, who had procured the authority for raiſing the contributions.

THE

THE legates, to prevent any farther diſputes about the cup in the euchariſt, remitted that article to the pope, out of regard (as they pretended) to the emperor, who would more eaſily obtain his demands from his holineſs, than from the fathers at *Trent*; whereas in reality theſe laſt, who conſiſted almoſt wholly of *Portugueſe*, *Spaniards*, and *Italians*, were only the tools of the former [h]. Having likewiſe appointed the next ſeſſion to be held on the 17th of *September*, they propoſed the articles concerning the inſtitution and efficacy of the maſs, of the ceremonies to be obſerved in that office, and of mixing of water with wine, to be diſcuſſed in the general congregations. The imperial and *French* ambaſſadors, with many others, inſiſted, that the ſeſſion ſhould be delayed till the arrival of the *French* and *Poliſh* biſhops, and till the concluſion of the *German* diet, which was to be held at *Frankfort* in the month of *November*; but as the pope had deſired the legates to haſten the concluſion of the council, it was carried againſt them; and the articles abovementioned were debated in the congregations, in which a queſtion was ſtarted, Whether Jeſus Chriſt, when he firſt inſtituted the ſacrament of the euchariſt, did then offer and ſacrifice himſelf? If he did not at that time offer himſelf a ſacrifice, then the maſs which is founded on the inſtitution, *Do this in remembrance of me*, is no ſacrifice; and if he did ſacrifice himſelf, it muſt have been propitiatory, as it is ſaid, *he offered himſelf but once*, and then the ſacrifice on the croſs had been unprofitable and unneceſſary, as the ſins of mankind had been expiated by the ſacrifice of the euchariſt.

THIS queſtion occaſioned ſo much doubt and debate, that many propoſed to leave the article concerning the maſs undetermined by any particular canon: however, the majority were of a different opinion, and in the following ſeſſion nine articles were read, containing the doctrine of the maſs; the ſum of which were, that it had been inſtituted by Chriſt in the laſt ſupper; that it was propitiatory for the living and the dead; that it was offered only to God, though it might ſometimes be celebrated in honour of the ſaints; that the canon of the maſs, and the rites and ceremonies appointed by the church for its celebration, were all free from error; that the maſſes in which the prieſt alone communicated, were common to all the hearers; that in the chalice, water ought to be mixed with the wine; that the maſs ought not to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, but that its myſteries ought frequently to be explained to the people: to all which *Decrees concerning the maſs.*

[h] PALLAVICINI, l. ii. c. 9.

arti-

A. D. 1563. firſt deliberated at *Rome*; that the legates alone had the liberty of propoſing what was to be debated in the general congregations; and that much time was ſpent in intrigues, for promoting the grandeur of the court of *Rome*. *Pius* wrote to the emperor, juſtifying himſelf from any ſiniſter views with regard to the council, and ſoon after ſent the cardinal *Moron* to him as his legate, to diſſuade him from proceeding to *Trent*, and to propoſe the tranſlation of the council to *Bologna*, where, at the ſame time, he would confer upon him the imperial crown. *Ferdinand*, however, would not hearken to this propoſal, but demanded the redreſs of the complaints he had mentioned in his letter, and beſides required, that the council ſhould treat firſt of thoſe matters preſented by his deputies, and thoſe of *France*.

The pope propoſes to tranſfer the council to Bologna.

MEAN while the tumults and confuſions at *Trent* ſtill increaſed. The ſeſſion, which ſhould have been held in *November*, was prorogued till the 3d of *February*; and, in the beginning of the year, the *French* ambaſſadors had preſented a memorial in the general congregation, propoſing a reformation in thirty-four articles, which greatly alarmed the legates and the papal party, as they tended to retrench the revenue, and alter the rites of the *Roman* church (Z). The king of *France* about the ſame period, to gain a favourable reception to the articles propoſed by his ambaſſadors, repealed the decree of the convention of *Orleans*, which had prohibited the payment of annates to the court of *Rome*[1]. The pope, however, expreſſed great diſſatisfaction upon reading the *French* memorial, and ordered his nuncios in *France* to ſollicit the king to alter ſeveral of the articles, which he ſaid were greatly prejudicial to the apoſtolic ſee, and tended to pull his authority to pieces. As their remonſtrances were ineffectual, *Pius* ordered his legates at *Trent* not to allow the memorial to be treated of in the congregations, where violent altercation and diſorder ſtill prevailed.

NOTWITHSTANDING the oppoſition of a great many fathers, the ſeſſion was again prorogued to the 22d of *April*; and, in the mean time, the diſputes concerning the ſacra-

[1] THUAN. l. XXXV.

(Z) Theſe articles were immediately printed in *Latin* and *French*, and are inſerted by *Thuanus* and *Natalis Comes* in their hiſtories. *Polanus* has likewiſe tranſcribed them; and *Goldaſt* has alſo given them a place among his imperial conſtitutions or edicts (1).

(1) *Thuan. l.* XXXV. *Natal. l.* xiv. *Polan. l.* vii. *Goldaſt. t.* iii.

ments

ments of ordination and marriage ſtill continued, while the cardinal of *Lorrain* went to *Inſpruck* to have a conference with the emperor, whom he found greatly ſollicitous about the affairs of the council; which, on account of many prorogations, it was believed the pope had an intention of diſſolving. At the ſame time *Pius* recalled his nephew *Altaemps-fius*, one of the legates, that he might aſſiſt him in raiſing ſome troops, as he was informed, that the dukes of *Saxony* and *Wirtemberg*, and the landgrave of *Heſſe*, were making new levies, and that the *Germans* expreſſed a great deſire of again attacking *Rome*. Hearing likewiſe of the death of the cardinal of *Mantua* at *Trent*, he ſent the cardinals *Moron* and *Navagerius* thither, to ſupply his place and that of his nephew.

He is apprehenſive of an irruption of the Germans into Italy.

SOON after being informed that the king of *France* had conſented to a peace with the *Calviniſts*, by which he had granted them the free exerciſe of their religion, blaming the cardinal *Coligny*, brother to the admiral, who had renounced his eccleſiaſtical titles, and aſſumed that of count of *Beauvais*, he publiſhed a ſpecial mandate on the 8th of *April*, ordering the cardinals inquiſitors general to cite all prelates, of what dignity ſoever, who were ſuſpected of hereſy, to appear at *Rome*; and, in caſe of their not appearing perſonally, to proceed againſt them according to the ſentence which he ſhould pronounce in a ſecret conſiſtory. In conſequence of this mandate, the inquiſitors general ſummoned cardinal *Coligny*, and nine or ten *French* biſhops, to appear within a certain time at *Rome*; but the *French* prelates deſpiſing the ſummons, and ſuffering the time to elapſe, on the 22d of *October* three of them were depoſed, and the others ſuſpended, till they ſhould clear themſelves from the ſuſpicion of hereſy [m] (A).

He depoſes ſeveral French biſhops on ſuſpicion of hereſy.

BEFORE the publication of this ſentence at *Rome*, the ſeſſion being again ſuſpended at *Trent*, the cardinal of *Lorrain*, in a general congregation, on the 10th of *May*, preſented a letter from his niece *Mary* queen of *Scotland*, by

[m] Idem ibid. SPOND. Annal.

(A) The ſentence againſt the cardinal was denounced in a private conſiſtory ſome months before, of which he was no ſooner informed, but, in contempt of the pope, he reſumed his cardinal's habit, and in that dreſs married a wife, and afterwards appeared at the convention of *Rouen*; where, on the 16th of *Auguſt*, *Charles* IX. was declared of age, having then entered into the 14th year (1).

(1) *Belcar. Thuan. Spond. Annal.*

which ſhe declared, that ſhe would ſubmit to the council, and promiſed that, if ſhe ſhould ever ſucceed to the crown of *England*, ſhe would ſubject both kingdoms to the authority of the *Roman* ſee. Four days after he made a long diſcourſe concerning biſhops, and the means of preventing abuſes in their election, inveighing ſeverely againſt pluralities, tho' he himſelf then poſſeſſed church revenues to the amount of 1,000,000 of livres a year. As in the concluſion he exclaimed againſt the ſee of *Rome*, which he termed the ſource and original of all the corruptions in the church, the cardinal *Moron* made a reply, treating him with great ſeverity; on which account the animoſities, inſtead of abating, were inflamed more than before. In the following congregation, which was held on the 21ſt of *May*, great diſputes aroſe about precedency betwixt the count *de Luna*, the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, and thoſe of *France*. Theſe laſt at length conſented, that he might ſit in a place apart by himſelf; but the diſpute was again renewed at the celebration of maſs on the feaſt of St. *Peter*; when the *French* ambaſſadors, having been informed that the pope had ordered the *incenſe and the peace* to be given to them and the count *de Luna* at the ſame time, they interrupted the ſervice by their remonſtrances, ſo that the maſs was that day celebrated without giving either the incenſe or the peace. As the legates juſtified themſelves by the orders of the pope, the cardinal of *Lorrain* next day ſent his ſecretary to *Rome* to complain of the injury; and one of the *French* ambaſſadors declared, that, unleſs their juſt precedency was allowed, they would proteſt againſt *Pius*, who, they could prove, had obtained the pontificate by ſimony, and would appeal to a future pope and a future council, and in the mean time would call a national council in *France*. As both the *French* and *Poles* threatened to withdraw their obedience from the apoſtolic ſee, ſeveral of the prelates prevailed with the count *de Luna* to inſiſt no farther on precedency, till he ſhould receive new inſtructions from *Spain*.

Diſputes about precedency betwixt the French *and* Spaniſh *ambaſſadors.*

THIS diſpute betwixt the ambaſſadors being in ſome meaſure calmed, the legates began to think of means to moderate the debates betwixt the divines concerning the articles of religion and reformation. The *French*, by orders from their court, began to abate in their zeal againſt the corruptions of *Rome*, the queen being deſirous to prevail with the pope to confirm the royal edict for the perpetual alienation of ſome revenues of the *Gallican* church, to the amount of 300,000 livres, under pretence of diſcharging a debt contracted in defence of the catholic religion. The cardinal of *Lorrain* likewiſe

likewiſe wanted to ingratiate himſelf with the papal party, as he was recalled to *France*, and knew that he was deteſted by the *Calviniſts* in that kingdom. About the ſame time the emperor, finding that his reſidence at *Inſpruck* rather retarded than forwarded the proceedings of the council, left that city, after having ordered his ambaſſadors to prevent, as much as poſſible, all diſputes about the authority of the pope, and that nothing might be decreed which would render an accommodation with the proteſtants more difficult. He likewiſe wrote to *Pius*, and to the legates of *Trent*, deſiring them to ſtop all proceedings againſt the queen of *England*, as it would only be a means of uniting the proteſtants more firmly in their own defence. The debates ſtill continuing in the congregations, the cardinal of *Lorrain* moderated, to the utmoſt of his power, the animoſities of both parties, and propoſed that they ſhould only treat of the power of the order of biſhops, and that, in the article of reſidence, all expreſſions might be kept out that would give offence, either to thoſe who reckoned it of human inſtitution or of divine. This propoſal was reliſhed by the legates, who, conſidering that a great part of the fathers were tired with the continual debates, and would agree to canons that were not abſolutely deciſive, they reſolved to draw them up in ſuch terms as would admit of a dubious interpretation.

ALL matters being at laſt ſettled, the ſeventh ſeſſion under *Pius*, and the twenty-third ſince the firſt commencement of the council under *Paul* III. was celebrated on the 15th of *July*; in which a *Spaniſh* biſhop declared in his ſermon, that tho' the faith of the catholics was the beſt, yet their morals were much inferior to thoſe of the heretics. After the celebration of maſs, and the uſual ceremonies, a decree was read concerning the ſacrament of ordination, conſiſting of four heads, by which they declared, that Chriſt had given the apoſtles, and their ſucceſſors in the prieſthood, a power of conſecrating and offering the viſible ſacrifice, and of remitting of ſins; that the order of the prieſthood is divided into ſeven degrees; that as ſcripture and apoſtolic tradition affirm, that ordination confers grace, it is therefore a ſacrament; that as by this ſacrament an indelible character is conferred, their opinion ought to be condemned who aſſert that prieſts have only a temporary power, and, if they neglect their office, differ not from laymen; that all Chriſtians are not prieſts, but thoſe only who are ordained by the pope, or by authority derived from him. To theſe articles eight anathemas were added, condemning all thoſe who maintained any other doctrine; and then eighteen articles were read

concerning reformation; the firſt of which ordained all prelates and curates to reſide with their flocks, prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, an abſence of above three months at a time; however, a proviſo was added, unleſs the benefit and ſervice of the church and ſtate ſhould require it. The other articles regarded the collation and regulation of orders, which ought not to be conferred on debauched perſons, or ſuch as were unworthy of them; and directed the form of the government of ſeminaries where prieſts ſhould be educated, with ſeveral other matters of no great importance.

The decrees of the council are ridiculed by the proteſtants.

THE decrees of this ſeſſion, which had been debated for near ten months, diſappointed the expectations of all *Europe*. The contradictions that appeared in the canons, and the weak preambles and abſurd concluſions, were every-where the ſubject of ridicule, eſpecially to the proteſtants, who, in their ſermons, took all opportunities of expoſing the proceedings of the council. The legates likewiſe, being ſenſible that the concluſion of the council was greatly deſired by the catholics, reſolved to haſten the deciſion of all the remaining points. They therefore altered the method of diſputing in the congregations, and propoſed the doctrines of indulgences, invocation of ſaints, images, and purgatory, to be examined at once. Having likewiſe obtained the conſent of the imperial, *French*, and *Spaniſh* ambaſſadors, to treat of the reformation of princes, they propoſed the article concerning marriage; and in the mean time drew up the heads of the reformation of princes, which they communicated to their ambaſſadors, who ſent them to their reſpective courts. This plan of a ſecular reformation was comprehended in thirteen articles in favour of the eccleſiaſtical liberty, which, as they were very extravagant, and tended greatly to the diminution of the prerogative of princes, the emperor declared that he would never ſuffer to be debated. The *French* ambaſſadors alſo affirmed, that they would proteſt againſt any deciſions of the fathers on theſe points, and would immediately withdraw from *Trent* with all the *French* prelates. The fathers of the council, upon hearing of theſe remonſtrances, entered into an aſſociation to compel the legates to propoſe the articles concerning reformation of princes; on account of which diſturbances the pope ordered the ſeſſion to be prorogued till the 11th of *November*, and in the mean time ſent for the cardinal of *Lorrain* to *Rome*, to conſult with him about diſſolving the council. During the abſence of the cardinal, one of the biſhops, in a general congregation, held on the 22d of *September*, having deſired the articles concerning the reformation to be propoſed, one of the *French* ambaſſadors immediately

diately rose up, and, after declaiming a long while against the corruptions of the *Roman* court, protested against the proceedings of the fathers, and a few days after retired to *Venice*.

THE prelates at *Trent*, however, continued their congregations, and drew up several articles of reformation; and the pope being greatly offended with the behaviour of the *French* ambassadors, who he believed were privately prompted by the queen of *Navarre* and her party, he cited her to appear within sixty days at *Rome*, to clear herself from the suspicion of heresy, and other crimes, of which she was accused. The cardinal of *Lorrain*, who had entered into a great intimacy with the pope, remonstrated but faintly against this summons; but, the *French* ambassador at *Rome* exerting himself in behalf of the queen, a stop was put to all judicial proceedings against her, only the pope refused to absolve her from the sentence of excommunication, which gave her no manner of uneasiness. Mean-while the cardinal of *Lorrain* having returned to *Trent*, the eighth session was celebrated on the 11th of *November*, at which one of the legates refused to be present, as he could not give his consent to the nullity of clandestine marriages, and affirmed that the church had no authority to dissolve them. The decree declaring marriage a divine institution, indissoluble, and one of the sacraments of the gospel, was unanimously confirmed; but the cardinals *Moron* and *Simoneta*, and fifty-six fathers, dissented from that article, by which the church was declared to have a power of dissolving clandestine marriages. Twenty-one heads of a general reformation were then read, tending chiefly to establish the pope's authority over the clergy; plurality of benefices was condemned, grants of reservation were abolished, and the right to benefices acquired by simony was declared null and void.

The pope cites the queen of Navarre *to appear at* Rome *on account of heresy.*

ALL nations now, except the *Spaniards*, earnestly desired a conclusion of the council. They, however, at length consented, on condition that the pope should regulate the matters which should be left undecided by the council, and that, in the decree concerning indulgences, they should not be ordered to be given *gratis*, which would injure the crusade in *Spain*. As news arrived at *Trent* that the pope was dangerously ill, the points concerning purgatory, the invocation and relics of saints, images, and indulgences, were hurried over superficially, and published in the ninth session on the 3d and 4th of *December*; in which likewise twenty-two heads of reformation were read concerning regulars and nuns; after which twenty-one articles were published concerning a

general reformation. The fathers also concluded the decree for the reformation of princes, under a general exhortation to them to protect the ecclesiastical liberty, and declared that the pope had full authority to dispense with any of the canons made by the council. On the second day of the session a decree was read concerning indulgences and fasts; but as the index of books, the catechism, the breviary, and the missal, were not yet finished, it was determined to submit what was already written to the judgment and authority of the pope. All the decrees of the sessions under *Paul* and *Julius* being then read, the council was solemnly dissolved, the fathers desiring the legates to ask the confirmation of the pope to their proceedings; three prelates, however, declaring that there was no need for that confirmation. The day after the fathers subscribed the decrees; namely, four legates, two other cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, one hundred and sixty eight bishops, seven abbots, thirty-nine proxies, and seven generals of orders, in all two hundred and fifty-five, very few of whom were from *Hungary* and *Poland*, none from *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Scotland*, *England*, or the *Low Countries*, not one from *Germany* in the last session, and not above forty from *Spain* and *France*; but there were more than one hundred and fifty from *Italy*, on which account the council was called the assembly of the pope and his *Italians*.

The council of Trent is dissolved.

A FEW months before the conclusion of the council, the pope received an embassy from *Maximilian*, king of the *Romans*, informing him of his election, and offering, not obedience, but devotion and reverence, to the pope and the apostolic see. *Pius* refused for a long time to give the ambassador an audience; but, after several messages betwixt *Rome* and *Germany*, finding *Maximilian* inflexible, he admitted his ambassador to a public consistory; in which, tho' he still adhered to his instructions, the cardinals nevertheless gave the usual answer, that his holiness received the obedience of the king, and confirmed his election [a]. Soon after he had given audience to this ambassador, he was informed of the dissolution of the council, at which he expressed great joy, promoting nineteen of those who had served him at *Trent* to the dignity of cardinals; and tho' he received several petitions from the ministers of his court, complaining that their offices were abolished by the decrees of the council, and asking an equivalent for the money with which they had purchased them, he nevertheless, without regarding these

Maximilian, *king of the* Romans, *refuses to yield obedience to the apostolic see.*

A. D. 1564.

[a] ONUPHR. in vit. Pii IV.

petitions,

petitions, publiſhed a bull on the 24th of *January*, confirming all the decrees of the council, and ordering them to be obſerved by all the faithful. By ſeveral other bulls, he ordered the biſhops to reſide in their dioceſes, under pain of forfeiting their revenues to the apoſtolic chamber; he prohibited any from reading the books contained in the *Index Expurgatorius*; and enjoined all thoſe, who poſſeſſed any eccleſiaſtical dignity or benefice, and thoſe who ſtudied any of the liberal arts, to ſwear to a form of the confeſſion of the catholic faith [o].

Objections are made to the proceedings of the council of Trent.

THO' the council of *Trent* was received without much difficulty at *Rome* and in *Italy*, yet many objections were raiſed againſt its decrees in *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Poland*. Several treatiſes were publiſhed againſt it by the proteſtants; and about the middle of *February* the emperor wrote to the pope, deſiring, in his own name, and in the name of his ſon-in-law the duke of *Bavaria*, that the communion might be granted to the catholics in their dominions under both kinds, and that the clergy might be allowed to marry [p] (B). *Philip* II. king of *Spain* publiſhed the decrees of the council in his dominions, without regarding the authority of the pope; but in *France* its decrees concerning reformation were generally condemned, as derogatory to the liberties of the *Gallican* church; on which account the pope, being greatly apprehenſive leſt the young king *Charles* intended to renounce the communion of the *Roman* church, prevailed with the emperor, the king of the *Romans*, the king of *Spain*, and the duke of *Savoy*, to ſollicit him conjunctly to acknowlege the council, to revoke the privileges and pardon granted to the *Hugonots*, and to abſtain from any alienation of the eccleſiaſtical revenues. In the mean time he decided the diſpute betwixt the *French* and *Spaniards* concerning precedency in favour of the *French*; and being informed that the great numbers of *Greek* refugees in *Naples* and *Sicily*, who for many years had enjoyed the free exerciſe of their own religion, began to deviate from their ancient

[o] SPOND. Annal. [p] GOLDAST. Conſt. Imper. t. ii.

(B) The catholics in *Germany* and *Poland* at this time expreſſed ſo great a deſire of communicating under both kinds, that they publiſhed a great many ſatirical verſes againſt their prieſts, whom they called *the thieves of the cup*; and they wrote thoſe words of our Saviour, *Drink ye all of it*, in gold letters, upon their books, doors, and cups (2).

(2) *Reſcius Pilen. de Sect. Evangel. part. 6. Oulist.*

faith, and to infect thoſe of the *Latin* church with heretical opinions, he revoked all their privileges, and ſubjected them to the ordinances of the *Roman* church [q]. About the ſame time he was alarmed with the diſcovery of a conſpiracy againſt himſelf; ſeveral enthuſiaſts, under pretence of a revelation from heaven, having formed a deſign to murder him, in order to facilitate a general reformation, which they ſaid would be accompliſhed by his ſucceſſor, who was to convert the whole world to Chriſtianity. The conſpirators, being apprehended, were all put to death by torture [r]. Soon after the diſcovery of this plot, *Pius* received a letter from the emperor *Maximilian*, who in the month of *July* had ſucceeded his father *Ferdinand*, intreating him to allow the marriage of prieſts: tho' the emperor likewiſe ſent a memorial, juſtifying the neceſſity of his requeſt, he could nevertheleſs obtain nothing from the pope, who thought he condeſcended ſufficiently in permitting the laity to communicate under both kinds. While the cardinals were conſidering the memorial of the emperor, *Pius*, being informed that the *Turks* had invaded the iſland of *Malta* with a fleet and army conſiſting of 80,000 men, publiſhed a jubilee for imploring the mercy of God, ordered money, gun-powder, and troops, to be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the beſieged; who likewiſe receiving ſome ſuccours from *Sicily* and *Spain*, obliged the infidels to raiſe the ſiege, which had laſted four months. *Pius* did not long ſurvive the news of the defeat of the *Turks*; but, on the 10th of *December*, died of a ſurfeit, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and the ſixth of his pontificate, having adorned the city of *Rome* with ſeveral magnificent buildings, and repaired ſome ancient monuments and aqueducts; to ſupply the expences of which works he oppreſſed his ſubjects with ſevere taxes [s].

A. D. 1565.

Pius *dies at* Rome.

Pius V. *is elected pope.* 1566.

UPON the death of *Pius*, the cardinal of *Alexandria* was unanimouſly elected pope on the 8th of *January*, by the intereſt of the two leading cardinals *Farneſe* and *Boromeo*, which laſt adviſed him to aſſume the name of *Pius* V (C). As he had

[q] SPOND. Annal. [r] ONUPHR. ut ſup. NATAL. l. xiv. THUAN. l. xxxvi. [s] ONUPH. ut ſup.

(C) *Pius* V. who, before his promotion, was called *Anthony*, or *Michael*, *Ghiſlier*, was born of mean parents at *Boſchi*, a town near *Alexandria della Puglia*. He was received into the order of *Dominicans* or *Jacobins* at fourteen years of age; and having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his regular life and eloquent preaching, he was recommended by cardinal *Carafſa* to *Julius* III.

had been a great favourite with *Paul* IV. and had acted with severity as inquisitor, his election was not very agreeable to the *Romans*; however, as his severity was not mixed with pride, ambition, and worldly considerations, their apprehensions of his tyranny soon abated. Upon his promotion he ordered his relations to retire from *Rome*; but, at the intreaties of his friends, he created *Michael Bonello*, one of his nephews, a cardinal. Being earnest to promote a reformation, he published several regulations concerning the clergy and the officers of his court, he abolished some public diversions, and banished the greatest part of the whores from *Rome*, prohibiting the rest from appearing abroad except in a certain corner of the city. In remembrance of the favours conferred on him by *Paul* IV. he again examined the cause of his nephews, whom he restored to their honours and estates; he prohibited any physicians from attending the sick after the third day, unless their patients should confess their sins to the priests; and he ordered search to be made after all those who were suspected of heresy in *Italy*, that they might be brought to *Rome* and punished [t].

He publishes several decrees for promoting a reformation.

HEARING that the emperor had convoked a diet at *Augsburg*, he ordered cardinal *Commendon*, who was returning from his legation in *Poland*, to act as his legate at that assembly; and as *Maximilian* had appeared to favour the *Lutherans*, by being present at their sermons, he charged *Commendon* to threaten him with deposition if he allowed any point of religion to be treated of in the diet. The legate, however, having more prudence than the pope, concealed these instructions, which indeed he had no occasion to produce; for the grand signior making great preparations to invade *Hungary*, and besiege *Vienna*, the attention of the diet was chiefly engaged in providing for the defence of the empire against the infidels. *Commendon* was so successful as to prevail with the catholics to accept of the decrees of the council of *Trent*, and at the conclusion of the diet presented the emperor with 50,000 crowns as a subsidy from the pope

[t] ADRIAN. l. xix.

lius III. who appointed him commissary of the inquisition. Upon the promotion of *Caraffa* to the papal chair, he was created at first bishop of *Nepi* and *Sutri*, and afterwards cardinal and supreme inquisitor; which last office no other cardinal ever enjoyed, the popes reserving it ever afterwards to themselves (3).

(3) *Pappr. Masson. in vit. Pii V. Spond. Annal.*

against

againſt the *Turks* [u]. *Pius* about the ſame time hearing of the violent proceedings of the *Calviniſts* in *Scotland*, ſome of whom had murdered *David Rizio* in the queen's preſence, he wrote to the popiſh princes to ſend her aſſiſtance, ordered a nuncio to repair to *Scotland* to reſide in that kingdom, and beſides granted her a ſubſidy of 20,000 crowns [w]. He likewiſe granted his benediction to certain ſmall images, which were then begun to be worn by the catholics in the *Low Countries*, to diſtinguiſh them from the proteſtants, beſtowing indulgences upon thoſe who wore them and recited certain prayers [x] (D).

He gives a ſubſidy to the queen of Scotland.

A.D. 1568. As the king of *Spain* the following year ſent the duke of *Alva* into *Flanders* with an army of 10,000 men, who impriſoned ſeveral chiefs of the late tumults, and the year after put the counts of *Egmont* and *Horn*, with many other nobles, to death at *Bruſſels*, executed and baniſhed great numbers of the people, and obliged the prince of *Orange* to withdraw with his army into *Germany*, the pope ordered ſupplications to be performed at *Rome*, on account of his ſucceſs againſt the heretics, and ſoon after ſent him a conſecrated cap and ſword; which preſent was received by the duke with the greateſt ceremony and reſpect [y]. The pope likewiſe ſent an army of 4500 foot and 900 horſe into *France*, to aſſiſt king *Charles* againſt the *Hugonots*, giving him leave at the ſame time to alienate the church lands to the amount of 50,000, or, according to ſome, 150,000 crowns of yearly value. In the mean time, being informed that the emperor intended to grant the free exerciſe of the proteſtant religion to the nobles and people in *Auſtria*, *Pius* again ſent cardinal *Commendon* as his legate to him, to prevent any ſuch conceſſion, and to threaten the emperor with depoſition, if he ſhould do ſo great an injury to the catholic religion. Before the arrival of *Commendon*, the permiſſion had been granted by the em-

He ſends troops to France *againſt the* Hogonots, *and*

[u] Struv. Period. in vit. Pii, l. vi. c. 2.

[w] Spond. Annal.

[x] Gabut.

[y] Spon. Annal.

(D) The papiſts hung theſe little medals about their necks. They contained on one ſide the image of our Saviour, and on the other that of the virgin *Mary*, with her ſon in her lap, and were ſuppoſed to defend thoſe who wore them from danger and harm. This ſuperſtition was quickly embraced by the papiſts all over Chriſtendom, and grew to ſuch a height that *Clement* VIII. was obliged, by a bull, to revoke the indulgences granted to them by his predeceſſors (4).

(4) *Spond. Annal.*

peror,

peror, who juſtified his conduct to the legate; but ſoon after, upon the remonſtrances of the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, he promiſed to revoke his grant, being deſirous to live in good terms with *Spain*, the ſucceſſion of which kingdom he hoped would fall to him or his children, as his couſin *Philip* had no iſſue [z].

ABOUT the ſame time the pope had ſome diſputes with the king of *Spain* and the republic of *Venice*, in conſequence of a bull which he had publiſhed at *Eaſter*, prohibiting all eccleſiaſtics to pay any taxes to temporal princes, threatening thoſe ſovereigns with excommunication who ſhould compel the clergy to pay any ſubſidies. The *Venetians* made great complaints againſt this bull, and *Philip* prohibited it from being publiſhed in his dominions. After ſeveral months diſputes, pretending to have received ſatisfaction from the pope, he gave general orders that the rights of the church ſhould be preſerved in his dominions; but his officers, however, neglecting to put his orders in execution, *Pius*, with great difficulty, was reſtrained from excommunicating them.

As he was then propoſing to form a league againſt the *Turks*, he was perſuaded not to exaſperate the king of *Spain*, whoſe aſſiſtance he likewiſe deſired againſt *Elizabeth* queen of *England*, who at this time had a rupture with *Philip*. *Pius* ſeized that opportunity of endeavouring to dethrone *Elizabeth*, and to reſtore the catholic religion in *England*. For that purpoſe he ſent over ſeveral emiſſaries to that kingdom, who formed a pious conſpiracy againſt the queen, according to *Gabutius* [a], and excited the papiſts to raiſe a rebellion; which, however, was quickly quelled. In the mean time the *French* ambaſſador informed him of a conſiderable victory gained over the *Hugonots*, and preſented him with twelve of their ſtandards which had been taken in the action, which the pope received with great ceremony, and placed over the gate of *St. Peter's* [b]. He was no leſs ſevere againſt the *Jews* than the proteſtants, and ordered them to depart within three months from all the territories of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, excepting *Rome* and *Ancona*. He likewiſe publiſhed a ſevere bull againſt thoſe who ſhould offend or injure the office of the inquiſition, or any perſons belonging to that court [c]. At the ſame time a difference happening betwixt him and the duke of *Ferrara* about the freedom of navigation upon the *Po*, and the duties on ſalt, he favoured his rival the duke of

A.D. 1569. *excites a rebellion againſt queen* Elizabeth *of* England.

He confers the title of grand duke

[z] Vit. Commend. l. iii. LONDORP. SLEIDAN. Contin. ad an. 1568. [a] GABUT. l. iii. c. 9. [b] Idem, l. ii. c. 8. CATEN. in vit. Pii V. [c] SPOND. Annal.

Florence,

of Tuscany *on* Cosmo de Medicis, A.D. 1570.

Florence, who at his desire had sent 1000 foot and 200 horse into *France*, and at his request he created him and his successors *Great Dukes of Tuscany*, notwithstanding the opposition of the imperial and *Spanish* ambassadors, who protested that such a title was derogatory to the rights of their masters in that province [d]. The following year the pope, finding that his plots against the queen of *England* had been unsuccessful, he resolved to throw off the mask, and in the end of *February* published a bull against her, in which he declared her excommunicated and deposed from her throne, threatening likewise all those who obeyed her laws and orders with excommunication. He had the mortification, however, to find his anathema despised, not only by *Elizabeth*, but even by the catholic princes, who still acknowleged her as queen, and allowed their subjects to continue their commerce in her kingdom (E).

and proposes a league against the Turks.

As the *Turks* at this time had fitted out a formidable fleet to seize the island of *Cyprus*, then in possession of the *Venetians*, this armament engaged his attention, and prevented him from pursuing his designs against *Elizabeth*. He promised the *Venetians* all the assistance in his power, and by his legates and nuncios not only pressed the emperor, and the kings of *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Poland*, and *France*, but also the sophi of *Persia*, to engage in a league against the *Turks*. The kings of *France*, *Poland*, and *Portugal*, excused themselves from engaging in the war, as did also the sophi of *Persia* and the emperor, which last pleaded in his excuse, that he had lately concluded a truce with the grand signor. The king of *Spain* did not seem averse to the league, and, at the intreaty of the nuncio, sent 50 gallies to join the *Venetian* fleet, while the treaty was negociating. *Pius* at the same time fitted out twelve gallies at *Ancona*, the command of which he gave to *Antonio Colonna*, who, about the month of *August*, joined *Zanius* and *Doria*, the *Venetian* and *Spanish* admirals, at *Crete*. The *Turks*, however, before

[d] Idem ibid.

(E) An enthusiast in *England*, named *John Felton*, having got a copy of the bull, affixed it to the gate of the bishop of *London*'s house, next *St. Paul*'s church, on the eve of the feast of *Corpus Christi*; and tho' he was urged by his friend to make his escape he refused. Being soon after apprehended, he confessed the fact; and, refusing to acknowlege the queen's supremacy, was executed as a traitor (5).

(5) Sander. de visib. Monarch. l. vii. *ad fin.*

the

the junction of the allied fleet, had landed their forces on *Cyprus*, and beſieged the capital city of the iſland, *Nicoſia*, which they took by ſtorm after a ſiege of forty-five days. Upon the news of the taking of *Nicoſia*, *Doria* returned to *Spain*, *Zanius* to *Corcyra*, and *Colonna*, bringing back only three gallies to *Ancona*, went from thence on foot to *Rome*, where he was received with great honours by the pope, who, during this unſucceſsful expedition, had ſent a commander with ſome forces to *Avignon*, to defend that city againſt the *French Hugonots* [e]. *The* French Hugonots *threaten to ſeize* Avignon. A. D. 1571.

THE ſucceſs of the *Turks* in *Cyprus* rendered the pope more urgent to conclude the league; accordingly, at his preſſing intreaties, the king of *Spain* at length ſent deputies to *Rome*; where, on the 16th of *May*, an alliance was concluded betwixt *Philip*, the pope, and the *Venetians*, by which they engaged to fit out yearly againſt the *Turks* a fleet of 200 gallies and 100 ſhips of burden, on board of which ſhould be an army of 50,000 foot and 4,500 horſe, to aſſemble every year in *March* or *April* at *Otranto*: the pope ſhould bear one-ſixth of the whole expence, and ſhould furniſh twelve gallies, 3000 foot, and 270 horſe. The chief command was conferred on Don *John* of *Auſtria*, the king of *Spain*'s natural brother, and *Mark Antonio Colonna* was appointed his lieutenant; and an honourable place was reſerved in the treaty for the emperor, and the kings of *France* and *Portugal*, who were all three again ſollicited by the pope, but nevertheleſs ſtill declined engaging in the alliance [f]. To enable the king of *Spain* and the *Venetians* to bear their part of the expences, *Pius* confirmed the grant of his predeceſſor to *Philip*, for raiſing ſuch a tax upon the eccleſiaſtical revenues as ſhould ſupport 100 gallies for the defence of the *Spaniſh* coaſt againſt the infidels, and he allowed the *Venetians* to raiſe 100,000 crowns within five years from the eccleſiaſtics within their dominions.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the *Venetian* republic had made private overtures of peace to the grand vizir at *Conſtantinople*, againſt whoſe advice the war had been commenced. However, their preliminaries were rejected, and the *Turks*, having prepared a new armament againſt *Cyprus*, in the month of *April* landed a great many troops and military ſtores at *Famagoſta*, the only city of any conſequence in *The* Turks *conquer* Cyprus.

[e] NAT. COMES. THUAN. COUTAR. Comment. de bell. Cypr. CATEN. & GABUT. in vit. Pii V. [f] Ext. integr. ap. CATEN. & GABUT. in vit. Pii V. NAT. l. xxii. MAUROC. l. x.

the iſland, which had been inveſted the year before. After a moſt vigorous defence, the city was at length obliged to ſurrender, the allied fleet, upon account of the delay of the *Spaniards*, not being able to give it any aſſiſtance. Don *John* at laſt arriving with the *Spaniſh* fleet at *Meſſina* on the 21ſt of *Auguſt*, it was reſolved to engage the infidels; and the whole fleet having received plenary indulgences from the pope, and each ſhip being provided with prieſts, who animated the men to engage, they ſailed in queſt of the enemy with 209 gallies, twelve of which belonged to the pope, eighty-one to the king of *Spain*, one hundred and eight to the *Venetians*, two to the duke of *Savoy*, three to the *Geneſe*, and three to the knights of *Malta*. There were beſides ſix large galleaſſes, twenty-four ſhips of burden, and about ſeventy ſmaller veſſels, which armament altogether was conſiderably ſuperior to that of the *Turks*. On the 5th of *October* the two fleets came to a general engagement in the gulph of *Lepanto*, when, after a fight of four hours, the *Turks* were totally defeated, 150 of their gallies being taken, and many others being burnt and ſunk; beſides 25,000, or, according to ſome, 30,000 of their men, with ſeveral of their generals, were killed, 3,500 were taken priſoners, and 15,000 Chriſtians, who were ſlaves on board the *Turkiſh* fleet, recovered their liberty, the allies having loſt only 7,600 men, the greateſt part of whom were *Venetians*.

Their fleet is intirely defeated by that of the Chriſtians.

Upon the news of this memorable victory, the pope immediately ordered public thankſgivings to be celebrated, and appointed the day of action to be commemorated annually by a divine ſervice in honour of the virgin *Mary*, and maſs to be ſaid on the octave of that feaſt for the ſouls of thoſe Chriſtians who were killed in the engagement [t]. *Antonio Colonna*, upon his return, entered *Rome* in triumph, where he was received with great pomp and ceremony by the pope, who again ſollicited the emperor, and the kings of *France* and *Portugal*, to enter into the alliance, and wrote to the kings of *Ethiopia* and *Perſia*, exhorting them to attack the *Turks*. His intreaties, however, had no effect on the Chriſtian princes, neither did the king of *Perſia* think it ſafe to venture a rupture with the *Turks*; alleging, that it was of no conſequence to have taken a few ſkiffs, while the woods were left, from whence the enemy might make others. The pope, not diſcouraged by the backwardneſs of others, made great preparations againſt the infidels, and, in the beginning of the following year, ſettled ſome diſputes with his allies,

A. D. 1572.

[t] Iidem ibid.

and

and made ſome alterations in the league; but in the month of *March*, being ſeized with a ſuppreſſion of urine, he languiſhed for ſome weeks, and died on the 1ſt of *May*, in the 68th year of his age. He was greatly lamented by the *Romans*; but his death gave great joy to the *Turks*, who, upon receiving the news, had public rejoicings for three days [h]. He founded ſeveral public ſchools and colleges, built ſome churches and religious houſes, was careful to promote only learned and virtuous men to dignities, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bounty to the poor, and by the great ſtrictneſs and purity of his life; on which account he was afterwards canonized by *Urban* VIII [i].

Pius *dies at* Rome.

Pius, before his death, having recommended to the cardinals to chuſe a ſucceſſor as ſoon as poſſible, they entered the conclave on the 11th of *May*, to the number of fifty-two, and next day unanimouſly choſe *Hugh Buoncompagno*, cardinal of *St. Sixtus*, who aſſumed the name of *Gregory* XIII. and was crowned a few days after on the feaſt of *Whitſuntide* (F). Being deſirous to proſecute the war againſt the *Turks*, *Gregory*, immediately after his election, had ſeveral conferences with the *Spaniſh* and *Venetian* ambaſſadors about continuing the league, and ſent ſeveral nuncios to the different Chriſtian princes, to exhort them to enter into a general alliance againſt the infidels. He likewiſe ſent a nuncio to *John* of *Auſtria* at *Meſſina*, urging him to proceed with the united fleet to the iſland of *Corcyra*; but the *Spaniſh* admiral, in conſequence of orders from *Philip*, refuſing to quit *Sicily*, the papal and *Venetian* admirals ſailed to *Corcyra* about the middle of *July* to oppoſe the *Turks*, who again appeared at ſea with a fleet of 200 ſail, great and ſmall veſſels included, and attacked ſeveral of the maritime places belonging to the Chriſtians. The king of *Spain* pretended to be apprehen-

Gregory XIII. *is elected.*

He proſecutes the war againſt the Turks.

[h] Caten. & Gabut. in vit. Pii V. [i] Spond. Annal.

(F) *Gregory* XIII. was born at *Bologna* in 1502, of reputable parents. Having ſpent ſeveral years in the ſtudy of the civil law, he received the degree of doctor at twenty-eight years of age, after which he taught that ſcience in his native city eight years; and then, repairing to *Rome*, he quickly obtained ſome preferments in that capital. On account of his ſkill in the law *Paul* III. ſent him to the council of *Trent*; *Paul* IV. created him biſhop of *Viſte*; and having, under *Pius* IV. aſſiſted at the general council of *Trent* a ſecond time, he was by that pope created a cardinal and legate in *Spain* (6).

(1) *Spond. Annal.*

ſive of an invaſion from *France*; but, his apprehenſions being ſoon after removed, he ſent orders to Don *John* to act in concert with the allies; but, before his arrival, much time was ſpent, and, after he joined their fleet, no plan of conduct was unanimouſly agreed to; ſo that the whole ſeaſon paſſed off without any remarkable action, and the fleets ſeparated in the beginning of *October*, having omitted to take the advantage of ſeveral favourable opportunities of diſtreſſing the enemy.

He expreſſes his joy for the maſſacre of the proteſtants in Paris.

DURING theſe tranſactions at ſea, the pope, having been informed of the maſſacre of the proteſtants at *Paris*, gave public thanks at *Rome* for the preſervation of the king from their conſpiracy, as *Charles* IX. in excuſe for his barbarity, alleged, that the admiral *Coligni*, with ſeveral other *Hugonots*, had formed a deſign of murdering him, and all the catholic princes of the royal family. Tho' the truth of this excuſe was univerſally queſtioned, yet the pope publiſhed a jubilee over all Chriſtendom, in conſideration of the great blow given to the heretics, and likewiſe on account of the ſucceſs of the duke of *Alva* in the *Netherlands*, and the ſignal victory gained the year before over the *Turks*; and he walked in proceſſion on foot to the church of *St. Lewis* at *Rome*, where

A. D. 1573. divine ſervice was performed with great pomp by the cardinal of *Lorrain*. He likewiſe made great preparations againſt the infidels for the enſuing ſeaſon; but, in the beginning of the following year, he was greatly alarmed with the news, that the *Venetians*, by the mediation of the *French* ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, had concluded a ſeparate peace with the *Turks*. He refuſed audience to the *Venetian* envoy, who came to *Rome* to excuſe the conduct of the republic; however, ſoon afterwards, being convinced by one of the ſenators who arrived at *Rome*, that the *Venetians* had been compelled by neceſſity to ſue for peace, he declared himſelf ſatisfied with their proceeding, which was approved of by the king of *Spain* without any difficulty.

The Venetians *conclude a ſeparate peace with the* Turks.

1574. IN the mean time *Henry de Valois*, brother to the king of *France*, having been elected king of *Poland*, he ſent a nuncio to *Paris*, to congratulate him upon his election, and to preſent him with a golden roſe. He ſent alſo another nuncio to *Poland*; who, upon the king's arrival there the following year, prevented him from confirming to the proteſtants what had been promiſed to them in his name. The proteſtants in that kingdom, however, were ſoon after freed from their apprehenſions from *Henry*; who, ſucceeding to the crown of *France* by the death of his brother, left *Poland* in a few months. *Gregory* in the mean time publiſhed a bull on aſ-

ceſſion-

cenſion-day, and another on the fourth *Sunday* of *Advent*, appointing a jubilee to be celebrated the following year at *Rome*; which feſtival accordingly commenced on *Chriſtmas* eve, when the pope, with his golden mallet, opened the holy gate of the *Vatican* church, where there were ſaid to be no leſs than 300,000 pilgrims waiting for the ceremony [k]. During the whole holy year there were always upwards of 100,000 foreigners at *Rome*; which, by the care of the pope, abounded with all ſorts of proviſions. *Gregory*, as an indulgence to the *Engliſh* catholics, on the 30th of *March*, publiſhed a bull, allowing them all the benefits of the jubilee in their own kingdom; in the mean while he viſited the churches in *Rome* ſeveral times with great devotion, and, according to cuſtom, aſcended the holy ladder on his knees.

A jubilee celebrated at Rome. A.D. 1575.

DURING the celebration of this feſtival at *Rome*, the pope intereſted himſelf for the ſafety of *Genoa*, which ſtate was threatened with ruin, both from a foreign enemy, and from its own inteſtine diviſions. As the ancient nobility in that republic had, for ſeveral years, oppoſed the election of the new nobles and the commons to the offices of the ſtate, theſe two laſt parties, after long diſputes, had recourſe to arms, to deliver themſelves from oppreſſion, and to aſſert their privileges; which contention encouraged Don *John* of *Auſtria* to form a deſign of invading the republic. *Gregory* ordered Don *John* to lay aſide his enterprize; and prevailing on the *Genoeſe* to accept of his mediation, together with that of the emperor and the king of *Spain*, after ſeveral months negociations the differences were compoſed in an amicable manner, and all the three parties were declared to have an equal right to enjoy any office in the adminiſtration of the republic [l].

He compoſes the diſſenſions in Genoa: A. D. 1576.

WHILE the arbitrators were negociating this accommodation, which was concluded in the month of *March*, a great plague deſolated the northern parts of *Italy*; particularly the cities of *Trent*, *Verona*, *Venice*, and *Milan*; in which laſt city cardinal *Borromeo* diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his humanity and charity, as he continually ſpent his time in viſiting the infected, and diſpoſed of all the furniture of his palace, even to his own bed, to ſupport the wants of the poor [m]. His example was imitated by the biſhop of *Verona*; and, as an alleviation of the affliction, the pope ſent his indulgences to the infected cities, granting the ſame pardon to thoſe who died with a ſorrow of their ſins, as if they had confeſſed, and

[k] Idem ibid. ex VICT. de Jubileis. [l] NATAL. COM. l. xxv, xxvi, xxvii. UBERT. FOLIET. Comment. [m] NATAL. l. xxvii. MAUROC. l. xii.

received the communion and extreme unction. Soon after, at the requeſt of the *French* king, and to defray the expences of the wars againſt the *Hugonots*, he granted a bull for the alienation of the church lands in *France*, to the amount of 50,000 crowns of yearly revenue; and as the emperor *Maximilian*, who had been elected king of *Poland* by a party in that kingdom, died in the month of *October*, he received the obedience, and confirmed the election, of *Stephen Batori*, the other competitor for that crown.

THE following year he erected a college at *Rome* for the education of the children of *Greeks* in the ſciences, and in divinity; and likewiſe founded another for the new converts from *Judaiſm*. He confirmed an archbiſhop and biſhop, ſent by the patriarch of the *Maronites* to *Rome*; and, upon their return, ſent with them two *Jeſuits* to *Mount Libanus*, to inſtruct the Chriſtians in thoſe parts in the doctrines of the *Roman* church. Not long after, being intreated by the ſtates of *Flanders* to act as mediator betwixt them and the king of *Spain*, he immediately ſent a nuncio to be preſent at the congreſs, which was held the following year at *Cologn*. At the ſame time he likewiſe ordered his nuncio in *Portugal* to accompany king *Sebaſtian* in his expedition to *Africa*, where that unfortunate prince, with the nuncio, and a great part of his army, were cut off by the *Moors*. The year following *Gregory* confirmed the new order of knights of the Holy Ghoſt, eſtabliſhed by the king of *France*; but refuſed to allow any of the church lands to be alienated for their ſupport. He ordered a treatiſe of *Scholarius*, againſt the errors of the *Greeks*, to be printed, and ſent into *Greece*; he reſtored the order of the monks of *St. Baſil*; ſent ſeveral *Franciſcan* miſſionaries to the *Eaſt Indies*; and granted aſſiſtance to the king of *Ceylon*, who had been expelled his kingdom for having embraced the Chriſtian religion [a]. Mean while his nuncio, with the deputies from the emperor, the king of *Spain*, and the States of *Flanders*, aſſembled at *Cologn*, to conſult of the means to quiet the diſturbances in the *Low Countries*. After long diſputes, the imperial deputies propoſed a plan of pacification; but it was almoſt univerſally rejected by the deputies of the States, who began to think of imploring the protection of ſome neighbouring prince. *Gregory* at the ſame time, at the ſollicitation of the *Engliſh* refugees, founded an *Engliſh* college at *Rome*; and, as he had formerly erected one at *Rheims* in *France* for the inſtruction of the exiles from *England*, who reſided in that

His mediation is deſired betwixt the king of Spain *and the* Flemings.

A. D. 1578.

He founds an Engliſh *college at* Rome;

[a] SPOND. Annal.

kingdom,

kingdom, he publiſhed a writing, by which he exhorted all the faithful to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* refugees to the utmoſt of their power. He likewiſe prevailed upon *Philip*, king of *Spain*, to ſend aſſiſtance to the popiſh rebels in *Ireland*, they having deceived him by giving him a falſe account of their forces, which they repreſented as very formidable; whereas they, with the *Spaniſh* auxiliaries, were eaſily defeated by the *Engliſh* troops. A.D. 1580.

MEAN while cardinal *Henry*, who had ſucceeded his nephew *Sebaſtian* on the throne of *Portugal*, dying, and the royal line becoming extinct in that kingdom, many competitors appeared, who claimed the ſucceſſion, among whom was *Philip* king of *Spain*, who, in order to make good his pretenſions, fitted out a formidable fleet, and ſent the duke of *Alva* into *Portugal*, with an army of 30,000 men. Tho' *Philip*'s claim was acknowleged to be juſt, yet the greateſt part of the *Portugueſe*, from their hatred of the *Caſtilians*, refuſed to ſubmit to him; and, having ſent to *Rome* to implore the protection of the pope, *Gregory* immediately ſent cardinal *Riario*, as his nuncio, to *Portugal*, to act as mediator between the two parties, and to perſuade *Philip* to lay down his arms. The king of *Spain*, however, rejected the mediation of the nuncio; and having defeated his rival Don *Antonio*, who had been crowned by the oppoſite faction, took poſſeſſion of *Liſbon*, where he was acknowleged as king of *Portugal*, and received the homage of the nobles. During theſe tranſactions in *Portugal*, the pope had a diſpute with the republic of *Venice*, which refuſed to admit thoſe who had been nominated by his holineſs to viſit the churches in their territories. After ſeveral months diſputes, the difference was at laſt accommodated, the pope conſenting to nominate only one *Venetian* prelate for the viſitation, and prohibiting him to examine the nunneries, and thoſe benefices which were under the protection of laymen [a]. *and intereſts himſelf in the ſucceſſion to the crown of* Portugal.

THE following year, having received an embaſſy from the great duke of *Muſcovy*, deſiring his mediation betwixt him and the king of *Poland*, he ſent *Antonio Poſſevini*, a *Jeſuit*, as his nuncio, to *Ruſſia*, who concluded a peace betwixt the two princes in the month of *December*; after which he ſollicited the *Ruſſian* duke to acknowlege the authority of the *Roman* ſee, and in three public diſputes impugned the rites and ceremonies of the *Greek* church. Tho' his arguments in behalf of the church of *Rome* had no influence on the *Ruſſians*, yet the duke, at his requeſt, ſent a ſecond ambaſ- *He mediates a peace betwixt* Muſcovy *and* Poland, 1581.

[a] MAUROC. l. xii.

ſador to *Rome* to return thanks to the pope, who in the mean time had received a complaint and appeal from the grand maſter of *Malta*, who had been depoſed and impriſoned by the knights of that order. *Gregory* greatly reſented this inſolence of the knights, and immediately ſent a legate to *Malta*, who took the grand maſter out of priſon, and ſent him, with thoſe who had been chiefly concerned in the outrage, to *Rome*; where he was received with great honours, while his accuſers were treated with ſcorn and contempt. Tho' he was again reſtored to his dignity, and his rival obliged to aſk his pardon, yet both he and his rival died a few weeks after; by which means an end was put at that time to the factions among the knights [p].

and orders a reformation of the calendar; A. D. 1582.

GREGORY about the ſame time having received a treatiſe from one *Antonio Lilly*, for the reformation of the calendar, which was then very erroneous, ſent copies of the book to be examined by the celebrated univerſities of *Europe*; and having received their approbation of the plan, he ſent for the moſt eminent mathematicians from all parts to *Rome*, by whoſe advice he compoſed a new cycle of epochs for the perpetual regulation of *Eaſter*. By this reformation of the calendar, he threw out ten days from the common reckoning of time, and brought down the vernal equinox to the ſame day of the month on which it was at the time of the council of *Nice*, and appointed the uſual biſſextiles to be obſerved, excepting only in the firſt year of a century; of which years he ordered every fourth only to be accounted biſſextile. This regulation, which was confirmed in the month of *February* by a bull, was allowed almoſt univerſally to be very proper; however, it was not univerſally received in *Europe*. The *Greeks*, and the proteſtants in *Germany*, *Britain*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, rejected it, that they might not ſeem in any thing to acknowlege the authority of the pope; however, it was admitted without oppoſition in *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, and *Poland*; but tho' ſome proteſtants in *Germany* wrote in its defence, yet the princes and deputies of that profeſſion, in the diet of *Augſburgh*, oppoſed its reception, ſo that the emperor was obliged to defer the further conſideration of that affair, and to order the imperial chamber to obſerve the old calendar [q].

which is rejected by the Greeks and proteſtants.

THE pope was not ſurpriſed at the oppoſition of the proteſtants to the new regulation of the year; but he was greatly alarmed to hear, that the electoral archbiſhop of *Cologn* had

[p] SPOND. Annal. [q] Idem ibid. THUAN. l. lxxix. MERC. Gallo Belg. t. iii. l. ii. p. 201. LEHMAN. l. ii. c. 44.

embraced

embraced the proteſtant religion, and married a wife. As the chapter had wrote to *Rome* againſt him, complaining that he had not only renounced the catholic religion, but propoſed likewiſe to retain his dignity as elector, and endeavoured to introduce the proteſtant religion into his dominions, the pope wrote to him, exhorting him to renounce his error before it was too late. But the archbiſhop paying no regard to this exhortation, and endeavouring to retain the poſſeſſion of his electorate by arms, *Gregory*, on the 1ſt of *April*, publiſhed a ſentence of excommunication and depoſition againſt him; and, ordering the chapter of *Cologn* to proceed to the election of a ſucceſſor, the canons accordingly, on the 23d of *May*, choſe *Erneſt*, duke of *Bavaria*, at that time biſhop of *Friſingen*, *Hildeſheim*, and *Liege*. A. D. 1583.

DURING theſe tranſactions in *Germany*, one *Parr*, an *Engliſh* catholic, then in *France*, having informed the pope, that he intended to go over to *England* to do ſome ſignal ſervice to the *Roman* church, *Gregory* granted him his benediction, and wrote to him by the cardinal of *Como*, exhorting him to perſevere in his deſign. As *Parr* the following year was detected in a conſpiracy againſt the queen's life, by the papers that were then diſcovered, the pope was accuſed of having encouraged him in his deſign of aſſaſſination, tho' all the writings from *Rome* were only expreſſed in general terms [r]. *Italy* was at this time diſtreſſed with a ſevere famine, which, having continued a long time, prevailed to ſuch a degree at *Rome*, that, at laſt, a man could hardly ſupport himſelf with bread for a crown a day. The grievouſneſs of this calamity was owing chiefly to the avarice and rapacity of the pope's relations, who, inſtead of diſtributing the corn in the magazines to the people, ſold it in the country at an extravagant price. They likewiſe bought up all that was in private hands; and prohibiting any others to ſell corn beſides themſelves, they haraſſed the poor people by the moſt violent extortion.

He is ſuſpected of having encouraged the aſſaſſination of queen Elizabeth. 1584.

THIS general diſtreſs greatly increaſed the number of the banditti, who were before very numerous, all over the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and ſome of them even had the confidence to enter *Rome*, preſuming upon the lenity, or rather the weakneſs, of the pope. As they had rendered themſelves very formidable, *Gregory* at laſt reſolved to exert himſelf againſt them, and gave orders to the provoſt marſhal of *Rome*, to make diligent ſearch after thoſe who were lurking in the city. This officer being informed, that one of the chiefs of the

[r] CAMDB. in Eliza. THUAN. l. lxxix.

robbers had taken ſanctuary in the palace of *Orſini*; went with the archers, and brought him from thence; but, in his return, meeting with *Orſini*, *Savello*, and *Ruſticucci*, three nobles, who had been riding in the country, he was deſired by them, in an imperious manner, to diſmiſs his priſoner, and reproved for violating the ſanctuary of the palace. As he refuſed to comply with their demands, one of the nobles ſtruck him with his whip; which blow he reſented, by ordering the archers to fire at the nobles, one of whom was inſtantly killed, and the other two mortally wounded. This ſcuffle occaſioned a general tumult through the city, all the nobles eſpouſing the cauſe of *Orſini*; and many of the people, who were their dependents, aſſembling in a riotous manner, and murdering all the *Sbirri*, or archers, whom they could find. *Gregory*, not being able to ſuppreſs their violence, diſſembled his reſentment for ſome days; but, having apprehended ſome of the chiefs of the ſedition, he ordered them to be executed; and to calm and appeaſe the people, he cauſed the provoſt marſhal to be put to death [s].

He endeavours to form an alliance againſt the Turks.

To take off the attention of the city from the late diſorder, he ſoon after made a promotion of nineteen cardinals, the greateſt part of whom were diſtinguiſhed for their virtues and abilities. About the ſame time he founded a college at *Rome* for the *Maronites* of *Mount Libanus* (G); and, being deſirous to form a new alliance againſt the *Turks*, he ſent a legate to the king of *Perſia*, and another to the king of *Ethiopia*, to exhort them to declare war againſt the grand ſignior [t]. He likewiſe publiſhed a bull, ordaining a ſermon to be preached weekly to the *Jews*, in all places where they had a ſynagogue; and ordered at leaſt the third part of them, above twelve years of age, to attend, if no lawful impediment prevented them [u]. Soon after he was earneſtly ſollicited by the duke of *Guiſe*, and thoſe catholics in *France* who had formed the holy league, to excommunicate the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Conde*; but he refuſed to grant their requeſt, being perſuaded, that the league was chiefly formed, not to defend the catholic religion, but to advance the duke of *Guiſe* to the ſucceſſion of the throne.

A. D. 1585.

[s] Thuan. l. lxxxii. [t] Annal. Greg. apud Victor.
[u] Spond. Annal.

(G) He is ſaid to have erected, during his pontificate, three-and-twenty at *Rome*, and in the different provinces of Chriſtendom (1).

(1) *Cabrer. & Ugnol. in Addit. ad Giacon. in Greg. XIII.*

MEAN

MEAN while he received an embaſſy from three kings in *Japan*, who ſome years before had been converted to the Chriſtian religion by *Francis Xavier* and other *Jeſuits*. The two ambaſſadors, with their retinue, and other two nobles that accompanied them, after a voyage of two years, arrived in *Spain*; where they were received with great reſpect by *Philip*, who conducted them to *Leghorn*, from whence they went to *Florence*, where they were entertained with great magnificence by the grand duke. Upon their arrival at *Rome*, *Gregory* deſired all the cardinals and foreign ambaſſadors to wait upon him in form, and granted them an audience, and received their obedience, in a public conſiſtory, when he could not refrain from expreſſing his joy by his tears [w]. After the audience he admitted them to the honour of lifting up the hem of his garment, appointed the *Jeſuits* convent for their reſidence, ordered them to be clothed after the *Italian* manner, and granted them a large allowance for their expences (H). A few days after, being ſeized with a quinzy, he died on the 10th of *April*, on the ſecond day of his illneſs, and the 84th year of his age. He had enjoyed a very ſtrong conſtitution, which he had improved by temperance and exerciſe; his countenance was chearful and pleaſing, and he was greatly beloved by the *Romans* on account of the lenity of his government, not conſidering that the weakneſs of his adminiſtration gave encouragement to all manner of vices and irregularities. The greateſt crimes were committed during his pontificate with impunity, and a general corruption of manners overſpread the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate; however, upon his death, the diſorders increaſed

He receives an embaſſy from Japan.

He dies at Rome.

[w] Apud VICTOR. in Addit. ad Ciacon.

(H) The names of theſe ambaſſadors were *Mancio*, *Iſus*, and *Michael Gingiva*, and they were ſaid to be nearly related to the kings of *Bungo*, *Arima*, and *Omura*, whom they repreſented. However, many people affirmed, that the embaſſy was an impoſition of the *Jeſuits*, to advance the credit of their order; and that the pretended ambaſſadors were only mean perſons, hired and inſtructed to perſonate that character, by thoſe fathers, who likewiſe forged their credentials; and, being their interpreters, made them ſpeak whatever beſt ſuited their purpoſes. Their honourable reception gave occaſion to ſome paſquinades, and ſeveral *Spaniſh* merchants then at *Rome*, who had lately been at *Japan*, affirmed, that, when they were in that kingdom, they had heard no mention of any embaſſy, or the converſion of any king (2).

(2) *Greg. Alt. vit. di Sixt. V.*

during the vacancy of the ſee, at which time the *Romans* generally commit great tumults and riots, as the laws are then ſilent through all the papal territories, and the new pope always begins his government with a general pardon to all criminals. At this vacancy all manner of reſtraint was thrown off: the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate was one ſcene of debauchery and barbarity; and, at *Rome*, aſſaſſinations, murders, and rapes, were committed by all degrees of people, clergy as well as laity. The palaces of five cardinals were robbed; and that of *Farneſe*, where there were above thirty ſervants and guards, was plundered, not ſecretly, or in a private manner, but publicly, and in the middle of the day.

DURING the ten days that the funeral ceremonies of the deceaſed pope laſted, the cardinals, who had any pretenſions to the papacy, were carrying on their ſchemes and intrigues, running about to ſollicit the ſuffrages and intereſt of their friends. On the 21ſt of *April* they entered the conclave, to the number of forty-two, being divided into ſix particular factions, who more or leſs favoured different candidates. As the intereſt of ſome of the chiefs was very near equally balanced, they were a mutual check to each others promotion; and were, in their turns, rejected at ſeveral ſcrutinies. At length the cardinals *Abexandrino*, *Medicis*, and *D'eſte*, reſolved to join their intereſt in favour of cardinal *Montalto*, an old decrepid mortified prelate; who declined that dignity with great appearance of humility, and told them, that they muſt not think of making him pope, unleſs they reſolved to take the burden of the adminiſtration on their own ſhoulders.

Sixtus V. *is elected pope.* They readily agreed to this exception; and having by their intereſt brought over ſeveral other cardinals, they produced a legal majority for *Montalto*, who was choſen on the 24th of *April*, and aſſumed the name of *Sixtus* V.

An account of his birth. HE was born of poor and mean parents, in the march of *Ancona*, at a village called *Le Grotte*, in the lordſhip of *Montalto*. His father, *Francis Peretti*, who was a common plowman, could not afford to give him any education, and, when he was nine years old, hired him out to one of his neighbours, to look after his ſheep and hogs. He did not long continue in this mean occupation; for being deſired by a *Franciſcan* friar, who had loſt his way, to ſhew him the road to *Aſcoli*, he deſerted his hogs, and ran before him to the town. The friar, after he had found his road again, deſired him ſeveral times to return; but the boy refuſing to leave him, he at length aſked him if he would take upon him the habit of his order, which he deſcribed as very auſtere;

auſtere; to which the boy replied, "That he would willingly "ſuffer the pains of purgatory, if he would make him a "ſcholar." He was accordingly received, with the conſent of his parents, into the convent of *Franciſcans* at *Aſcoli*, where he quickly made a ſurprizing progreſs in learning. In his 13th year he aſſumed the habit of that order, but he retained his own name *Felix*, or *Felice*. He ſoon after diſtinguiſhed himſelf at ſeveral public diſputations, and acquired a conſiderable reputation as an elegant preacher; but at the ſame time he raiſed himſelf a great many enemies by his fiery impetuous diſpoſition, as he reſented the leaſt injury with great animoſity and vehemence, which he frequently provoked by his own inſolence and diſdainful behaviour. He early diſcovered a great ambition; and though he was envied and hated by his brother monks, yet, by his abilities, he acquired the favour and eſteem of cardinal *Carpi*, whoſe protection was of great ſervice to him againſt his numerous enemies. By the intereſt of this cardinal he obtained ſeveral ſmall promotions; and having likewiſe ingratiated himſelf with father *Ghiſilieri*, afterwards *Pius* V. and with the *Colonna* family at *Rome*, he obtained the office of inquiſitor-general at *Venice*, where, by his inſolent and over-bearing behaviour, he ſo greatly offended the ſenate, that, upon the death of *Paul* IV. he was obliged to conſult his ſafety by flight. However, upon the election of *Pius* II. he returned to that city, and again ſacrificed his own repoſe to trouble, and diſturb that of others: but at laſt, being apprehenſive of the reſentment of the ſenate, he provided a gondola, by which he made his eſcape in the middle of the night, after he had ordered an inſolent monitory to be hung upon the door of St. *Mark*'s church. Upon his return to *Rome* he was made conſultor of the inquiſition, and ſoon after went with the legate *a latere*, *Buron Campagnon*, as his chaplain, to *Spain*. While he was in that kingdom, his friend *Ghiſilieri* being choſen pope, he created him general of his order, afterwards biſhop of St. *Agatha*, and at laſt a cardinal; and, to enable him to ſupport his dignity, he aſſigned him a penſion, and beſides made him a preſent of a conſiderable ſum of money.

He is created a cardinal, and artfully diſguiſes his natural diſpoſition.

UPON his promotion to the ſacred college, which happened in the 49th year of his age, he quite altered his former manner of life; and to conceal his aſpiring views, he affected a total diſregard of all worldly purſuits, and became humble, meek, patient, and affable; which maſk of hypocriſy he wore with great perſeverance for fifteen years. He led a very retired and private life, exerciſed himſelf in works of piety, ſpent much of his time in the confeſſional chairs,

ſeldom

ſeldom appeared at the conſiſtories, and, during the three laſt years of the pontificate of *Gregory*, affected to be very infirm and ſickly; ſo that he was often ſaluted in a manner that would not have been very agreeable to any body elſe, "God "help you, poor old man; you have almoſt run your "race."

His behaviour upon his election to the pontificate.

THE cardinals, out of contempt, uſed to call him *The Aſs of la Marca*; ſo that their aſtoniſhment was inexpreſſible when he threw off the diſguiſe. While they were crowding towards him in the conclave, to congratulate him, he ſat coughing and weeping, as if ſome great misfortune had befallen him; but he no ſooner perceived, upon the ſcrutiny, that there was a ſufficient number of votes to ſecure his election, than he threw his ſtaff, with which he uſed to ſupport himſelf, into the middle of the chapel, ſtretched himſelf up, and appeared taller, by almoſt a foot, than he had done for ſeveral years before. This behaviour alarming the cardinal *Dean*, he called out, "Stay a little, ſoftly, there is a miſtake in "the ſcrutiny:" but *Montalto*, with a ſtern look, boldly anſwered, "There is no miſtake;" and immediately begun himſelf the *Te Deum laudamus*, in ſuch a ſtrong and audible voice, that the whole conclave was at firſt ſtruck dumb; but at length accompanied him in a tame and ſpiritleſs manner. After the hymn, the maſter of the ceremonies aſked him, according to the form, "Whether he was pleaſed to "accept of the papacy?" To which he replied, ſomewhat ſharply, "It is trifling and impertinent to aſk whether I "will accept of what I have already accepted. However, "to ſatisfy any ſcruple that may ariſe, I tell you that I ac"cept it with great pleaſure, and would accept another, if "I could get it; for I find myſelf ſtrong enough, by the "divine aſſiſtance, to manage two papacies." While the cardinals were putting on his pontifical robes, he ſtretched out his arms with great vigour and activity; upon which one of them ſaid to him, in a familiar way, "I perceive, "holy father, the pontificate is a ſovereign medicine, ſince "it can reſtore youth and health to old ſick cardinals:" To which he replied, in a grave and majeſtic manner, "So I "find it." After cardinal *Farneſe* had performed the ceremony of the adoration, he ſaid to him, "Your holineſs "ſeems a quite different ſort of a man from what you was "a few hours ago." "Yes (ſaid he), I was then looking "for the keys of paradiſe, which obliged me to ſtoop a little; "but now I have found them, it is time to look upwards, "as I am arrived at the ſummit of all human glory, and can "climb no higher in this world." In his paſſage from the

conclave

conclave to *St. Peters*, the people, who at first would not believe that he was the same person with the old decrepid cardinal *Montalto*, cryed out, *Long live the pope*; and added, according to custom, *Plenty, holy father, plenty and justice!* To which he replied, "Pray to God for plenty, and I will give you justice."

His rigid administration of justice.

HAVING now attained to the height of his ambition, he laid aside that appearance of humility he had so long worn, and behaved with great state and reserve. He received the foreign ambassadors in a complaisant manner, and was particularly kind to those from *Japan*, to whom he gave several rich presents; and having created them knights of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, dismissed them a few months afterwards with his benediction. Upon the news of his election, many criminals and banditti voluntarily surrendered themselves, not making the least doubt of a pardon from the general character of *Montalto*'s lenity. But never were any more fatally disappointed; for having haughtily rejected the intercession of the ambassadors, cardinals, and nobles, in their behalf, he gave orders to the governor of *Rome* to confine them more strictly, and to execute four of them on the day of his coronation. He likewise published regulations to be observed on that day: and having ordered the governor to provide twelve executioners of different nations, he commanded them some days before to parade through the streets, with an ax in one hand and a halter in the other; which appearance struck such a terror into the *Romans*, that during the procession of the coronation there was not the least disturbance or riot; whereas formerly, during that ceremony, rapes, murders, and a thousand enormities, were usually committed.

He promotes his relations.

SOON after the coronation he sent for his only sister *Camilla*, with her daughter and two grandsons, and a niece, the daughter of his deceased brother, who, upon their approach to *Rome*, were met by three cardinals, who dressed them in magnificent habits, and conducted them to the *Vatican*. But *Sixtus* disdaining, in such a trifling matter, to be obliged to the cardinals, pretended not to know his sister, till she had resumed her former dress; then he received her kindly, and declared, that nobody should make a princess of her but himself. He assigned her a considerable revenue, and gave her one of his palaces for her residence; at the same time advising her to content herself with that sober modesty which became the meanness of her birth, and the gravity of those who were related to the papal chair: he likewise conferred the dignity of a cardinal on the eldest of her grandsons, *Alex-*

ander

ander Peretti, who was then about eighteen years of age, and afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning and abilities. The king of *Spain* and the grand duke of *Tuſcany* offered to confer titles of honour on his ſiſter, which he refuſed; however, he expreſſed his ſatisfaction with the behaviour of the *Venetians*, who ordered public rejoicings upon his exaltation, and admitted the family of *Peretti* to the honour of nobility in their ſtate, being afraid of his reſentment for their treatment of him when he was inquiſitor at *Venice*.

compels the poor to work, and

BEING ſhocked with the great numbers of poor at *Rome*, who were periſhing for want, he gave an authority to four perſons, of great prudence and experience, to ſummon before them all thoſe who had no viſible way of getting a livelihood, and to compel them to work, or to baniſh them from the city. He likewiſe prohibited foreigners from ſettling at *Rome*, unleſs they brought a certificate that they were able, by ſome trade or profeſſion, to maintain a family; and none were allowed to marry without a previous examination of their circumſtances. He gave great encouragement to trade and manufactures; and, to check the inſolence of the nobility, he commanded all the merchants and tradeſmen to bring him in a liſt of their debts, with the names of the people that owed them, which he paid off, and became general creditor himſelf. This order occaſioned ſuch a general alarm, that many paid their debts the ſame day it was publiſhed, and begged of their merchants to give them ſuch receipts as though they had been paid long before. At the ſame time he deprived the cardinals and nobles of thoſe privileges and immunities, by which they ſheltered debtors and criminals from the law, and continually urged the governor of *Rome* to make examples of juſtice, chiding him for his remiſſneſs, and declaring, that he would rather have the gibbets and gallies full than priſons.

the nobles to pay their debts.

He extirpates the banditi, and

IN order intirely to extirpate the banditti, who ſtill continued in great bodies in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, their numbers having been increaſed by many, who, from the rigorous proceedings of *Sixtus*, deſpaired of pardon, and fled from juſtice, he publiſhed an edict againſt them, offering all thoſe a free pardon who ſhould ſurrender within three months, and excluding them from mercy after that term, promiſing a pardon, and a reward of 500 crowns, to any of them who ſhould betray his fellow; and prohibiting all perſons whatever, not excepting nobles and eccleſiaſtics, from correſponding with them, or concealing them, under the penalty of death upon the wheel or gallows. Having appointed three ſevere judges, with a body of 500 ſoldiers, to put this order

in

in execution, in leſs than ſix months all the banditti were either taken or diſappeared.

obliges the confeſſors to inform him of the crimes of their penitents

He likewiſe ordered the ſyndics, or mayors, of every town and lordſhip, as well thoſe that were actually in office, as thoſe who had enjoyed that dignity for the laſt ten years, to ſend him a liſt of all the vagrants, common debauchees, looſe and diſorderly people, in their diſtricts, threatening them with the ſtrapado if they omitted or concealed any one; which puniſhment the ſyndic of *Albano* actually underwent, for omitting the name of his nephew. And in order to ſuppreſs all manner of vice, he not only puniſhed ſeveral people, upon the information which he had received from themſelves at their confeſſions, when he was cardinal, but likewiſe obliged other confeſſors to acquaint him with any thing extraordinary that was commmunicated to them; and, to inſpect the conduct of the magiſtrates, he diſperſed a great many ſpies through the city and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, to whom he allowed conſiderable penſions, which were punctually paid.

He employed alſo a great many others at all foreign courts, by which means he had intelligence of the ſecret deſigns of other ſtates, particularly of the king of *Spain* having formed a deſign to ſieze *Naples*, one of the dependencies of that crown, which was ſuſpected by his behaviour to the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, a few weeks after his promotion: for when the horſe, with 7000 crowns, was preſented to him on the feaſt of St. *Peter*, as a tribute for *Naples*, he ridiculed his predeceſſors, who had exchanged a kingdom for a beaſt, and added, that he would ſoon put an end to that ſimple cuſtom; which words being tranſmitted to *Philip*, he gave orders to the duke of *Oſſuna*, viceroy of *Naples*, to ſtrengthen the garriſons upon the frontiers, and to do his utmoſt to penetrate into the deſigns of the pope. About the ſame time *Sixtus* had a rupture with the king of *France*, who had ſent orders to the new nuncio, who was then on his journey to *France*, to ſtop at *Lyons*, as he had wrote to *Rome*, deſiring that the old nuncio might not be recalled. This proceeding of the king greatly inflamed the pope, who immediately ordered the *French* ambaſſador to leave *Rome* within three days. However, ſoon after, by the interceſſion of ſeveral cardinals, the difference was compromiſed, the king agreeing to accept of the new nuncio, and his ambaſſador returning to his reſidence at the court of *Rome*.

Whether this rupture had alienated him from the king of *France* is uncertain; but about two months after, he declared his approbation of the catholic league made by the

Guiſe

Guiſe faction, who, under pretence of defending the old religion, had formed an aſſociation againſt the king and *Henry* of *Navarre*, the preſumptive heir of the crown. He wrote with his own hand to the duke of *Guiſe*, and, comparing him to *Judas Maccabeus*, promiſed him all the aſſiſtance in his power: and, in the end of *September*, he publiſhed a bull of excommunication againſt *Henry* king of *Navarre*, and the prince of *Conde*, and all their adherents, pronouncing them heretics, and, as ſuch, declaring their eſtates and poſſeſſions forfeited, and both them and their dependents incapable of ſucceeding to any ſovereignty, eſpecially to the crown of *France*. The pope, upon the publication of this bull, wrote to the emperor *Adolphus*, deſiring him to prevent any aſſiſtance going from *Germany* to the *French Hugonots*, and to prohibit all foreign levies, under the pain of the ban of the empire.

He excommunicates the king of Navarre,

THE king of *Navarre* in the mean time, being rouſed by the pope's proceedings from a life of pleaſure, anſwered the manifeſto of the league, and by means of his friends at *Rome* ſtuck up his proteſt, with that of the prince of *Conde*, in every ſtreet, upon all the cardinals doors, and even upon the gates of the *Vatican*, accuſing *Sixtus* of being a falſe and malicious liar, and appealing from him to a free council, where they would prove that he himſelf was a heretic; and that, if he did not appear, they would account him antichriſt, and declare perpetual war againſt him. *Sixtus* was greatly enraged at this appeal, and at ſeveral paſquinades that were then publiſhed; but could not, by all his ſpies, diſcover thoſe who had fixed them up. After his fury was ſomewhat ſubſided, he ſpoke of the king of *Navarre* in terms of reſpect, and admired his courage and greatneſs of mind, who, at that diſtance, had taken ſo proper and bold a method to ſhew his reſentment. From that time he refuſed to contribute any money to the war that was carrying on againſt him; and he was afterwards frequently heard to ſay, that there were but two princes in the world, meaning *Henry* of *Navarre* and *Elizabeth* of *England*, whoſe friendſhip and correſpondence he would court and deſire, if they were not both infected with the guilt of hereſy [x]. According to *Gregorio Leti*, he, about this time, gave ſome ſecret encouragement to queen *Elizabeth* to take the ſtates of *Holland* under her protection, from his deſire of repreſſing the overgrown power of the *Spaniards*.

who appeals to a general council.

[x] THUAN. l. lxxxii. & xci. SPOND. Annal. GREG. LET. vit. di Sixt. V.

HAVING

ıVING now rendered himſelf reſpected abroad, and ter- to his own ſubjects, who trembled at the mention of his ; he began to open his bowels, and yield to the dictates atitude and generoſity. Before his promotion to the ification, he had noted down in a diary the moſt remark- tranſactions of his life, and the names of his benefac- and enemies; and as he now had an opportunity of ing his gratitude to thoſe who formerly obliged him, ith great humour and kindneſs rewarded his former be- tors, many of whom had entirely forgot the ſervices had done him (I). Towards the end of the year like- wiſe,

Sixtus *is grateful to his former benefactors.*

Of the many ſtories that elated of this pope, with d to the behaviour to his er benefactors, we ſhall the following. When in outh he reſided at *Mace-* he went one day to a naker's ſhop to by a pair oes. After ſome diſpute t the price, the ſhoemaker im, he would take no leſs ſeven julios, or three ſhil- and ſixpence. *Montalto* id him ſix julios, which ll the money he had, and "Perhaps I ſhall be able give you the ſeventh ſome ie or other." "Some time other (replied the ſhoe- ıker); but when will that ? when you come to be pe? Yes (ſaid *Montalto*), at I will, with all my heart, d pay you intereſt for your ney too. Well then (an- ered the ſhoemaker) ſince I you are not without hopes being pope, you ſhall even ve them upon thoſe terms." *ılto* having aſked him his e, and noted the tranſac- in his diary, after his pro- on ſent to *Macerata*, to *r* if the ſhoemaker was ſtill ; and being informed that as, ordered the governor hat place to ſend him up directly to *Rome*, guarded by one of his officers. The poor ſhoemaker was ſurpriſed and affrighted with the news that the pope deſired to ſee him; and having entirely forgot the tranſaction with the young friar, which had happened forty years before, he recalled to his mind all the ſins that he had committed in his life, conſidering for which of them he could be cited to appear before his holineſs. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, *Sixtus* aſked him, if he had ever ſeen him at *Macerata*. The ſhoemaker trembling, told him, No. *Sixtus* again aſked him, if he ever remembered to have ſold a pair of ſhoes to a young friar, and to have given him credit for a julio; but he proteſting that he knew nothing at all of the matter, *Sixtus* related to him the agreement they had formerly made, and ordered his ſteward to pay him the julio, with the intereſt for forty years, which amounted to two julios more. The ſhoemaker went away very much diſſatisfied, loudly complaining to every one he met, that the pope had put him to the expence of forty crowns, to come from *Macerata* to *Rome* to receive three julios. *Sixtus* being informed of his

wiſe, he made a promotion of eight cardinals, all men of extraordinary merit, and moſt of them perſons of high birth: but though the *Jeſuits* uſed great art to inſinuate themſelves into his favour, he always refuſed patronizing them as his predeceſſor had done, but uſed them upon many occaſions as his ſpies.

He adorns Rome *with many new ſtructures.* A. D. 1586.

ROME, and the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate, being now rendered ſecure and peaceable by the extirpation of the banditi, and ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, *Sixtus* applied his mind to the embelliſhing of the city with magnificent buildings, by which means he gave employment to great numbers of the poor. By the aſſiſtance of the celebrated architect *Dominic Fontana*, born at *Como*, he erected a famous obeliſk, that had been brought from *Thebais* in *Egypt* to *Rome*, and dedicated to the emperor *Auguſtus*, and *Tiberius* his adopted ſon. This obeliſk was overturned by *Totila*, king of the *Goths*, and had long lain neglected behind the veſtry of *St. Peter*'s church. It conſiſts of one piece of marble of ſeventy-two feet in length, and the difficulty of removing it had been hitherto accounted ſo great, that ſeveral popes, who had deſigned to have erected it, deſiſted, after ſome weak efforts, from that undertaking: but *Sixtus* reſolved to ſurmount every obſtacle; and at length accompliſhed the arduous enterprize by the ingenuity of *Fontana*, who invented an amazing machine for that purpoſe, and employed a great number of people more than twelve months. Beſides the elevating of this obeliſk, which was dedicated to the holy croſs, *Sixtus*, during his whole pontificate, employed ſeveral thouſands of people in great and magnificent works. He erected ſeveral other obeliſks; built a chapel, which he dedicated to the holy manger, and adorned with the fineſt marble; brought water to his palace on *Monte Cavallo*, by an aqueduct twenty-two miles in length; founded a large hoſpital, capable of containing 2000 people; repaired, or rather rebuilt, the bridge of *Sixtus* IV. over the *Tyber*, and erected a fine palace, for the uſe of the popes, near the *Lateran* church. He alſo built ſeveral new ſtreets, one of which was two miles long, and called after his own name,

his behaviour by his ſpies, ordered him to return, and demanded of him if he had a ſon. The ſhoemaker anſwering yes, and that he was an honeſt good prieſt of the order of *Servi*, the pope ſent for him to *Rome*, and before the departure of his father conferred upon him a biſhopric in the kingdom of *Naples* (1).

(1) *Greg. Let. ut ſupra.*

Strada

Strada Felice: he enlarged the *Vatican* palace; from whence he made a grand ſtair-caſe to St. *Peter*'s church, the dome or cupola of which he completed: he founded a college in the convent of the holy apoſtles, and another at *Bologna:* he likewiſe intended to have built a city at the village of *le Grotte*, where he was born; but the ſituation of the place being incommodious, he was not able to accompliſh this deſign; however, he granted ſeveral privileges to the *Borgo di Montalto* in the neighbourhood of *le Grotte*, and afterwards erected that new city into a biſhop's ſee. Beſides, he regulated his militia, enrolling all his ſubjects that were able to bear arms, and appointing officers in every city to diſcipline and exerciſe them. In order to favour his deſigns againſt the kingdom of *Naples*, he fortified ſeveral towns on his frontier towards that kingdom, and laid a tax upon all the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, to defray the expence of building a fleet.

He reſtores the authority of the apoſtolic ſee in Switzerland.

DURING theſe tranſactions, *Sixtus*, at the requeſt of the popiſh cantons of *Switzerland*, ſent a nuncio into that country, who reſtored the authority of the holy ſee, which was almoſt extinguiſhed among them. He likewiſe publiſhed a bull, condemning the practice of judicial aſtrology; and ſome months afterwards, by another, he aſcertained the qualifications neceſſary for thoſe that ſhould be received into the ſacred college, and limited the number of cardinals to ſeventy. However, the regulations of this bull were too ſtrict to be obſerved, and were almoſt all annulled by his ſucceſſors. At the repeated ſollicitations of the *French* king, he granted him a bull for the alienation of the church revenues in *France*, to the amount of 50,000 crowns a year [y]. As he was very intent upon aggrandizing the holy ſee, and thought it below the dignity of apoſtolic nuncios to live in hired houſes, he intended about this time to purchaſe a palace for their reſidence, ſuitable to their rank, at each different court of *Europe*. The ſenate of *Venice*, upon hearing of his intention, immediately made a preſent of a palace to his nuncio in their city; which act of generoſity was ſo agreeable to the pope, that he returned thanks in perſon to their ambaſſador at *Rome*, and preſented the ſenate with a noble palace in the city, for the perpetual reſidence of their ambaſſador. However, he refuſed the ſame offer from other ſtates, as he foreſaw that it would be attended with very great inconveniences: and being informed of the death of the king of *Poland*, he ſent a nuncio into that kingdom, to take care that

[y] SPOND. Annal.

no prejudice ſhould be done to the catholic religion at the future election.

The Romans erect a ſtatue to him.

MEAN while the *Romans*, out of gratitude to the pope, who had reſtored tranquility and plenty to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, ordered a ſtatue to be erected to him in the capitol. However, his patriot ſchemes did not prevent ſeveral paſquins and ſatires from appearing againſt him, the authors of which he ſometimes puniſhed in a ſevere manner, and at other times deſpiſed. This year he ordered a general chapter of the *Franciſcan* order to be held at *Rome*, the whole expence of which he defrayed himſelf. He condeſcended to honour one of their meetings with his preſence, and after the chapter broke up, he deſired them all to attend at the *Vatican*, as he intended to grant every one of them ſome favour. This declaration occaſioned great diſcontent and murmurings among the other orders; but, in the end, turned out to the mortification and confuſion of the *Franciſcans*. After *Sixtus* had heard all their requeſts, ſome of which were ridiculous and extravagant, he diſmiſſed them all with an abſolute refuſal, alleging, that their deſires had all been ſelfiſh, and inconſiſtent with their vows. However, he granted the petition of a poor lay-brother, which was of a public nature; and, at his requeſt, ordered an elegant fountain to be erected in the convent of the holy apoſtles, which was in great want of water.

A. D. 1587.

He erects ſeveral congregations of cardinals:

FOR facilitating the adminiſtration of affairs, *Sixtus*, about this time, eſtabliſhed fifteen congregations of cardinals, ſome of which had been inſtituted by other popes, but were now altered and new modelled by him (K). In the mean time, being

(K) The firſt of theſe is the congregation of the holy office eſtabliſhed by *Pius* IV. and reformed by *Pius* V. It conſiſts of at leaſt twelve cardinals, with ſeveral other prelates and divines of different orders, who were called conſultors of the holy office. The 2d, for expediting grants of reſervation. The 3d, for erecting of new churches. The 4th, for providing the eccleſiaſtical ſtate with corn. The 5th, for ſacred rites and ceremonies. The 6th, for the defence of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and the ſupport of the fleet. The 7th, the congregation *delle indice*, to cenſure what books they think cenſurable. The 8th, for expounding the canons of the council of *Trent*. The 9th, the congregation *delli ſgravi*, or *de bono regimine*, for redreſſing all grievances, oppreſſions, and vexations, of the ſubject. The 10th, for ſupporting univerſities. The 11th, for the conſultations of the regulars of every order. The 12th, for the conſultations of biſhops, and the viſitation of churches. The 13th, for the roads, bridges, and waters in

being informed that *Erneſt*, the new elector of *Cologn*, on account of the oppoſition of the proteſtants, was thinking of reſigning his archbiſhopric, and retiring to *Bavaria*, he ſent the biſhop of *Verceil* to diſſuade him from that deſign, and wrote to thoſe princes, who had formerly engaged as his auxiliaries, ſtill to continue their aſſiſtance. He likewiſe wrote to the duke of *Parma* to aſſiſt the elector, and ſent the abbot *Grimani*, his chamberlain, with the preſent of a conſecrated hat and ſword for the duke, who received them in the midſt of his camp with great ceremony, after he had taken the cities of *Grave*, *Venlo*, and *Nuits* [a] (L). About the ſame time alſo he ſent a conſecrated ſword to the duke of *Guiſe*, the head of the league in *France*; and as the grand duke of *Tuſcany* died at *Florence* without heirs, he allowed cardinal *di Medicis*, who ſucceeded him, to reſign his hat, obliging him, for that indulgence, to make rich preſents to the church of St. *John de Lateran* [a]. His nuncio in *Poland* informing him, that the archduke *Maximilian* had been elected king, by a party in that kingdom, he immediately ſent him 22,000 ducats, to aſſiſt him againſt his competitor the prince of *Sweden*, who was choſen by another faction. At the earneſt ſollicitation of the *Spaniards*, he excommunicated queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, who, in the beginning of the year, had put to death the queen of *Scotland*; which inhuman proceeding was looked upon with horror and deteſtation, both by proteſtants and papiſts. The queen in return excommunicated the pope, and all his adherents, and made great preparations to oppoſe the intended invaſion of the *Spaniards* [b].

He excommunicates Elizabeth *queen of* England, *and* A.D. 1588.

As *Sixtus* was very earneſt to ſee the formidable power of the *Spaniards* weakened by a war with *England*, he wrote to *Philip* with his own hands, exciting him to that enterprize, promiſing to bear part of the expence, and to advance a million of crowns as ſoon as he ſhould be certainly in-

gives the inveſtiture of the kingdom to Philip *of* Spain.

[a] STRADA de bell. Belg. Dec. ii. t. ii. [a] THUAN. l. xcii. [b] Idem, l. xciv.

in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The 14th, for the printing-office in the *Vatican*. And the 15th, the congregation of ſtate for the well government of the pope's dominions (1).

(L) The hilt and ſcabbard of the ſword were ſet with jewels of great value. There were many alſo upon the hat, which was made of black velvet, fringed with gold (2).

(1) *Spond. Annal. ex t.* ii. *Bullar. Sixt. V.* (2) *Greg. Let.* * *vit. di Sixt. V.*

formed that his forces had landed in *England*. At the recommendation of *Philip*, to whom he gave the inveſtiture of *England*, he made *William Allen* a cardinal; and to encourage the *Spaniards*, he ſent, for the uſe of the *Armada*, ſeveral large cheſts full of *agnis Dei*, medals, crucifixes, relicks, pardons, and indulgences, with which the men, eſpecially the officers, were ſo loaded and incumbered, that they looked more like pilgrims than ſoldiers. The *Spaniards* preſſed him earneſtly to grant 500,000 crowns before the ſailing of the fleet, but he abſolutely refuſed their requeſt; and, upon being informed of the loſs of the *Armada*, to prevent the king from making any demands upon him, he wrote a conſolatory letter to him, in which he found great fault with the conduct of all his officers, attributing the unſucceſsful iſſue of the expedition entirely to them. *Philip*, upon receiving his letter, diſcovered no emotion, and two days after returned an anſwer to the nuncio, declaring, that the misfortune of his fleet ought to be eſteemed a loſs common to them both, and that for the future he would leave him to fight the battles of the church himſelf.

DURING theſe tranſactions *Sixtus* had iſſued a bull for the abolition of *quarters*, or the privileges claimed by ambaſſadors, cardinals, nobles, or prelates, of protecting banditti and malefactors in their houſes, declaring thoſe who ſhould any way obſtruct the courſe of juſtice, *ipſo facto*, excommunicated, and not to be abſolved by any but the pope himſelf, except in the article of death. He likewiſe received an ambaſſador from the king of *Perſia*, with great pomp and magnificence; and to give him a high idea of the grandeur of the *Roman* court, he ordered all the cardinals and prelates at *Rome* to be preſent at his firſt audience. The ambaſſador came to deſire the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtian princes againſt the *Turks*; but as *Philip* of *Spain* was then exhauſting the ſtrength and riches of his own kingdom in his war with *England* and the ſtates of *Holland*, and in ſupporting the catholic league in *France*, and *Sixtus* was chiefly intent upon accumulating treaſure for his deſign againſt *Naples*, the Chriſtian powers diſcovered no inclination to embark in a cruſade, and the ambaſſador was diſmiſſed with many compliments and a few preſents, after he had continued about a month at *Rome*.

He receives an embaſſy from Perſia:

THE ambaſſador of the duke of *Savoy*, who came to demand the pope's aſſiſtance againſt the city of *Geneva*, was equally unſucceſsful; for *Sixtus* conſidering that the undertaking would be attended with many difficulties, as the *Swiſs* were intereſted in the preſervation of that city, refuſed any

He refuſes to aſſiſt the duke of Savoy againſt Geneva.

any aſſiſtance to the duke, and declared that the treaſure of the church ought only to be employed in defending itſelf, or enlarging its own territories. At the earneſt ſollicitation of the king of *Spain*, the pope, about this time, conſented to canonize *Diego*, or *Didacus*, of *Alcala*, to obliterate, in ſome meaſure, by the ſplendor of that ceremony, the diſgrace of his unſucceſsful expedition againſt *England*. He likewiſe inſtituted the feſtivals of the preſentation of the Virgin, and that of *St. Francis*, the founder of the *Franciſcan* order, and canonized St. *Anthony* of *Padua*, and St. *Januarius* of *Naples* [c]. Being attentive alſo to every opportunity of extending the influence and power of the holy ſee, he ſent cardinal *Aldobrandino*, as his legate *a latere*, to *Poland*, upon hearing of the impriſonment of the archduke *Maximilian*, who had been defeated by his competitor *Sigiſmond*, prince of *Sweden*. *Aldobrandino* arrived in *Poland* about the end of *June*; and after a long and difficult negociation, at length, in the beginning of the following year, concluded a peace betwixt the *Poles* and the houſe of *Auſtria*, by which *Maximilian* renounced all right to that crown, and acknowleged *Sigiſmond* as king [d].

DURING his abſence *Sixtus* completed the famous *Vatican* library, and filled it with a great number of manuſcripts in the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Greek*, *Latin*, and moſt other languages, which he had collected, with immenſe labour and expence, from all parts of the world. He likewiſe wrote to the duke of *Guiſe*, commending his zeal for the catholic religion, and informing him, that he intended to ſend the biſhop of *Breſcia*, whom he had created a cardinal, as his legate *a latere* to *France*, to aſſiſt him with his authority and advice. Although the pope, from the beginning of his pontificate, had given great countenance to the catholic league in *France*, and had given the duke of *Guiſe* ſeveral marks of his favour and eſteem, he expreſſed, however, very little concern upon the news of his murder, which was brought to *Rome* on the 5th of *January*, by an expreſs from *Moroſini*, his legate at the *French* court. He rather ſeemed to approve of it; and in a converſation with cardinal *Joyeuſe*, a *Frenchman*, after ſome reflections upon the duke's unbounded ambition, and inſolent behaviour towards the king, he ſaid, "We ſhould have done the ſame, if we had been in *Henry*'s "place." A. D. 1589.

BUT a few days after, being informed that the cardinal of *Guiſe*, the duke's brother, had likewiſe been put to death *He expreſſes*

[c] THUAN, l. 100. [d] Idem, ad fin. l. 88.

great reſentment at the murder of cardinal Guiſe;

without a trial, and that the cardinal of *Bourbon*, and the archbiſhop of *Lyons* were impriſoned, he ſent for the *French* ambaſſador, and one *Giralamo Gondi*, whom the king had ſent to *Rome* to excuſe his proceeding; and after beſtowing many harſh names upon them, he upbraided the king of *France* in the ſevereſt terms. Next day he called a conſiſtory, in which he exclaimed with great violence againſt the king, his rage or his grief obliging him to make ſeveral pauſes in his ſpeech [e]. He likewiſe reprimanded ſeveral cardinals who had ventured to excuſe the murder, and appointed a congregation of ſeveral members of the ſacred college to deliberate upon the ſtate of *France*. Tho' he expreſſed great reſentment againſt the king, he nevertheleſs gave but a very cold reception to the deputies of the *Pariſians*, who a few weeks after arrived at *Rome*, requeſted an abſolution from their oath of allegiance, and that he would grant a plenary indulgence to all thoſe who ſhould take arms againſt their prince, as ſeventy of the reverend members of the *Sorbonne* had declared that he had forfeited the throne. Each party, for ſeveral months, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to procure the friendſhip of the pope; but *Henry* abſolutely refuſing to ſet the cardinal of *Bourbon* and the archbiſhop of *Lyons* at liberty, *Sixtus* on the 24th of *May* publiſhed a monitory againſt him, threatening him with excommunication if he did not ſet the cardinal and archbiſhop at liberty before the 3d of *June*, and give information thereof within thirty days after to the apoſtolic ſee: beſides, he cited the king, and all thoſe concerned in the murder of the two *Guiſes*, to appear perſonally, or by proxy, within ſixty days at *Rome*. Upon the publication of this decree or monitory, the cardinal *Joyeuſe* retired to *Venice*, and the *French* ambaſſadors left *Rome*, and embarked at *Leghorn* for *Marſeilles*. As interceſſions had no effect upon the pope, the republic of *Venice*, and the dukes of *Tuſcany* and *Mantua*, preſſed the king of *France* to ſeize the county of *Avignon*, and to threaten to march an army to *Rome*; but he was prevented from following their advice by death, being aſſaſſinated on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, by one *Clement*, a *Dominican* friar.

but praiſes the murderer of the king.

SIXTUS, upon being informed of the murder, made a premeditated ſpeech in the conſiſtory in praiſe of the aſſaſſin, whom he extolled above *Eleazar* and *Judith*; and as he affirmed that the king had died in mortal ſin, by refuſing obedience to his monitory, he ordered that no prayers ſhould be made for his ſoul. However, he paid but little regard to

[e] Idem, l. xciv.

the

the deputies of the league; and, notwithſtanding their ſollicitations, he refuſed to publiſh a cruſade againſt the king of *Navarre*, who had been declared king of *France* by the other party. At firſt indeed, being deceived by their repreſentations, he ordered cardinal *Cajetan*, whom he had appointed as his legate in *France*, to favour the election of cardinal *Bourbon*; but before his departure, having received a letter from the duke of *Luxemburgh*, acquainting him that the king of *Navarre* had been declared king of *France* by the greateſt part of the nobility, and that he had appointed him as his ambaſſador at *Rome*, he wrote to thoſe nobles who were in the king of *Navarre*'s camp, exhorting them to continue ſteadily in the catholic faith, and declaring that he was indifferent who was their king, provided he was but a catholic. He likewiſe wrote to the duke of *Luxemburgh*, deſiring him to come to *Rome*; and gave new inſtructions to cardinal *Cajetan*, ordering him to favour the election of a catholic king, without ſpecifying any perſon; which proceeding greatly facilitated the eſtabliſhment of the king of *Navarre*, or *Henry* IV. upon the throne of *France*.

THO' the king of *Spain* was greatly diſobliged by this behaviour of the pope, yet another affair happened about this time, at which he expreſſed much more diſſatisfaction. *Sixtus*, during theſe tranſactions with *France*, had publiſhed an *Italian* verſion of the Bible from the vulgar *Latin*, which gave a general offence to all the *Roman* catholics. The moſt zealous of the cardinals wrote to *Philip*, intreating him to prevail with the pope to ſuppreſs the edition; and ſeveral of them, with the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, ventured to expoſtulate with *Sixtus* againſt the book; but he treated them with contempt, and only ſaid, "We do it for the benefit of you "that don't underſtand *Latin*." (M). The king of *Spain*, who

He publiſhes an edition of the bible in the vulgar tongue, which gives offence to the Roman *catholics.*

(M) Some authors have affirmed, that *Sixtus* never publiſhed an edition of the bible in *Italian*; but *Gregorio Leti* aſſures us, that there were in his time ſeveral copies of ſuch an edition to be ſeen in the library of the grand duke of *Tuſcany*, in that of St. *Lawrence*, and the *Ambroſian* at *Milan*, beſides two copies in the public library at *Geneva*, and ſeveral others; and that he himſelf had read in a manuſcript hiſtory of thoſe times, that the cardinal of *Toledo*, when he found that the pope abſolutely refuſed to ſuppreſs the edition, ſaid, "How has God "abandoned his church! may "he be pleaſed ſoon to deliver "us from this wicked pope!" He cites likewiſe *Philip Brietius*, who in the 347th page of his

who was a great bigot, not being able to prevail with the pope to ſuppreſs the edition, and beſides being offended with him for neglecting to ſupport the catholic intereſt in *England*, and countenancing the king of *Navarre* and his party, reſolved to call a general council in his dominions, and to cite the pope to appear before it, if he ſhould oppoſe his deſigns. He accordingly ordered *Olivarez*, his ambaſſador at *Rome*, to notify his reſolution to the pope in a public manner; but *Sixtus* being informed by his ſpies, that *Olivarez* intended to preſent a paper to him for that purpoſe, at a ſolemn cavalcade that he had appointed upon his going to reſide at his new palace at St. *John de Lateran*, he ordered the governor of *Rome* immediately to precede his perſon at the proceſſion with the hangman and 200 guards, and to ſeize any one that ſhould offer to preſent a paper to him, and to put him to death upon the ſpot. *Olivarez* hearing of this general order, was afraid to appear at the proceſſion; which difficulty, in the beginning of the oppoſition, influenced the king to drop his deſign of aſſembling a council, and to think of more moderate meaſures.

He confers honour and wealth on his relations.

SIXTUS, in the mean time, was not forgetful to aggrandize his own family by riches, honours, and noble alliances. He gave his nephew, cardinal *Montalto*, the value of 250,000 crowns in houſes, rich furniture, plate, and jewels, beſides an income of 100,000 crowns a year in eſtate and eccleſiaſtical benefices. He gave the eldeſt of his nieces, *Donna Orſina*, then ſeventeen years of age, to *Mark Anthony Colonna*, prince of *Sonnino*, with a fortune of 126,000 crowns; and to enable him to pay his debts, he lent him 400,000 crowns out of the apoſtolic chamber for ten years, without intereſt. And the youngeſt of his nieces, *Donna Flavia*, he gave with the ſame fortune to *Virginius Urſino*, who had a yearly eſtate of 100,000 crowns, and whoſe family was ſuperior to any in *Italy*, except that of *Colonna*. Theſe mariages were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence, and the two young brides were both of a diſpoſition that would have done honour to the moſt exalted birth. For his other nephew, *Michael Peretti*, he purchaſed the principality of *Venetro*, the marquiſate of *Lamentado*, and the county or earldom of *Celano*. He gave him beſides an eſtate of 60,000 crowns a year, and two ſuperb palaces, one in the country, and an-

his annals, printed at *Paris* in 1663, ſays, *Inter hæc mortuus eſt Romæ Sixtus V. editis Bibliis ſacris in lingua Italica, quæ tantum negotii nobis exhibuerunt* (1).

(1) Greg. Lat. v. *ut ſupra.*

other

other at *Rome*, and contracted an alliance betwixt him and a princess of the *Colonna* family.

In resentment for the behaviour of *Philip* of *Spain*, he gave a very favourable reception to the duke of *Luxemburgh*, the ambassador of *Henry* IV. of *France*, who arrived at *Rome* in the beginning of *January*. At the same time he sent his master of the ceremonies to count *Olivarez*, acquainting him that he did not intend to acknowlege him for the future as ambassador, and that he had sent an express to the king his master, to inform him of his intention. *Philip*, who was at this time greatly embarrassed with the affairs of *France* and the *Low Countries*, dissembled this affront, and recalling *Olivarez*, sent the duke of *Sessa* in his room; however, he ordered the *Spanish* clergy to preach up the great necessity of assisting the league against king *Henry*, and even encouraged them to censure the pope's lukewarmness in that cause. *Olivarez*, till the arrival of *Sessa*, was allowed to act as ambassador, and, in his master's name, was very urgent with the pope to dismiss the duke of *Luxemburgh*, and to denounce a sentence of excommunication against *Henry* IV. and all his followers. He likewise attended *Sessa* when he required the pope, in his master's name, to declare himself protector of the league, and to enter into an alliance with *Philip*, for placing a catholic king upon the crown of *France*. *Sixtus* was greatly offended with the king of *Spain*, for offering to direct him whom to absolve and whom to condemn; and that he might shun the proposed alliance, he declared, that he intended to write to the nobles and cities in *France* to elect a catholic king, otherwise he himself would chuse one [1]. Hearing about the same time that his legate *Cajetan*, contrary to his instructions, openly declared for the league, had taken up his residence at *Paris*, which they had made their head quarters, had encouraged his chaplains to preach against the king, and refused to consult with those cardinals who adhered to the king's party, he revoked the letters of exchange, which he had given him for 300,000 crowns upon the bankers of *Lyons*, and recalled the most turbulent of his chaplains to *Rome*.

A. D. 1590.

He refuses to declare for the league in France.

ALTHOUGH his attention at this time was greatly engaged with the affairs of *France*, he was no less vigilant in the government of his own dominions; and as all *Italy*, and particularly the ecclesiastical state, was afflicted this year with a severe famine, he excused the people their taxes, and lent

[1] Idem, l. xcvii. SPOND. Annal.

them

money, which however he did very ſparingly (N). By the advice of cardinal *Aldobrandino* he publiſhed a ſumptuary law, for repreſſing the great luxury and extravagance that prevailed at *Rome*, which law was immediately conformed to, and was ſo ſtrictly obſerved during the few remaining months of his pontificate, that no one incurred the penalty for diſobedience. He limited the number of cardinals to ſeventy, and confirmed the decrees of *Julius* II. prohibiting to give the hat to two brothers, which prohibition he even extended to a more remote degree of conſanguinity. As he had undertaken to drain the fens and marſhes about *Terracina*, he went about this time to that city, under pretence of ſeeing the progreſs of the works, but with the intention, as it was ſuſpected, of invading the kingdom of *Naples*, as he had ordered a conſiderable body of troops to march to that frontier, to prevent, as he ſaid, the incurſions of the banditti. The *Spaniards*, alarmed at the motions of the pope, ſent 4000 troops towards their frontiers, under pretence of driving the banditti out of their dominions, but in reality to oppoſe the papal forces; by which diſpoſition the pope was deterred from commencing hoſtilities, and returned ſuddenly to *Rome*, where he died on the 27th of *Auguſt*, in the 69th year of his age, and the 6th of his pontificate. As he was troubled ſome months before he died with an intenſe pain in the head, his death was attributed by many people to poiſon, which was ſuppoſed to have been given him by the *Spaniards*.

He threatens to invade Naples.

He dies at Rome.

He advanced the power and grandeur of the holy ſee, during the few years that he reigned, more than all his predeceſſors put together, for almoſt 100 years before: and notwithſtanding the great works that he carried on and finiſh-

(N) The famine was ſo ſevere, that the fleſh of aſſes, dogs, cats, and mice, was reckoned a delicacy, and a pound of coarſe bread was ſold for thirteen julios, or ſix ſhillings and ſix-pence. However, the rigour of the pope had ſo great an effect, that there was not the leaſt theft or robbery committed in the city, tho', to make a trial of their honeſty, he had cauſed a waggon load of bread to be brought to *Rome* from ſome diſtance. So great a reformation had he wrought in the manners of the *Romans*, that the governor of the city told him one day, that the place of judge was now become a perfect ſinecure; to which he anſwered, "If he thought the people "would relapſe into their "former licentiouſneſs after "he was dead, he would "hang them all whilſt he was "alive." (1).

(1) *Greg. Let. ut ſupra*

ed,

ed, at his death he left 5,000,000 of crowns in his treaſury, which by a bull he prohibited from being uſed, except upon the moſt preſſing neceſſity. It is ſuppoſed, however, that he intended this treaſure as a fund for his expedition againſt *Naples*, which he delayed only in expectation of the death of *Philip* II. vainly hoping that he himſelf would have lived ten years longer. The money that he had amaſſed, was chiefly raiſed upon his own ſubjects, who, during his pontificate, were heavily taxed; but as he had introduced a ſpirit of induſtry among them, they were not ſo oppreſſed with the taxes, as they had been by their former poverty and indigence. Beſides, he increaſed his fund by retrenching yearly penſions, to the amount of 60,000 crowns, by ſelling the chief places and offices of his court, by the commutations for the puniſhment of crimes, and by the ſtricteſt perſonal frugality and œconomy. He was indefatigable in buſineſs, and took the management of the minuteſt affairs wholly into his own hands: he ſlept little, and had no ſtated time of going to bed. Tho' he was remarkably abſtemious while he was cardinal, yet, after his promotion, he made hearty meals, his ſpirits being exhauſted by his inceſſant labour, which he would not even intermit in his laſt illneſs, but followed ſtrictly the maxim of *Veſpaſian*, which he often repeated, *That a prince ought to die ſtanding*, that is, labouring to the very laſt moment of his life for the good of his country.

EIGHTEEN days after the death of *Sixtus*, cardinal *Caſtagna* was unanimouſly elected pope, and aſſumed the name of *Urban* VII. He enjoyed the pontificate only thirteen days, and died before his coronation, on the 27th of *September*. He had then entered the 70th year of his age, and was born at *Rome*, his father being a noble *Genoeſe*, and his mother a *Roman*, of the family of the *Ricci*. His piety and learning had rendered him illuſtrious; and as he had great experience, and had gone through all the degrees of the court, the pontificate was aſſigned to him by the univerſal voice, even before the death of *Sixtus* [g]. Urban VII. *is elected pope.* *His death.*

UPON the death of *Urban* VII. the *Roman* ſee was vacant two months and nine days, occaſioned by the great factions in the conclave, where there were no leſs than fifty-four cardinals, ſixteen of whom were candidates for the pontificate. After ſeveral ſcrutinies, cardinal *Montalto* was prevailed upon to go over with his party to the *Spaniſh* faction, and by that means a legal majority was procured for *Nicolas Sfondrati*, cardinal of *Cremona*, who was elected on the 5th of

[g] CIACON. SPOND. Annal.

Gregory XIV. *is choſen.*

December, and took the name of *Gregory* XIV. His father, after the death of his wife, had been created a cardinal, and he himſelf, after he had been ſome time ſenator at *Milan*, embraced an eccleſiaſtical life, and was created biſhop of *Cremona* by *Pius* IV. under which title he remained three years at the council of *Trent*. *Gregory* XIII. created him a cardinal, in gratitude to whom he aſſumed the ſame name upon his promotion to the pontificate. He was crowned with the uſual ſolemnities, and began his pontificate with reſtoring thoſe *Romans* to their places and offices, whom *Sixtus* V. had deprived. He likewiſe made a preſent of 1000 crowns to each of the cardinals, provided againſt the ſcarcity and dearneſs of corn and other proviſions, and in the firſt conſiſtory, which he held on the 19th of *December*, created one of his nephews a cardinal.

He declares for the league, A. D. 1591.

In the beginning of the following year he publiſhed a jubilee, granting indulgences to all thoſe who ſhould offer up their prayers to God in his behalf; and, at the inſtigation of the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, he declared for the catholic league in *France*, writing on the 20th of *January* to the biſhop of *Placenza*, whom cardinal *Cajetan* had left at *Paris*, and promiſing to furniſh the catholics with 15000 crowns a month out of the apoſtolic treaſury, as long as he ſhould ſee it neceſſary for their defence. The biſhop of *Placenza* cauſed this letter to be printed and diſperſed in *France*, with another from himſelf in praiſe of the pope's generoſity. The *Spaniſh* faction, however, were not yet ſatisfied; but being ſeconded by the cardinal of *Lorrain* and the duke of *Maine*'s ſecretary, they preſſed the pope to ſend an army into *France*, and to grant a power to the duke of *Maine* to alienate the eccleſiaſtical benefices in that kingdom. *Gregory* by no means would conſent to this laſt requeſt; but being unexperienced in the management of great affairs, he agreed to their firſt demand, and ſent an army over the *Alps*, under the command of his nephew *Hercules Sfondrati*, whom he had created duke of *Mont Marcian*.

and excommunicates Henry IV.

In the mean time he again wrote two letters to *France*, by which he declared *Henry* IV. excommunicated, and deprived of all his poſſeſſions, and threatened the nobles with eccleſiaſtical cenſures, if they did not deſert his cauſe, and alſo all the clergy with excommunication and depoſition, if they did not, within thirty days, declare againſt him. Theſe letters were approved by the parliament of *Paris*; but the other parliaments of the kingdom, particularly that of *Chalons*, which was a part of that of *Paris*, appealed from them to a future council, declared them derogatory to the rights of the kingdom, and to the

liberties

rties of the *Gallican* church, and ordered them to be nt in the market place by the common hangman. King ry likewiſe publiſhed an edict, or declaration, againſt n; and the prelates of his party aſſembling at *Chartres*, liſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the catholics, declaring n of no obligation, and that they intended ſoon to ſend an aſſy to the pope, to inform him fully of the juſtice of their ſe. They were prevented, however, from ſending this aſſy, by the death of the pope, who having been afflicted ing his whole pontificate with the ſtone, died on the 15th *October*, in the 57th year of his age. During his tranſac- *He dies at* is with the chiefs of the league, he had created ſeven Rome. linals, had indulged the cardinal friars with the privilege wearing red hats, and had given the inveſtiture of the hy of *Ferrara* to duke *Alphonſus*, who, as he had no iſſue, ne to *Rome* to ſollicit the renewal of his fief in favour of ne of his relations, but without any effect [h].

ON the 28th of *October*, thirteen days after the death of Innocent gory, *John Anthony Fachinetti*, cardinal of *Santi Quatro*, IX. *is e-* s elected pope, with the unanimous conſent of the whole *lected.* iclave, and aſſumed the name of *Innocent* IX. His pa- ts were natives of *Gravegni*, a city of *Navarre*, but he s born at *Bologna*, where he was alſo educated. Coming rwards to *Rome*, he paſſed thro' ſeveral degrees of pre- ment, and was at length created cardinal by *Gregory* XIII. the ſame time with his two predeceſſors. Immediately er his election he renewed the antient cuſtom, and wrote all patriarchs, archbiſhops, and primates, informing them his promotion. He then applied himſelf to relieve the ne- ſities of his ſubjects, by publiſhing a regulation of the ces of proviſions, and ordering the barons of *Rome* to ng their corn into the city. In the mean time he was zed with a diſtemper, of which he died on the 29th of *His death.* cember, in the 73d year of his age, having enjoyed the ntificate only two months.

THERE never were greater diſputes at the election of a A. D. pe than at this preſent vacancy. On the 11th of *January* 1592. ty-three cardinals entered the conclave, where the *Spaniſh* ction immediately propoſed five candidates, none of whom uld procure a legal majority. After long diſputes and in- gues, which are particularly related by *Thuanus* [i], *Mon-* *to* at length propoſed cardinal *Aldobrandino*, who he knew s not diſagreeable to the king of *Spain*. A majority im- diately declared for him; and, on the 28th of *January*, he

[h] SPOND. Annal. [i] THUAN. l. ciii.

Clement VIII. *elected pope.*

was elected pope, and assumed the name of *Clement* VIII. (O). Upon the news of his promotion, he appeared filled with great fear and confusion, and let fall abundance of tears. He continued silent when the master of the ceremonies asked him if he would accept of the pontifical dignity; and before he would sit upon the throne, he fell down upon his knees and prayed at the altar. Immediately after his coronation he published a bull, declaring his intention of visiting all the churches, monasteries, convents, and religious houses, in *Rome*, exhorting all to an external and internal reformation before the visitation, which was to commence on the 14th of *June*. As the banditti were again beginning to commit outrages in the ecclesiastical state, he ordered some troops to march against them; and soon after he published a bull against duelling, denouncing an anathema against all those who should give, receive, or carry, a challenge, and a sentence of interdiction against the places where duels should be fought [k].

He espouses the interest of the league.

In the mean time, at the instigation of the *Spanish* faction, he espoused the interests of the league in *France*, and on the 15th of *April* wrote to *Sega*, his legate at *Paris*, who had been created a cardinal by his predecessor, charging him to procure the election of a catholic king. His letter was published in the month of *October* at *Paris*, and registred by the parliament of that city: however, the parliament at *Chalons* published an edict against it, and exhorted all the prelates, princes, peers, and others, to persevere in their allegiance to the king. The bishops likewise of the king's party entered into several deliberations, derogatory to the authority of the pope, and sent the cardinal *de Gondy* and the marquis of *Pi-*

[k] Spond. Annal.

(O) *Hippolito Aldobrandino* was born at *Fano*, a city of the ecclesiastical state, on the coast of the *Adriatic*. He was descended of a very antient family, originally called *Aldebrando*, or *Hildebrando*, which had resided at *Florence* near 1000 years, and had enjoyed the office of *Gonfaloniere* of that city twenty-three different times. He received the first rudiments of his education at *Rome*, and studied afterwards at *Ferrara* and *Bologna*, where he received his doctor's decree: He was distinguished by his natural eloquence and the probity of his disposition; and his brother *John* having been created a cardinal by *Pius* V. he succeeded him as auditor of the *Rota*. *Sixtus* V. created him a cardinal, and sent him as his legate *a latere* to *Poland*, where, by his successful negociation, he acquired a great reputation.

sani,

as their deputies to *Clement*, to give him true informa-
of the affairs of *France*. *Piſani* ſtopt at the lake *de la*
, in the *Venetian* territories, and the cardinal proceed-
his journey; but, in his paſſage through *Tuſcany*, he
ed a charge from the pope, forbidding him to enter the
ſtical territories, as he had not acted like a good Chriſtian,
enly favouring the king of *Navarre*, who was a relapſed
ic. *Gondy*, however, having excuſed his proceedings,
oon after permitted to continue his journey, on condi-
hat he ſhould not, openly or ſecretly, favour heretics [1].

URING his reſidence at *Rome*, the catholics of the league, A.D.
nſequence of a proclamation from the duke of *Mayenne*, 1593.
bled at *Paris* to elect a king. The cardinal legate
iſe wrote to the catholics of the king's party, inviting
to be preſent at the aſſembly. They, however, paid
gard to his letter; but publiſhed a declaration at *Char-*
propoſing a conference with the chiefs of the league;
h was accordingly agreed to, and held in the beginning
ay, at a village within two leagues of *Paris*. *Henry* IV, Henry
feat the deſigns of his enemies, about this time was per- IV. *em-*
d to embrace the *Roman* catholic religion; and having *braces the*
nly renounced *Calviniſm*, and made a public profeſſion *popiſh re-*
e faith of the holy ſee, received abſolution and a bene- *ligion.*
n from the archbiſhop of *Berry*. By this converſion of
ing, *Philip* of *Spain*, and the chiefs of the league, were
ly confounded; however, they ſtill hoped to prevent
ucceſſion of *Henry*. A ſubject of *Spain* publiſhed a
treatiſe at *Rome*, wherein he endeavoured to prove, that
poſtolic ſee had no authority to diſpenſe with a relapſed
ic, with regard to the ſucceſſion of a kingdom; which
ſe was anſwered by *Arnold*, afterwards cardinal *Oſſat*,
was then in *Italy*. The pope likewiſe ſent *Anthony*
vini, a *Jeſuit*, who had formerly been legate in *Ruſſia*,
e *Alps*, to meet the duke of *Nevers*, the king's ambaſ-
, and to inform him that he would not receive him in
haracter, as he had not yet acknowleged the king. Not-
ſtanding this declaration, the duke ſtill continued his
ey; however, he received a ſecond meſſage from the
, ordering him to enter *Rome* as a private perſon, with a
retinue, and limiting the time of his reſidence to ten
Clement granted him two audiences in the end of *No-* *The pope*
er; but abſolutely refuſed to abſolve the king, or to *refuſes*
him his benediction, declaring, that he would not believe *him abſo-*
nverſion real, unleſs he was aſſured of it by an angel *lution.*

[1] THUAN. ut ſup.

from

from heaven. But that he might ſtill keep both parties in ſuſpence, by the advice of his legate in *France*, and the duke of *Mayenne*, he did not urge the departure of *Nevers*, tho' he ſwore in the conſiſtory, that he would never grant abſolution to *Henry* [m]. During theſe tranſactions he publiſhed a bull, baniſhing all the *Jews* from the eccleſiaſtical territories, excepting the cities of *Rome*, *Ancona*, and *Avignon*; and by another he prohibited any one from poſſeſſing or reading the *Talmud*, and ſeveral other *Jewiſh* books [n].

A. D. 1594. *and diſmiſſed his ambaſſador.*

In the beginning of the following year he admitted the duke of *Nevers* to another conference; but tho' he again demanded abſolution for the king, and whether it was lawful for catholics to be preſent with him at the celebration of maſs, or how they were to proceed in *France* with regard to the nomination to vacant biſhoprics, he could receive no ſatisfactory anſwer from him; on which account he ſoon after left *Rome*, and returned to *France*, cauſing a journal of his embaſſy to be printed at *Venice*; to which he added a ſpirited remonſtrance, complaining of the partiality of the pope, and the injuſtice of his legate; and proving, by many arguments and authorities, that the king had been legally abſolved.

Altho' *Clement* behaved with great rigour towards the *French* ambaſſador, he about the ſame time received two monks, who came as ambaſſadors from the patriarch of *Alexandria*, with great kindneſs and civility. In the beginning of his pontificate he had ſent a nuncio into *Egypt*, by whoſe perſuaſion the patriarch was prevailed upon to write to the pope, and to acknowlege him as the ſupreme head of all Chriſtians. The two monks, who brought this letter, were treated with great magnificence, and, during their reſidence at *Rome*, were maintained at the pope's expence. In the beginning of the following year they made a public profeſſion of the faith of the church of *Rome*, rejecting the *Neſtorian*, *Eutychian*, and *Dioſcoran* hereſies, and ſent a copy of their confeſſion to *Egypt*; where it was confirmed and publiſhed by the patriarch.

1595. *Many cities that held for the league are reconciled to* Henry IV.

In the mean time, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the cardinal legate, *Henry* IV. was acknowleged as king by ſome of the chiefs of the league; and, being admitted into *Paris*, received the ſubmiſſion of ſeveral cities, formerly attached to the *Guiſian* faction; namely, *Lyons*, *Orleans*, *Berry*, *Rouen*, *Rheims*, and others. However, as there was an attempt made upon his life, towards the end of *December*, by a diſ-

[m] Idem, l. cvii & cviii. [n] Spond. Annal.

ciple

ciple of the *Jesuits*, who had been taught by them, that it was a meritorious action to kill the king; and as many other religious orders still looked upon him as a person excommunicated, and therefore refused to pray for him, the king, at the request of the clergy and divines, sent *Davy du Perron*, bishop of *Evreux*, as his ambassador to the pope, again to follicit apostolical absolution [o]. The pope, now persuaded of the justice of the king's cause by the prosperity of his affairs, gave him assurances of a reconciliation; and *Perron* arriving at *Rome* about the middle of *July*, he immediately ordered supplications to be made through all the churches, and the prayer of forty hours to be recited for imploring divine assistance in such a weighty affair. He himself likewise, two successive mornings, went bare-footed from his palace to the church of *St. Mary Major*, where he celebrated mass; weeping, upon his return, at each station, without looking up, or giving any benediction as usual to the people [p]. During these supplications and processions, every fifth day he consulted one of the cardinals about the conditions of the absolution. Those of the *Spanish* faction, in hopes of rendering the embassy unsuccessful, proposed extremely hard conditions, which were rejected by *Perron* and *Ossat*; who, after long disputes, at length agreed with the pope upon sixteen conditions; the chief of which were, that the king should promise obedience to the apostolic see; should restore the catholic religion in the principality of *Bearn*; should build a monastery or nunnery in each province of his kingdom, and should cause the decrees of the council of *Trent* to be published and observed throughout all his dominions. The ambassadors swearing to the performance of the articles agreed to, *Clement*, with great solemnity, granted absolution to the king on the 17th of *September* [q].

The pope grants him absolution.

A FEW weeks after, he received an embassy from the metropolitan of *Kiovia* and all *Russia*, and from other bishops in *Lithuania* and *Poland*, who followed the rites of the *Greek* church, professing their desire of an union with the church of *Rome*. The archbishop of *Livonia* likewise, about the same time, arrived at the city with his nephew, and abjured the doctrines of *Luther*; but the joy on account of these new converts was soon greatly abated; for accounts arrived in *Europe*, that the *Alexandrian* embassy had been a forgery, and it was publicly reported, that the *Russians* had disclaimed the submission of their metropolitan, and refused to acknow-

He receives an embassy from the Russians.

[o] THUAN. l. cx, cxi. cxiii. [p] OSSAT, epist. iii. [q] Id. ibid.

Sends an army to Hungary *to the aſſiſtance of the emperor;* A. D. 1596.

lege any ſubjection to the *Roman* ſee [r]. During theſe tranſactions, *Clement*, at the earneſt ſollicitation of the emperor, had ſent his relation *Francis Aldobrandino*, with 2000 horſe and 8000 foot, into *Hungary*; who, having joined the imperial army, commanded by the count of *Mansfield* and the archduke *Matthias*, defeated the *Turks* before *Gran* or *Strigonia*, and obliged the city to ſurrender on the 2d of *September*. He likewiſe ſent a nuncio to the emperor, to negociate an alliance betwixt him and the *Poles* againſt the *Turks*, and ordered him to promiſe, in his name, 40,000 crowns a month to *Bathori*, prince of *Tranſilvania*, who had come to *Prague*, to have a conference with *Rodolphus*, and to ſollicit ſuccours againſt the infidels. *Clement* at the ſame time prohibited *Bathori* from attacking the *Poles*, who had ſeized upon *Moldavia*, and offered himſelf as a mediator betwixt them, requiring them both to ſubmit to his arbitration. He could not, however, prevail with the king of *Poland* to accept of him as mediator in the diſpute with *Bathori*, nor could cardinal *Cajetan*, who a few months after was ſent as his legate to *Poland*, perſuade the diet to agree to an alliance againſt the *Turks* [s].

and cardinal de Medicis *as his legate to* France.

In the mean time the pope ſent *Alexander de Medicis*, cardinal of *Florence*, as his legate to *France*, to receive the ratification of the articles agreed to by the *French* ambaſſadors at *Rome*, and to certify the apoſtolical abſolution granted to the king. He was received with great reſpect, upon the confines of the kingdom, and conducted, by the governors of the provinces thro' which he paſſed, to *Chaſtres*, within eight leagues of *Paris*; where the king, attended by ſeveral nobles, paid him a congratulatory viſit. A few days after he was received into *Paris* with great magnificence; and, in conſequence of the king's edict, his inſtructions, or his faculties, as they are uſually called, were regiſtred by the parliament, without any particular limitation. On the 12th of *Auguſt* he was admitted to a public audience, when the king confirmed the conditions of his abſolution agreed to by his ambaſſadors at the court of *Rome*. A few months after *Henry* appointed *Francis Luxembourg*, duke of *Piney*, as his ambaſſador to the pope; who did not arrive at *Rome* till the following year in the middle of *April*. His reception was very different from what he received in his firſt embaſſy; for the pope now ſtrove, by his kindneſs, to obliterate the remembrance of his former moroſe behaviour. A triumphal arch was erected at the gate through which the ambaſſador

A. D. 1597.

[r] Thuan. l. cxiv. Sponb. Annal. [s] Thuan. l. cxv.

paſſed,

paſſed, and the next day after his entrance into the city he was admitted to an audience in the *Vatican*. After he had ſolemnly yielded obedience, in the king's name, to his holineſs, he was invited by him to an entertainment; at which both the pope and he dined in the ſame room, but at different tables [t]. Mean while, by means of his legate in *France*, and nuncio in *Spain*, he earneſtly ſollicited both *Philip* and *Henry* to agree to a peace. As *Henry* was now firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne of *France*, and *Philip* began to feel the infirmities of old age, and to be ſenſible of the diſmal effects of his extravagant ambition, the mediation of his holineſs thereby became acceptable to both; and by means of a *Franciſcan*, employed by cardinal *de Medicis*, *Henry*'s ſecretary, agreed to a conference with a deputy from the governor of *Flanders*, when they appointed the negociations for a peace to be held at *Vervins*.

The pope claims the duchy of Ferrara, upon the death of duke Alphonſo II. and

WHILE theſe preliminaries were ſettling in *France*, *Italy* was threatened with new commotions by the death of *Alphonſo* duke of *Ferrara*. As the duke had no iſſue, he left all his eſtates, by his will, to a baſtard-relation named *Cæſar d'Eſte*; who, upon his death, immediately took poſſeſſion of his dominions, and wrote to the Chriſtian princes, informing them of his ſucceſſion. He likewiſe ſent an ambaſſador to *Rome*, with a letter to the pope; who alleged, that as *Alphonſo* had died without iſſue, his fief had devolved to the holy ſee. He therefore, upon reading the titles aſſumed by *Cæſar*, threw away the letter, diſmiſſed his ambaſſador, and immediately aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces, which he ſent, under the command of his nephew cardinal *Aldobrandino*, into the territory of *Bologna*; publiſhed a monitory againſt *Cæſar*, denouncing an anathema againſt him, if he did not immediately renounce his claim to *Ferrara*; and cited him to appear at *Rome* within fifteen days, under pain of being declared a rebel. *Cæſar*, at firſt, paid no regard to the pope's menaces, but, raiſing an army, gained a ſmall advantage over the papal troops; however, as the Chriſtian princes refuſed to engage in this quarrel, and *Henry* IV. of *France* openly declared for the pope, he thought proper to agree to an accommodation; which was concluded on the 11th of *January* on theſe conditions: that *Cæſar*, and all thoſe who had eſpouſed his cauſe, ſhould be abſolved from excommunication; that he ſhould renounce all right to *Ferrara*, and all territories belonging to the church; that he ſhould have leave to carry off one half of the artillery,

A. D. 1598. *Cæſar d'Eſte renounces his pretenſions to it.*

[t] Idem, l. cxix.

and to keep the allodial poſſeſſions of the family; that he ſhould enjoy the ſame rank at *Rome* as the late duke *Alphonſo*, and ſhould retain the titles of duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*; which cities, with that of *Carpi*, being under the imperial juriſdiction, the emperors *Maximilian* and *Rodolphus* had permitted *Alphonſo* to leave them, by his will, to *Cæſar*. The news of this accommodation was received at *Rome* with great joy, eſpecially by *Clement*, who confirmed the conditions agreed to, and, on the 11th of *February*, publiſhed a bull, uniting the city and duchy of *Ferrara* to the apoſtolic ſee, and dedicated them for ever to the virgin *Mary* and the apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*. In order to ſettle the affairs of that new acquiſition, he ſoon after left *Rome*; and, proceeding thro' the eccleſiaſtical ſtate with great pomp and ceremony, arrived at *Ferrara* on the 8th of *May*, attended by twenty-ſeven cardinals; where he continued till the end of *November* [u].

It is united to the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

A FEW days before he arrived at this city, a peace was concluded between *France* and *Spain* at *Vervins*, by the mediation of his legate in *France*, and his nuncio, *Francis Gonzaga*, biſhop of *Modena*, after a negociation of four months; ſome diſputes, however, between king *Henry* and the duke of *Savoy* being ſtill left undecided, and referred to the arbitration of the pope. About the ſame time, a match having been concluded between *Iſabella*, ſiſter of the king of *Spain*, and her couſin, cardinal *Albert*, the emperor's brother, and governor of *Flanders*, he ſolemnly reſigned his hat and ſacerdotal habit in the church of *St. Mary* of *Halle*, near *Bruſſels*; and, proceeding to *Germany*, went from thence with *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, daughter of the archduke *Charles*, deceaſed, to *Ferrara*. An alliance had likewiſe been concluded between *Margaret* of *Auſtria* and her couſin *Philip* III. of *Spain*, who had ſucceeded to that crown by the death of his father, while ſhe was on her journey to *Ferrara*. The pope received *Albert* and *Margaret* with great honour and reſpect; and, having granted both parties a diſpenſation, with regard to the degrees of conſanguinity, he himſelf celebrated both marriages on the 15th of *November*, in the cathedral church, the archduke ſtanding ſponſor for the king of *Spain*, and the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador for the infanta *Iſabella* [w]. A few days after, the pope, having conferred a great many privileges on the city of *Ferrara*, left that place, and proceeded to *Rome*; where he arrived on the 20th of *December*. The joy expreſſed by the *Romans* for his

A peace concluded by his mediation betwixt France *and* Spain.

[u] THUAN. l. cxix. SPOND. Annal.

[w] THUAN. l. cxxi. SPOND. Annal.

return

irn was quickly allayed by a dreadful inundation of the *A great inundation of the* Ty-
er, occaſioned by the frequent rains, and a ſtrong ſouth
d, which ſtopt the current of the river. The waters
lled three palms higher than they were ever remembered
iave done before, ſo that, on *Chriſtmas-day*, the whole
was covered, excepting only the ſeven mountains, and a
other riſing grounds. Upwards of 1000 people periſhed,
the city received more damage than if it had been plun-
ed by an enemy [x]. The charity of the pope, and of ſeve-
cardinals, was very conſpicuous during this public cala-
y, by alleviating the diſtreſſes of the poor, and furniſhing
n with proviſions. After the inundation had ceaſed, he,
he utmoſt of his power, ſupplied the loſſes which parti-
ır perſons had ſuffered; and, attributing the calamity
e to the ſins of the people than to natural cauſes, he pub-
ed a bull, exhorting all to repentance, and to works of
rity, appointing likewiſe ſupplications, and granting ge-
l indulgencies.

ber at Rome. A.D. 1599.

OON after he was greatly afflicted with the news of the
lication of the edict of *Nantz*, by which liberty of con-
ıce was granted to the *Hugonots* of *France*; however, by
repreſentations of cardinal *Oſſat*, he was in ſome meaſure
ınciled to the king's proceeding; and a few months after,
is requeſt, he appointed delegates to examine into the va-
y of his marriage with *Margaret* of *Valois*. He like-
: conſented to act as arbitrator in the differences betwixt
and the duke of *Savoy*, concerning the marquiſate of
ıces; but the duke refuſing to depoſit the diſputed terri-
es in the pope's hands, and alleging, that he had en-
ed, by private agreement, to decide in favour of the
, *Clement* with indignation rejected the arbitration, as
ntegrity and juſtice had been called in queſtion by ſuch a
icion. In the mean time, the corpſe of *St. Cecilia* being
ly found, he, with great ſolemnity, transferred it to the
rch of that name [y]; and, as the following year was the
mencement of a new century, according to the common
putation, he publiſhed a bull for the celebration of a
lee at *Rome*; where he ordered great preparations to be
e for the reception and entertainment of the pilgrims.
wrote alſo to all Chriſtian princes, exhorting them to give
nterruption to thoſe who ſhould undertake a journey to
e, to receive the benefit of the indulgences, which he
ended for one year in all other places; and on the laſt day
December, in the evening, he, with the uſual ceremony,

A jubilee celebrated at Rome. A.D. 1600.

[x] Idem ibid. [y] SPOND. Annal.

opened the holy gate of *St. Peter's*, while three of the cardinals at the ſame time opened the gates of *St. Paul's*, in the road to *Oſtia*, *St. John's* in the *Lateran*, and *St. Mary Major's*.

THE number of thoſe, who, during the holy year, reſorted to *Rome* on account of religion or curioſity, was immenſely great. Beſides, many nobles and princes came to *Rome*, among whom was the duke of *Bavaria*, and *Andrew* cardinal of *Auſtria*, both incognito, in the habit of pilgrims; likewiſe the dukes of *Bar* and *Parma*, the *French* king's ambaſſador, and the viceroy of *Naples*; who yielded obedience to the pope, in the name of the new king of *Spain*. Among the ſtrangers were alſo ſaid to be many proteſtants and *Turks*, ſeveral of whom embraced the faith of the church of *Rome* [z]. The duke of *Bar* came to *Rome* to endeavour to obtain a diſpenſation for his marriage with the king of *France*'s ſiſter, *Catharine*, whom he had married the year before, tho' ſhe was his own couſin, and a *Hugenot*. The pope abſolutely refuſed his requeſt, unleſs *Catharine* would abjure the hereſy of *Calvin*, and profeſs the *Roman* faith; which conditions ſhe rejected with great conſtancy. As the duke, however, promiſed to diſmiſs her publicly, he was abſolved from all his paſt ſins, admitted to the ſacred communion, and allowed the benefit of the indulgences of the jubilee (P).

CLEMENT ſhewed himſelf more complaiſant to the king of *France*, with regard to his marriage; and, at the requeſt of his ambaſſador, he readily confirmed the ſentence of the delegates, who had declared his marriage null, becauſe his queen *Margaret* was within the third degree of conſanguinity, and altho' he had obtained a diſpenſation from *Gregory* XIII. yet that had no effect, as it had been granted without the deſire and knowlege of *Margaret*, and the king had not then truly abjured his hereſy. For theſe and ſome other frivolous reaſons, the delegates had declared the marriage null

The pope annuls the

[z] Idem ibid. [a] OSSAT, epiſt. ccxviii. ccxxi.

(P) The diſpenſation was granted three years afterwards, the ducheſs having pretended a deſire of converſion; but ſhe died before it took effect in *Feb.* 1604. *Thuanus*, in the 124th book of his hiſtory, gives a different account, and ſays, that the duke immediately obtained a diſpenſation from the pope, without any difficulty. We have preferred the authority of cardinal *Oſſat* then at *Rome* (1).

(1) *Oſſat Epiſt.*

from

from the beginning. The pope, remembering the fatal conſequences of the behaviour of his predeceſſor *Clement* VII. to *Henry* VIII. of *England*, confirmed their ſentence without any difficulty; and, as the king had declared his intention of marrying *Mary de Medicis*, daughter of the late grand duke of *Tuſcany*, he preſented the bride with 100,000 crowns, beſides many rich jewels, and ſent his nephew, cardinal *Aldobrandino*, as his legate to *Florence*; who, on the 5th of *October*, ſolemnized the nuptials with great pomp, *Henry* IV. having ſent *Bellegarde*, his maſter of the horſe, to be his proxy [b]. From *Florence* the legate proceeded to *Savoy*; and, having had many difficulties, he at length prevailed upon both parties to agree to a peace; the marquiſate of *Saluces* being exchanged for *La Breſſe*, *Henry* quitting all claim to the former, and the latter being declared to belong to the kingdom of *France*.

marriage of the king of France.

CLEMENT in the mean time founded a monaſtery for thoſe poor girls, who, without any home, wandered in the ſtreets of *Rome*, having four years before founded one for the poor boys; who were afterwards called *Literati*, from one *Literatus*, who was the firſt promoter of that charity [c]. Having been patron and protector of the *Scotch* nation at the court of *Rome* before his promotion to the pontificate, he now founded and endowed a college for the inſtruction of the young men from that kingdom; and, at the requeſt of the *Portugueſe*, he publiſhed a bull, allowing the generals of all the mendicant orders to ſend what number of monks they pleaſed from *Portugal* into the *Eaſt Indies*, prohibiting, at the ſame time, any monks to paſs from the *Philippine* iſlands, or the *Weſt Indies*, to any of the *Portugueſe* ſettlements in *Aſia*, as the nations of *Spain* and *Portugal*, tho' then under the ſame king, ſtill purſued ſeparate intereſts, and were mutually jealous of their national privileges. He was likewiſe very earneſt with the king of *France* to publiſh the decrees of the council of *Trent* in his kingdom, according to one of the conditions of his abſolution; but tho' *Henry* declared his willingneſs to comply with the pope's deſire, and even ſigned and ſealed the edict for the promulgation of the council, the oppoſition of the parliament of *Paris* prevented the edict from being publiſhed. *Clement* at the ſame time ſollicited, without any effect, the re-admiſſion of the *Jeſuits*, who had been baniſhed from *France* ſeveral years before; and, having concluded the jubilee at *Rome*, he allowed a feſtival of the ſame kind to be

He founds a Scotch *college at* Rome.

celebrated

[b] THUAN. l. cxxiv. SPOND. Annal. [c] SPOND. ut ſup.

celebrated for a certain time, in the following year, in ſome kingdoms and provinces (Q).

A. D. 1601. *He receives an embaſſy from the king of* Perſia.

A FEW months after, two ambaſſadors arrived at *Rome* from the king of *Perſia*, to ſollicit the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtian powers againſt the *Turks*, and to inform the pope, that he had lately recovered a large province from them, and had drawn the governors of *Georgia*, *Mingrelia*, and *Circaſſia*, into his intereſts. The two ambaſſadors, one of whom was an *Engliſhman*, had a fierce diſpute about precedence, upon their public entry into *Rome*; after ſome blows, the *Engliſhman* obtained poſſeſſion of the honourable place, and was admitted to a ſeparate audience from his collegue; but their embaſſy was without any effect; and each of them, having received ſeveral thouſand crowns from the pope, left *Rome*, the *Perſian* ſailing to *Spain*, and the *Engliſhman*, having deceived his creditors, pretending to return directly to *Perſia* [d]. Soon after their departure from *Rome*, *Clement* publiſhed a bull to quiet the great diſſenſions among the catholics in *England*. The *Jeſuits* for ſeveral years had been endeavouring, by the moſt unjuſtifiable means, to ſubject all the popiſh prieſts in that kingdom to their authority, and by fraud and violence had prevented the deputies of the clergy from preſenting their appeals to the pope. The poor prieſts, who complained that they were more oppreſſed by the *Jeſuits* than by queen *Elizabeth*, at length got an opportunity of laying their grievances before his holineſs; who, finding that the

He compoſes the diſſenſions among the papiſts in England.

[d] SPOND. Prol. ad Sæcul. XVII.

(Q) *Spondanus*, the abridger and continuator of the eccleſiaſtical annals of *Baronius*, informs us, that he was preſent at this ceremony, having accompanied the cardinal *de Sourdis* to *Rome*; where a few years after he was ordained prieſt. Five years before he had abjured *Calviniſm*, in which he had been educated; and, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great abilities and zealous attachment to the popiſh cauſe, in the yeur 1626 he was nominated by *Lewis* XIII. of *France* to the biſhopric of *Pamiers*; which dignity, however, he refuſed to accept of, till he received a mandate from pope *Urban* VIII. His annals are wrote in a clear animated ſtile, and he ſeems to have been extremely well qualified for an hiſtorian, if he had been diveſted of his flagrant partiality for the church of *Rome*, and unjuſt prejudices againſt all thoſe of a different communion, whom he rails at without any temper or decency. He concluded his annals at this period, but added a ſhort continuation to the year 1640, under the title of *Proluſio ad Sæculum* XVII.

intrigues

ntrigues of the *Jeſuits* were prejudicial to the popiſh cauſe, etrenched their authority by his bull, and by that means put in end to the diſſenſions [e]. About the ſame time he ſent 12,000 men to the aſſiſtance of the emperor againſt the *Turks*. Theſe troops were commanded by his nephew, *Francis Aldobrandino*; and, having embarked at *Ancona*, croſſed the *Adriatic*, and arrived about the middle of *September* before *Caniſa*, which they inveſted, in conjunction with the other imperial troops; but the garriſon, which was very numerous, having defended the place with great vigour, they were obliged to abandon the ſiege towards the end of *November*, and to leave behind them the greateſt part of their artillery [f].

THE following year, *Clement* allowed the *Dominicans* and the *Jeſuits* to diſpute in his preſence concerning grace and free-will, and publiſhed a declaration, prohibiting ſacramental confeſſions to be made by letters or proxies to abſent confeſſors [g]. The year after he ſollicited the king of *France* for the re-eſtabliſhment of the *Jeſuits* in that kingdom; altho', according to *Mezeray*, he diſcovered no great earneſtneſs in that affair, having received great complaints againſt that order, not only from *England*, but alſo from *Venice*, and the *Swiſs* cantons. He likewiſe ordered his nuncio to complain to the king againſt the *Hugonots*, who, in a ſynod which they held in the month of *October*, at *Gap* in *Dauphiny*, had, among their other canons, decreed, that the pope was the real antichriſt. *Henry* himſelf was offended with the decree, as it accuſed him of worſhipping the *Beaſt*; and, all the catholic clergy remonſtrating againſt the new heretical article, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours with the chiefs of the *Hugonots* to have it aboliſhed, but without any effect [h].

A diſputation betwixt the Jeſuits *and* Dominicans *at* Rome. A. D. 1603.

AT the ſame time the authority of the pope received an attack from the *Jeſuits*; who, being offended that, in the late diſpute with the *Dominicans*, he had not patronized their order, began to aſſert, that the pope was not infallible, and that it was not an article of the catholic faith to believe that *Clement* VIII. was the lawful ſucceſſor of St. *Peter*. They likewiſe defended the lawfulneſs of confeſſing by proxy, and aſſerted the orthodoxy of the opinion of the *Jeſuit Molina* concerning grace. Theſe queſtions greatly alarmed the aſſertors of the papal ſupremacy. The *Jeſuit*, who impugned the infallibility, was impriſoned, and the whole order would have ſuffered, if the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador had not interceded

The Jeſuits *deny the infallibility of the pope.* A. D. 1604.

[e] THUAN. l. cxxvi. [f] Idem ibid. [g] SPOND. ut ſup. [h] MEZER. Abreg. Chron. t. xiv.

earneſtly

earneſtly in their behalf. The queſtion about confeſſion was alſo ſuppreſſed; but the pope allowed the diſpute, concerning the influence of grace and the freedom of the will, to be canvaſſed more fully (R). As he was not a little offended with the behaviour of the *Jeſuits*, he abſolutely refuſed to canonize their founder *Loyola*, notwithſtanding the great intereſt they at this time made in the papal court, and tho' they were now ſupported by *Henry* IV. who, in the beginning of this year, allowed their order to return to *France*, and choſe his confeſſor from their ſociety. Tho' *Clement* had repulſed the *Jeſuits*, yet, at the requeſt of the clergy of *Milan*, he canonized cardinal *Charles Borromeo*.

(R) The *Jeſuits* in a general aſſembly, held in the year 1558, altered one of the original ſtatutes of their founder, who had died about two years before; and allowed the books of *Peter Lombard*, and other divines, to be taught in their ſchools; whereas, before that time, they had only admitted the works of St. *Thomas Acquinas*. Many of their members had about that time abandoned the doctrine of St. *Thomas*, fifty of whoſe theological opinions they rejected in their fourth general congregation, held at *Rome* in the year 1584. As they began to teach their new opinions publicly, and to aſſert them by theſes, they were cenſured by the univerſities of *Louvain* and *Douay*. But to free themſelves from the ſuſpicion of hereſy, after ſeveral years controverſy, they themſelves delivered *Molina*'s book to the judges of the inquiſition in the year 1594. The affair, four years afterwards, was carried to *Rome*; where *Molina*'s book was ſuppreſſed by the congregation *de Auxiliis Gratiæ*, which had been then appointed by the pope. The *Jeſuits*, before the cenſure of the congregation was publiſhed, obtained leave to hold a conference with their impugners, the *Dominicans*; which continued, without any effect, for a whole year. *Clement* likewiſe ordered the congregation to reexamine *Molina*; and, in the year 1601, added ſome new conſultors to the others. *Molina* was again condemned by their ſecond ſentence, which declared, that he agreed with the *Pelagians* and *Semipelagians*, both in his doctrine, his proofs, and his objections. The diſpute, nevertheleſs, was not ended; for the *Jeſuits* ſtill undertook to prove the orthodoxy of the cenſured propoſitions, and, by their importunities, prevailed on *Clement* to grant a new examination, which commenced on the 20th of *March* 1602, and was not concluded at his death. As the pope did not interpoſe his authority to procure a ſentence in their behalf, probably on that account he drew upon himſelf the reſentment of thoſe fathers (a).

(a) *Abreg. de Chriſt. de la Congreg. de Auxil. Edit.* 1686.

MEAN time the peace of the city was, in ſome meaſure, diſturbed, by a conteſt about the privilege of an aſylum. A priſoner having been purſued by the *Sbirri*, or conſtables, took refuge in the palace of cardinal *Odoard Farneſe*, where he was protected by force againſt the prefect of *Rome*. The cardinal, with ſeveral *Roman* nobles, and the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, after continuing in arms all night, with ſeveral of their dependents, next morning marched out of the town with the criminal, to a caſtle at thirty-ſix miles diſtance; which behaviour irritating the pope, he ſent to him, and ordered him to reſign his government of *St. Peter's Patrimony*, which his anceſtors had enjoyed ever ſince the pontificate of *Paul* III. Upon his refuſal, *Clement* immediately ordered new levies to be made, and prepared to reduce him to his obedience by force; which the cardinal being informed of, he thought proper to ſubmit, and effected his reconciliation by means of his brother the duke of *Parma*, who had married one of the pope's nieces [i]. The pope ſurvived this diſturbance only a few months, and died on the 2d of *March*, in the 70th year of his age, and the 14th year of his pontificate; during which he had created, at different promotions, upwards of fifty cardinals, among whom were *Baronius*, *Bellarmine*, *Du Perron*, *De Sourdi*, *D'Oſſat*, and *Olivier*. This pope was greatly extolled for his piety and moderation. He was a great patron of learned men, and is ſaid to have promiſed liberty of conſcience to the celebrated *Scipio Gentilis*, to induce him to accept of a profeſſor's chair in the univerſity of *Bologna* [k]. He is repreſented, however, in another light by *Heydegger*; who ſays, that he formed a ſcheme of a holy league for oppreſſing the proteſtants, which was approved by the emperor, and by which it was propoſed to begin with ſurprizing *Geneva* and *Straſburg* [l].

A commotion in Rome.

The death of Clement VIII. A. D. 1605.

CARDINAL *Aldobrandino*, the nephew of the late pope, who, a few months before his death, had ſucceeded to the archbiſhopric of *Ravenna*, and had great authority in the ſacred college, upon entering into the conclave endeavoured to procure the election of the famous cardinal *Baronius*. He was ſeconded by the cardinals of the *French* faction; but the *Spaniſh* party, which for a long time had been ſuperior in the *Roman* court, oppoſed him with great violence and malice, in reſentment of what he had written, in the eleventh volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Annals, againſt the right claimed by the king of *Spain* to the kingdom of *Sicily*, independant

[i] THUAN. l. cxxxi. [k] PICCART. in Orat. Funeb. Scipion. Gent. [l] HEYDEG. Hiſt. Papat. Ætat. vii.

of

of the holy ſee. They produced a letter of complaint againſt him, as if written from the viceroy of *Naples* to the late pope; which, to their great confuſion, was proved to be a forgery. After two or three ſcrutinies, his intereſt was found to be pretty ſtrong; but, as there were no leſs than ſixty cardinals in the conclave, he could not procure a legal majority, the *Spaniards* being ſufficiently ſtrong to put a negative upon the election of any one whom they diſapproved. *Bellarmine* and ſome others were alſo rejected. At length cardinal *De Joyeuſe*, chief of the *French* faction, propoſed cardinal *Alexander de Medicis*, who was not unacceptable to either party, and was accordingly elected, by a ſcrutiny with open billets, on the firſt of *April*, when he aſſumed the name of *Leo* XI. He was the ſon of *Octaviano*, couſin of *Coſmo* great duke of *Tuſcany*; and, having been created cardinal by *Gregory* XIII. he had long diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the court of *Rome* by his magnificence, and kindneſs to learned men. His predeceſſor ſent him as legate to *France*; where, by his wiſe and moderate conduct, he gained a great reputation. His promotion, which gave great joy to the *Romans*, made no alteration in his behaviour; but he gave audience with his uſual affability, and continued thoſe in office who had been appointed by his predeceſſors. He promiſed to eaſe his ſubjects of their taxes, and to adorn the city of *Rome*; but he was prevented from executing his deſigns by death, which happened to him on the 27th day of his pontificate, and the 70th year of his age [m].

Leo XI. *is choſen pope.*

His death

Upon the death of *Leo* XI. the conclave was divided into four principal factions; namely, the *Spaniſh* and *French*, and that of *Aldobrandino* and *Montalto*. Cardinals *Sauli*, *Mariano*, and *Bellarmine*, were propoſed, and rejected. *Toſco de Reggio* was alſo nominated by the *Spaniſh* and *Aldobrandine* factions; but by the clamours of *Baronius*, who exclaimed loudly againſt him, forty-four cardinals deſerted him, and propoſed to adore the other, whom they conducted to the *Pauline* chapel. The election of *Baronius*, however, met with an interruption, and *Toſco*, when he returned to his cell, found it pillaged, his palace in the city being alſo plundered, according to cuſtom, as his election was looked upon as certain. *Aldobrandino* then propoſed *Camillo Borgheſe*; who, being acceptable to *Montalto* and *De Joyeuſe*, was conducted to the *Pauline* chapel, where he was elected by an open ſcrutiny, on the 16th of *May*, and took the name of *Paul* V. [n]. He was then only in the 53d year of his age,

Paul V. *elected.*

[m] Hiſt. de Concl. Thuan. l. cxxxiv. [n] Idem ibid.

and

and was born at *Rome*; where his father, who had come from *Siena*, had been conſiſtorial advocate. He had a great reputation for his knowlege in the civil law, and was created a cardinal by *Clement* VIII. who ſent him as his nuncio to *Spain*. Soon after his promotion he gave his own cardinal's hat to *Scipio Caffarelli*, his ſiſter's ſon, and elevated his two ſurviving brothers, *Francis* and *John Baptiſt*, to the chief dignities in *Rome*, the firſt being appointed governor of the *Vatican*, and the other governor of *St. Angelo*.

He endeavours to advance the eccleſiaſtical jurisdiction.

THE chief concern of the new pope was to advance the eccleſiaſtical authority and juriſdiction. He earneſtly preſſed the king of *France* to publiſh the decrees of the council of *Trent*, and ſollicited the king of *Spain* to grant the *Jeſuits* an exemption from the payment of their tythe, and to ſend the regent of *Ponte* to *Rome*, becauſe, in conſequence of the king's edict, he had ſent two bookſellers of *Naples* to the the gallies for ſelling the eleventh volume of the Annals of *Baronius*, contrary to the royal prohibition. He was offended with the republic of *Lucca*, becauſe it had publiſhed an edict, prohibiting all commerce and correſpondence with thoſe *Luccheſe*, who had left their country, and embraced the proteſtant religion. He inſiſted, that the edict ſhould be repealed, that there might be an opportunity to act by the cenſures of the church. He likewiſe threatened the *Genoeſe* for having ſuppreſſed a ſeditious congregation, which aſſembled at a chapel of the *Jeſuits* in their city; but his chief diſpute about eccleſiaſtical immunity was with the republic of *Venice*.

On which account he quarrels with the Venetians.

THE *Venetians*, a few years before, had publiſhed ſeveral laws for reſtraining the power and licentiouſneſs of the clergy; particularly, they had prohibited the building of new churches, convents, and monaſteries, in their dominions, without the expreſs permiſſion of the ſignory, and had declared eccleſiaſtics incapable of making any new acquiſition of immoveable goods, without the leave of the ſenate. They had likewiſe, by their own authority, impriſoned an abbot and a canon, who had been guilty of enormous crimes; on which account the pope ſent two briefs to his nuncio at *Venice*, the one for annulling the new-made laws, and the other ordering the two priſoners to be remitted to the eccleſiaſtical courts. The republic defended their proceeding with great ſpirit, while ſome of the cardinals endeavoured to mediate an accommodation. Others, with more ſucceſs, inflamed the difference, in hopes that the pope, by being engaged in ſuch an intricate affair, would be ſeized with grief, which

A. D. 1606.

which might ſhorten his days [o]. *Paul* accordingly, not being able to obtain his imperious demands from the *Venetians*, on the 17th of *April* thundered out a bull of excommunication and interdict againſt the republic, unleſs they would give him ſatisfaction within twenty-four days. A great number of treatiſes appeared on both ſides of the controverſy; but the *Venetians* reſolved to defend their cauſe, not by writings but by arms. They prohibited the eccleſiaſtics within their dominions from paying any regard to the pope's bull (S). They began to equip a fleet, hired 8,000 *Griſons*, and aſſembled ſeveral other forces on the borders of the *Milaneſe*. The pope likewiſe, at firſt, with great ardour, aſſembled an army in the duchy of *Spoleto*, and ſollicited ſuccours from the kings of *France* and *Spain*; who both promiſed to aſſiſt him with a formidable army. In the mean time he put an end to the controverſy concerning grace betwixt the *Jeſuits* and *Dominicans*, ordaining that each party might modeſtly defend their own opinion in the ſchools, without condemning that of the other, till a determination of the apoſtolic ſee ſhould be publiſhed [p]. He likewiſe erected a congregation of war; which proceeding ſurprized all *Italy*, as the court of *Rome*, till that time, had always covered their temporal deſigns with ſpiritual names. However, as he found the *Venetians* not terrified by his threats, and that they had the promiſe of aſſiſtance not only from the king of *Great Britain* and the States of *Holland*, but even from the grand ſignior, he expreſſed his deſire of an accommodation to the *French* ambaſſador at *Rome*; finding that the king of *Spain* only deſigned to amuſe him, having demanded, as the

He puts an end to the diſpute betwixt the Jeſuits *and* Dominicans.

[o] Idem, l. cxxxvii. [p] Spond. ut ſup.

(S) Some few of the clergy thought proper to obey the pope; but the monks continued quiet in their monaſteries, only the orders of *Capuchins* and *Jeſuits* aſked leave to depart. The *Capuchins* had liberty to return when they pleaſed; but the *Jeſuits* were baniſhed for ever by an edict, and all were prohibited from holding any correſpondence with them, under pain of the gallies and the loſs of goods. At their departure from the city, the mob conducted them to the ſhore, ſhouting, and calling after them, that they might go to the devil if they pleaſed. They, in reſentment for this treatment, endeavoured, by private intrigues, to raiſe factions among the nobility, and cauſed two gentlemen of the *Venetian* ambaſſador's retinue in *Poland* to be affronted at maſs, and to be expelled the church (3).

(3) *Thuan. l.* 137. *Pereſ. Hiſt. de Hen. IV. Heydeg. Rycaut.*

condition

condition of engaging in the war, a releaſe of the yearly tribute for the kingdom of *Naples*, and a ſurrender of *Ferrara* and *Ancona*. *Henry* IV. of *France* was more ſincere in his endeavours to ſerve both parties, and, by his ambaſſador at *Venice*, had preſſed the republic to make ſome offers of a ſubmiſſion. They, as well as the pope, accepting of his mediation, he ſent the cardinal *de Joyeuſe* into *Italy*, who conducted his negociation with ſuch prudence, that he at laſt concluded a peace on theſe conditions; that the republic ſhould deliver the two priſoners into the hands of the *French* ambaſſador, to be delivered to the pope; and ſhould revoke the proteſt againſt the apoſtolical cenſures, and reſtore all eccleſiaſtics to their eſtates; on which account the pope ſhould give them abſolution (T). Having thus ſettled the articles, he left *Rome*; and, arriving at *Venice*, with great ſolemnity revoked the ſentence of excommunication on the 21ſt of *April* [q].

A. D. 1607. *The difference with the Venetians accommodated.*

ABOUT the commencement of this difference with the *Venetians*, the pope, being informed that the king of *Great Britain* had publiſhed the form of an oath, by which all his ſubjects in *England* were required to ſwear, that king *James* was ſupreme lord of all the dominions which he poſſeſſed, and that the pope had no authority of depoſing a king, he immediately diſpatched a brief into *England*, prohibiting all the papiſts from taking that oath, and exhorting them patiently to endure all manner of perſecution rather than comply. As many of them, nevertheleſs, took the oath, pretending that the brief was a forgery, he again wrote to them this year, aſſuring them of the genuineneſs of his former brief, and that the oath could not be taken with a ſafe conſcience [r].

THE following year *Paul* received an embaſſy from the king of *Congo* in *Africa*, where the monks, after a long interval, had again inſinuated themſelves. He received the *The pope receives an embaſſy*

[q] THUAN. ut ſup. RYCAUT. MEZER. Abreg. Chron. t. vi. PEREFIX. Hiſt. d'Hen. IV. FRA-PAOLO Droit de Souverains. Etat. du Siege de Rome, t. i. [r] SPOND. ut ſup. Etat. du Siege de Rome, p. 34.

(T) The treaty was retarded ſeveral months on account of the *Jeſuits*, whom the pope, at firſt, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to have reſtored. But the republic abſolutely refuſing to repeal their edict againſt them, he at laſt conſented to wave that point (4).

(1) *Thuan. ut ſup. & alii.*

ambaſſador

from the king of Congo, ambaſſador with great reſpect, and promiſed to ſend ſeveral learned and pious preachers with him into his own country; but as he died ſoon after his arrival at *Rome*, the deſign of ſending miſſionaries to *Congo* was at that time laid aſide.

A. D. 1609. About the ſame time the archbiſhop of *Goa* procured letters to the pope from the king of *Perſia*, and next year the *Perſian* ambaſſador arrived at *Rome*, to yield obedience, as it was pretended, to *Paul*, and to inform him, that he allowed Chriſtians to build churches and ſchools in his dominions [s].

and from the king of Perſia.

The Neſtorians *are re-united to the church of* Rome. An embaſſy arrived likewiſe this ſame year from *Elias*, the *Neſtorian* patriarch at *Babylon*; who, having received a confeſſion of the *Roman* faith from *Paul*, in the beginning of his pontificate, now ſent one *Adam*, an archdeacon, to *Rome*, with a new confeſſion, drawn up in different terms from the *Roman*, but without any material alteration as to the ſenſe; intending to ſhew the pope, that the faith of the orientals differed only in words from that of *Rome*. The pope's ſecretary, in his examination of this writing, explained every article in an unfavourable ſenſe, and obliged the legate of the patriarch to ſubmit, not only to the doctrines, but to the words of the *Roman* church. The legate ſigned every thing that the pope propoſed to him, and not only abjured the errors of his nation, but alſo addreſſed ſome treatiſes to his countrymen, exhorting them to an intire conformity with the church of *Rome*. At his departure, which happened two years afterwards, he was accompanied by two *Jeſuits*, and carried with him a brief from the pope to the patriarch, requiring him to renounce all expreſſions which might ſeem to countenance error [t].

DURING his reſidence at *Rome*, the pope was earneſtly preſſed by the king of *France* to enter into a defenſive alliance with him and the princes of *Italy*; and, to prevail upon him to accede to the treaty, a match was propoſed betwixt his nephew and the king's natural daughter. But *Paul* abſolutely refuſed to engage in the alliance, as he was apprehenſive, from the great preparations made by the king, that he intended a rupture with *Spain*, and to invade the *Milaneſe*; in which caſe he propoſed to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, tho' he was deſirous to prevent, if poſſible, any hoſtilities in *Italy*. This negociation was interrupted by the aſſaſſination of *Henry* IV. at which the pope expreſſed great ſorrow; and, as a teſtimony of his regard, he aſſiſted perſonally at

A.D. 1610. Paul *expreſſes*

[s] SPOND. ut ſup. [t] STROZ. de Dogmat. Chald. R. SIMON. Hiſt. Crit. de Dogmat. des Orient. NIC. GODIG. l. i. de Reb. Abaſſyn. ap. AUB. MIRÆUM de Stat. Rel. Chriſt.

his

his obsequies; which were celebrated at *Rome* with great solemnity. Hearing that some young *Frenchmen* in the city rejoiced at the king's death, and stiled the assassin the deliverer of their country, he ordered them to be seized; and, upon process made against them, condemned them to the gallies [u]. About the same time the congregation *delle Indice* published their censure of the history of *Thuanus*, while *Paul*, in imitation of *Clement* V. and other popes, published a bull, ordering all the religious orders to maintain professors in the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Greek*, and *Latin* languages [w]. As the report still continued, that the marshal *de Lesdiguieres* was on the point of entering *Italy* with an army to join the duke of *Savoy*, *Paul* declared to the *French* ambassador at *Rome*, that, if the marshal should offer to pass the *Alps*, he would endeavour to oppose him by force. The pope had no occasion to repeat his threats; for the death of *Henry* IV. and the minority of his son *Lewis* XIII. put a stop to the intended expedition of the *French* into *Italy*.

great sorrow for the murder of the king of France.

NOT long after, *Paul* received a message from the duke of *Bavaria*, to inform him of his dispute with the archbishop of *Saltzburg*, whom he detained a prisoner. The duke had formed pretensions to the salt-pits in the territory of *Halle the Rich*, then in the possession of the archbishop; and, upon his refusal to acknowlege his right, had entered his territories with an armed force, seized some of his towns, and imprisoned himself. However, as the prelate was prevented from sending a deputy to *Rome*, the elector found means to justify his conduct at that court; and the four cardinals, who were appointed by the pope to examine the affair, decreed, that the archbishop, having endeavoured to fly from his territories upon the invasion of the duke, had rendered himself unworthy of his dignity, which he should therefore resign, and content himself with an annual pension of 20,000 florins. The pope, that he might not seem to favour the duke to the prejudice of the episcopal dignity, omitted signing the decree [x].

A. D. 1611. *The archbishop of* Saltzburg *is compelled to resign his bishopric.*

MEAN while, being disgusted with business, on account of the great trouble and vexation in which he had been involved by his rupture with the *Venetians*, he now indulged himself in sloth and indolence. He neglected almost intirely the administration of affairs, and was chiefly intent upon enriching his nephew cardinal *Borgheſe*, on whom he bestowed a revenue of upwards of 250,000 crowns, by conferring upon him very many rich

Paul *is remiss in the administration of public affairs.*

[u] NIC. RIGALT. de reb. Gal. RYCAUT. [w] SPOND. ut sup. RIGALT. ut sup. [x] ADLZNEIT. part iii. p. 26, &c.

benefices, and drawing penſions from a great many others both in *Spain* and *Italy* [y]. He took great delight in adorning the city with magnificent buildings, and about this time finiſhed the large palace of *Monte Cavallo*, which had been begun by *Sixtus* V. Beſides, he greatly enlarged the church of *St. Peter*, and the *Vatican* palace and library; he built two magnificent palaces for his relations, one in the city, and the other, with ſpacious gardens, without the walls; and in both he collected the moſt valuable works in ſculpture and painting, and the fineſt monuments of antiquity which he could purchaſe. He brought water to ſeveral parts of the city by aqueducts, and embelliſhed the ſtreets with a great number of fountains; on which account he was ſtiled, by *Paſquin*, *Pontifex Maximus* [z].

The Spaniards threaten to invade the duke of Mantua. A.D. 1613.

As the duke of *Mantua*, about the end of the following year, died without male iſſue, *Paul* allowed his brother, cardinal *Ferdinand*, to whom the ſucceſſion fell, to reſign his hat; however, notwithſtanding the earneſt intreaties of the *French* and *Venetian* ambaſſadors, he refuſed to concern himſelf in the leaſt with the diſputes betwixt the new duke and the *Spaniards*, who had formed pretenſions to ſome part of his territories, and in the following ſpring threatened to diſturb the peace of *Italy* with their warlike preparations. Tho' a war actually commenced, *Paul* ſtill continued unconcerned, and could not be moved in behalf of the houſe of *Mantua* by the moſt preſſing ſollicitations of the *French* ambaſſador, who wrote to the queen regent, that the pope was like a beaſt fattening in a ſtall, and thought only of enjoying the pleaſures and conveniencies of the pontificate [a]. *Paul* pretended to be afraid of the reſentment of the court of *Madrid*, or perhaps was convinced, from the weakneſs of the *Spaniſh* monarchy, and the peaceable diſpoſition of *Philip* III. that the hazard of a war with *France* would make the *Spaniards* readily accommodate their differences in *Italy*.

MEAN while he publiſhed a bull for founding a ſeminary of cardinals at *Rome*; and, at the requeſt of the queen regent of *France*, he confirmed the congregation of pious prieſts, which had been inſtituted by her at *Paris*, under the title of *the congregation of the fathers of the oratory*, in honour of the prayers put up by Chriſt in the days of his fleſh [b]. He likewiſe, by a treaty with *Lewis* XIII. regulated the limits of the county of *Venaiſſin*, ſituated between *Dauphiny* and *Provence*,

[y] Nic. de Marb. Requeſt. a l'Emper. Edit. de Leyd. 1613.
[z] Etat du Siege de Rome, l. i. p. 33. [a] NAN. Hiſt. Venet. an. 1613. SIRI Memoire Recond. t. iii. [b] SPOND. ut ſup.

and

and belonging to the holy ſee [c]. During this negociation, being informed that the queen regent was treating with the king of *Great Britain* about a marriage betwixt the prince of *Wales* and her ſecond daughter *Chriſtina*, he ordered his nuncio *Ubaldini* to remonſtrate againſt the propoſed alliance, as prejudicial to the church, that is, in the ſtile of the *Roman* court, contrary to the intereſts of the pope. The nuncio, finding that he made no impreſſion upon the queen, endeavoured to alarm the devotees at *Paris*; but his intrigues were unneceſſary; for the queen was not ſincere in the negociation with the *Britiſh* court. and only intended to quiet the diſcontents of the *French*, who murmured greatly at the double alliance which ſhe had contracted the year before with *Spain* [d]. This alliance with *Spain* chiefly gave offence to the prince of *Conde* and the *Hugonots*, who remembered the late fatal effects of the *Spaniſh* councils in their kingdom. Together with the prince, the duke of *Mayenne* and ſeveral other nobles entered into an aſſociation; and, after publiſhing ſeveral remonſtrances againſt the queen's mal-adminiſtration, had recourſe to arms. An accommodation, however, was ſoon effected, by means of the parliament of *Paris*, the queen having made great conceſſions to the prince of *Conde*, with which the pope's nuncio was greatly offended, as he imagined the prince intended to renounce the popiſh religion, and to claim the ſucceſſion to the crown [e].

The pope oppoſes an alliance betwixt the prince of Wales *and a daughter of* France. A.D. 1614.

THE proceedings of the parliament of *Paris* gave great jealouſy to the pope, who about that time accuſed them of incroaching upon the rights of the church, as they had condemned a book of *Suarez*, a *Spaniſh Jeſuit*, to be burnt by the hands of the common hagman, as containing pernicious and damnable doctrines. He made great complaints againſt them to the *French* ambaſſador at *Rome*, and ordered him to deſire the queen regent to annul the decree, promiſing, that, if any propoſition of *Suarez* was derogatory to the ſovereignty of the king, it ſhould be cenſured at *Rome*. The ambaſſador repreſenting the impracticability of annulling the decree, and obſerving that, if the doctrine of aſſaſſinating princes, who are accuſed of tyranny, ſhould become general, the popes themſelves were not ſafe, but might happen to be murdered by ſome fanatical heretic, *Paul*, after ſome reflection, agreed to write to his nuncio in *France*, and ſent briefs to the cardinals *Joyeuſe*, *Perron*, and *Rochefoucault*, enjoining them to confer with the nuncio about the means of procuring ſa-

He accuſes the parliament of Paris *of encroaching upon the juriſdiction of the church.*

[c] Hiſt. des Traitez de Paix. [d] SIRI ut ſup. VASSOR Hiſt. de Lewis XIII. [e] SIRI ut ſup.

tisfaction to the holy ſee. He had at firſt been inflamed by the *Jeſuits* at *Rome*, who, preferring the honour of their ſociety to all other conſiderations, had uſed their utmoſt endeavours to occaſion a rupture betwixt him and *France*, and to prevail with him to cauſe the parliament's decree to be burnt, as heretical, by the hangman. *Lewis* XIII. being declared major about the beginning of *October*, immediately after, to ſatisfy the pope, publiſhed a declaration, affirming, that the execution of the decree of parliament ſhould not infringe the lawful authority of the pope, or the privileges acknowleged by his anceſtors to belong to the holy ſee. *Paul* was far from being ſatisfied with this declaration, as by the word lawful, the authority of the holy ſee ſeemed in ſome meaſure limited; he therefore ſtill inſiſted, that the decree ſhould be judicially annulled; but all the ſatisfaction he could obtain, was only the ſuſpenſion of its execution [f].

He endeavours to cauſe the council of Trent *to be received in* France. A. D. 1615.

He was likewiſe diſappointed in his endeavours to prevail with the ſtates of *France*, who were then ſitting at *Paris*, to order the publication of the decrees of the council of *Trent*. Tho' the clergy, who were zealous in the intereſt of the court of *France*, had gained the nobility, yet they were both oppoſed by the third eſtate, whoſe delegates made a motion for treating of the extent of the pope's authority over kings. But as that diſpute would have only kept alive the factions in the kingdom, they were oppoſed by the two other eſtates; who, on that account, received congratulatory briefs from the pope [g]. *Paul* in the mean time received a letter from the biſhop of *Paphlagonia*, acknowleging his ſupremacy; and a few months after two ambaſſadors arrived at *Rome* from *Japan*, one of whom was a noble *Japaneſe*, and the other a *Spaniſh* friar, of the order of *St. Francis*, who had converted one of the kings in that diſtant country. Thoſe ambaſſadors requeſted of the pope, that he would ſend a greater number of miſſionaries into that kingdom to convert the infidels, and mentioned ſeveral other particulars, which are fully related by the continuator of *Thuanus* [h]. An ambaſſador extraordinary alſo about the ſame time arrived at *Rome* from *France*, who ſolemnly yielded obedience to the pope, in the king's name.

Great diſputes about the

The following year the pope endeavoured to mediate a peace betwixt the king of *Spain* and the duke of *Savoy*, who, tho' a few months before they had agreed to an accommo-

[f] Le Vassor & Siri, ut ſup. Hiſt. de Lewis XIII. Spond. ut ſup. l. viii.

[g] Contin. de Mezer.

[h] Thuan. Contin.

dation,

dation, now renewed hoſtilities with greater animoſity. His attention, however, was much more engaged with a controverſy betwixt the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, about the immaculate conception of the Bleſſed Virgin. Ever ſince the beginning of the former century, there had been great diſputes among the papiſts about this very important point; but they had never been carried to ſo great a height as at preſent. The *Dominicans* maintained the affirmative, and the *Franciſcans* ſupported the negative; but both parties were tranſported with ſuch animoſity and furious zeal, that *Spain* was almoſt engaged in a religious civil war on their account. The catholic king, to prevent the fatal effects of this blind conteſt, preſſed the pope, by repeated embaſſies, to give an authoritative deciſion of the queſtion in diſpute; but all that he could obtain of *Paul* was a renovation of the conſtitutions of *Sixtus* IV. and *Pius* V. on that ſubject, with more ſevere ſanctions than formerly; to which the next year, in the month of *Auguſt*, he added a decree, prohibiting abſolutely any one from teaching, or aſſerting publicly, that the Holy Virgin was conceived in original ſin, altho', at the ſame time, he allowed every one to believe any ſide of the diſpute they pleaſed [i].

immaculate conception of the virgin Mary.

A.D. 1617.

By this means he, in ſome meaſure, put a ſtop to the animoſities in *Spain*; but quickly after he was engaged in another diſpute with the court of *France*, on account of the poſſeſſions of marſhal *D'Ancre* at *Rome*. As that *Florentine*, by the abuſe of his power, had acquired immenſe wealth, which he laid out in purchaſes at *Florence* and *Rome*, the parliament of *Paris*, after his murder, which happened in the end of *April*, declared him a traitor, and confiſcated for the uſe of the king all the eſtates that he had acquired, whether within or without the kingdom. In conſequence of this parliamentary decree, the archbiſhop of *Lyons* demanded, for the uſe of the *French* king, all the eſtates which the late marſhal poſſeſſed at *Rome*. This arrogant demand was at firſt treated with contempt by the pope; but at length, after many propoſitions, he agreed to a partition of the eſtate with *Lewis* XIII. in ſuch a manner, that of the whole, which amounted to 425,000 livres, the king ſhould have 250,000, and the remaining 175,000 ſhould be left to the pope, to be appropriated by him to the building of *St. Peter's* church [k]. This treaty of the partition of the ſucceſſion of *D'Ancre* was concluded

A partition of the marſhal D'Ancre's eſtates at Rome betwixt the pope and

[i] Heydeg. Hiſt. Papat. Spond. ut ſup. [k] Le Grain Decade de Louis Le Juſt. Relat. Exact. de la Mort du Marechal D'Ancre, a la Fin de l'Hiſt. des Favoris, Leyd. Edit. 1661.

the king of France. concluded about a year after his death, which had occasioned great revolutions at the court of *France*. The queen regent was obliged to retire to *Blois*, and *Richelieu*, bishop of *Luçon*, one of the late marshal's creatures, was ordered to quit the kingdom. He retired to *Avignon*, where he was at first countenanced by the pope, who interceded for him as a persecuted bishop; but the *French* ambassador at *Rome*, by order of the king, representing that some of the bishop's intrigues had been discovered prejudicial to the state, *Paul* ceased to interest himself in his behalf, tho' he allowed him still to reside in his territories.

A. D. 1618.

A universal jubilee published at Rome. 1619.

In the mean time he employed himself in confirming several monkish orders; and, in the beginning of the following year, he published a universal jubilee, for imploring the assistance of God for the defence of the church, which was endangered by a general insurrection of the protestants in *Bohemia* and the other countries under the *Austrian* dominion. They had been provoked to take arms, on account of the oppression which they suffered from the emperor *Matthias*, by the instigation of his cousin *Ferdinand*, archduke of *Gratz*, who a few years before had been declared heir of the crown of *Bohemia* by the States. *Ferdinand*, a few weeks after the publication of the jubilee, succeeding to all his cousin's hereditary dominions, and not long after being elected emperor, endeavoured to prevail with the rebels in *Bohemia* to hearken to an accommodation, by offering them a full confirmation of all their privileges; but they, distrusting his sincerity, rejected his offers, chose the elector palatine for their king, and entered into an alliance with the protestants in *Hungary*, *Austria*, *Moravia*, *Silesia*, and *Lusace*, who were also in arms. The pope, alarmed at this powerful confederacy, gave assistance in money to the emperor; who, the following year, gained a decisive victory over his competitor in the neighbourhood of *Prague*, which secured to him the possession of *Bohemia*, and obliged the other rebels to submit [l].

The death of Paul. 1621.

Paul survived the news of this victory only a few months, and died at *Rome* on the 28th of *January*, in the 69th year of his age, and the 16th of his pontificate. He is greatly commended by father *Hyacynthe de Graveson*, who was a dependent of his nephew *Mark Anthony Borghese* [m]. But he is represented in a very different light by *Nicholas de Marbais*,

[l] Spond. ut sup. See the History of the German Empire.
[m] Amat. de Graveson Hist. Eccles. t. viii.

doctor

doctor in divinity, who complains he had bought lands for his nephew to the value of 2,000,000 of crowns, which sum he had raised by distressing the clergy, as he conferred no benefices without reserving a part of it as a pension to some person whom he had not the confidence to name; that he did not regulate his conduct according to the laws and canons of the *Roman* church, the rights and jurisdiction of which he entirely neglected; that the ecclesiastical immunities were not only trampled upon in *France* and *Spain*, but also at *Florence* and *Naples*, and in the *Milanese*; that in *Spain* and *Naples*, if any criminal took sanctuary in the churches and monasteries, he was dragged from thence to the magistrates by force and violence, who contemned the pope's bull prohibiting such proceedings under pain of excommunication. The false pope *Paul*, he says, left the administration of affairs entirely to his nephew *Borghese*, who opened the letters of the legates and nuncios, and answered them in the pope's name. He countenanced licentiousness and debauchery among the cardinals, bishops, and other prelates, that they might not reproach him with his own crimes; and all of them lived, not like Christians, but like the corrupt heathens of antient *Rome*. To procure the pontificate to his nephew *Borghese*, he created a great many young and worthless cardinals, of mean birth and no education, whom he kept needy and dependent, hoping to survive all the antient cardinals, and to renew the whole sacred college before his death [n].

After the celebration of the funeral obsequies of *Paul* V. which, according to custom, continued nine days, on the 8th of *February* fifty-two cardinals entered the conclave, in procession, where the different factions immediately began to cabal. The most antient party was that of *Montalto*, the second of *Aldobrandino*, the third was the *Spanish*, and the fourth the *French* faction. Some cardinals, such as *Bonti*, *Sforza*, *Farnese*, *Medici*, and *Este*, formed small parties of their own: but the most powerful of all was that of *Borghese*, who was confident of carrying the election in favour of cardinal *Campora*. That candidate, however, being disagreeable to the other parties, they united together; so that *Borghese* could not obtain a legal majority of votes, and *Campora*, who before the shutting of the conclave began to assume the state and dignity of a pope, suffered a most mortifying disappointment. *Borghese* finding his intrigues in favour of *Campora* ineffectual, proposed cardinal *Ludovisio*, Gregory XV. *is elected pope.*

[n] Nic de Marbais requeste a l'Empereur, Leyden, 1613.

who, being approved of immediately by almoſt the whole conclave, was conducted to the *Pauline* chapel, where he was unanimouſly elected and adorned that ſame evening, and aſſumed the name of *Gregory* XV. [o] (U). A few days after he was crowned with the uſual pomp in *St. Peter*'s church, and made a grand proceſſion to that of *St. John di Lateran*, to take poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power of the church; after which ceremonies he publiſhed a univerſal jubilee, to implore the divine bleſſing upon his government [p], and perhaps to bring in ſome money into his coffers, which was alſo probably his motive for creating ſeveral new ſaints, having in his ſhort pontificate canonized *Ignatius Loyola*, *Francis Xavier*, *Lewis Gonzaga*, *Staniſlaus Kolka*, *Iſodore Agricola* a *Spaniard*, *Ambroſe Sonſedan* of *Siena*, *James de Salomiome* a *Venetian*, *Philip de Neri*, founder of the fathers of the oratory, and *Thereſa*, the reformer of the order of the *Carmelites* [q].

He excites the king of France againſt the Hugonots.

As the *Hugonots* in *France*, on account of the violation of the edict of *Nantz*, about this time again had recourſe to arms, *Gregory* wrote to the young king, exhorting him to root them out and deſtroy them; which letter was accompanied with a bull, animating the papiſts to riſe up againſt them. For that purpoſe he likewiſe ſent into *France* a *Spaniſh Carmelite* friar, one *Dominicus de Jeſu Maria*, a moſt cunning hypocrite, who had acquired a great reputation for ſanctity among the ignorant people [r] (W). While this impoſtor

[o] Hiſt. de Conclaves, art. xxviii. [p] Graveson, ut ſupra. [q] Heyberg. Hiſt. papat. Letters of Jansenius. Rycaut. Spond. ut ſupra. [r] Granv. Hiſt. Gall.

(U) *Gregory* XV. whoſe former name was *Alexander Ludovicio*, was born at *Bologna*, of an illuſtrious family, which had been aſſociated among the *Neapolitan* nobility by *Jane*, queen of *Naples*. He was in his youth educated in the *Jeſuits* college at *Rome*; and returning afterwards to *Bologna*, he there ſtudied the civil law, in which he arrived at the degree of doctor. Settling afterwards at *Rome*, he acquired the friendſhip of the three popes, *Gregory* XIV. *Clement* VIII. and *Paul* V. the laſt of whom conferred upon him the biſhopric of *Bologna*, created him cardinal, and appointed him his nuncio to adjuſt the differences betwixt the *Spaniards* and the duke of *Savoy* (1).

(W) He had attended the emperor's army in *Bohemia*, and the victory of *Prague* was, in a great meaſure, owing to him, as he run up and down among the imperial troops, during the engagement, with a crucifix in his hand, animating them to

(1) Graveſon, Hiſt. Eccleſ. *Spond. ut ſupra*,

the

poſtor was fomenting the civil diſſenſions in *France*, *Gregory* publiſhed a bull, preſcribing a new form of election of a pope, altering the manner of giving the votes publicly, and allowing the cardinals to give their ſuffrages ſecretly by way of ſcrutiny, which would prevent the chiefs of parties from having ſo great an influence.

In the ſecond year of his pontificate he publiſhed a bull, amplifying that of his predeceſſor, concerning the diſpute about the immaculate conception of the Virgin *Mary*, and prohibiting expreſly any public or private writings or diſcourſes on that ſubject, except among the *Dominicans* themſelves. About the ſame time likewiſe he eſtabliſhed the congregation *de propaganda fide*; and, at the deſire of *Lewis* XIII. he erected the ſee of *Paris* into an archbiſhopric, ſubjecting to its juriſdiction the biſhoprics of *Chartres*, *Orleans*, and *Meaux*. As the war ſtill continued in *Germany* betwixt the emperor and ſeveral princes, who eſpouſed the cauſe of the elector palatine, the pope ſent a reinforcement of troops to the former, who conquering the *Palatinate* that campaign, ſent the famous library of manuſcripts at *Heydelberg* to *Rome*, where the greateſt part of the books never arrived, the beſt of them being privately picked out, and many of the reſt loſt at ſea [s]. *Gregory* not only aſſiſted the emperor, and excited the king of *France* againſt the proteſtants, but deſigned likewiſe to extirpate hereſy from *Geneva*, and ſollicited *Lewis* XIII. to allow the duke of *Savoy* to ſeize that city. He quarrelled alſo with the *Venetians*, for granting a church, and the free exerciſe of the *Greek* religion, to ſome *Greek* ſoldiers whom they had taken into their ſervice [t]. A. D. 1622.

He endeavours to ſuppreſs the proteſtants.

[s] Spond. ut ſupra. Spanheim. Memoires de l'Electrice Palatine. [t] Heydegger, ut ſupra.

the combat. He was ſent to *Rome* by the emperor with ſome booty and ſtandards taken from the enemy, and the pope now thought him a fit agent to inflame the *French* papiſts againſt the *Hugonots*. As he impudently pretended to the gift of miracles, and undertook to cure all manner of diſeaſes in *France*, he was continually attended with great numbers of people, who cut off pieces of his cloak, and publiſhed every-where that it was not diminiſhed. At laſt his impoſtures were detected and expoſed by *Richer*, a ſyndic and doctor of the faculty of divinity at *Paris*, who a few years before had acquired a great reputation, and had incurred the reſentment of the eccleſiaſtics by a book that he had publiſhed, *De eccleſiaſtica & politica poteſtate* (z).

(z) *Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils. Continuat. de Mezerai.*

As

A. D. 1623. As *James* I. of *England* discovered great earnestness to conclude an alliance betwixt his son the prince of *Wales*, and an infanta of *Spain*, *Gregory* laid hold of that opportunity to advance the interest of the catholic religion in *England*. He refused to grant a dispensation for the marriage, unless it should be celebrated in *Spain*, according to the rites of the *Romish* church; and that the ecclesiastics of the infanta should all be *Spaniards*, and subject to a bishop; and that, besides the queen's chapel, the papists should be allowed to build a church in *London*. King *James* agreeing to these conditions, the abhorrence of the *Spaniards* to the match was greatly lessened. *Gregory*, after consulting the cardinals, granted the dispensation, and wrote to the prince of *Wales*, exhorting him to enter into the bosom of the church. As he was informed of his arrival in *Spain* before the dispensation was expedited, he added new articles to the brief, and insisted that the children of the marriage should be educated by the queen till they were ten years of age, and that the king of *Great Britain* should immediately give security to the papists in his dominions, for the quiet possession of their estates, and for liberty of conscience. These new articles occasioned some difficulties, which the king with great zeal was endeavouring to remove; but, in the midst of the negociation, the affair was again suspended by the death of the pope [u].

He grants a dispensation to the infanta of Spain *to marry the prince of* Wales;

receives the deposite of the Valteline, *and*

During this negociation the pope was sollicited by the *Spaniards* to accept of the deposite of the *Valteline*. About two years before they had assisted the papists in that valley to massacre the protestants; but as it was a convenient pass from *Germany* and *France*, they thought proper to raise forces, and to keep possession of the country. This usurpation alarming the *French*, *Venetians*, and duke of *Savoy*, they concluded a league, to compel the *Spaniards* to leave the inhabitants of that valley free, which induced the usurpers, who were apprehensive of the power of the league, to resign their conquest into the hands of the pope, till their pretensions to that territory should be fully discussed. As the *French* and the *Venetians*, after some opposition, agreed to that proposal, *Gregory* sent his nephew, the duke of *Fano*, with a small body of troops, who took possession of the forts in the valley [w]. The pope survived this transaction only a few weeks, and died on the 8th of *July*, in the 70th year of his age. He is commended for his charity to the sick and to

dies at Rome.

[u] Amelot de Houssaye Mem. Hist. & Polit. t. i. Spanheim, ut supra. [w] Hist. des Traitez des Paix, t. ii.

the

the poor, and, according to the *Spaniſh* writers, was eminent for his piety and learning. During his ſhort pontificate he created eleven cardinals, among whom was *Richelieu*, biſhop of *Lucon* in *France*.

ON the 19th of *July* fifty-four cardinals entered the conclave for the election of the new pope. As there were a great many cardinals, who for their age, virtues, and abilities, might expect the pontificate, and as the new bull of *Gregory* was to be obſerved, it was generally ſuppoſed that the election would be very tedious, and that the conteſts among the competitors would be very warm. The chiefs of the moſt powerful factions were *Borgheſe*, and *Ludoviſio*, nephew of the late pope, and they both, after ſome canvaſing and intrigues, which it would be needleſs to particularize, agreed to join their intereſt in favour of cardinal *Barberini*. His great merit was univerſally allowed; but as he had always acted with a free independent ſpirit, and ſpoke his ſentiments with great freedom, he had, unwarily, offended ſome of the old cardinals, who beſides objected to him on account of his youth, as he was then only in the 55th year of his age. However, no other cardinal could raiſe an intereſt of any conſequence; and though he himſelf diſcovered no marks of precipitancy and eagerneſs, but on the contrary acted with great modeſty and reſerve, he was elected on 6th of *Auguſt*, by the ſuffrages of fifty cardinals, when he aſſumed the name of *Urban* VIII [x] (X). As he was attacked with a violent fever a few Urban VIII. elected.

[x] Hiſt. des Conclave, t. ii.

(X) *Maffeo Barberini*, or *Urban* VIII. was born of an antient noble family at *Florence*, which had flouriſhed in that city and its neighbourhood for ſeveral centuries. He was educated in his youth with great care, and early diſcovered a ſtrong inclination to learning and virtue. When he was only twenty-one years of age he was admired and eſteemed by *Sixtus* V. who made him referendary. He went afterwards through many degrees of preferment with great reputation and applauſe. He was twice nuncio in *France*. *Paul* V. created him a cardinal, conferred upon him the archbiſhopric of *Spoleto*, and appointed him his legate at *Bologna*, where he reſided three years. Before his promotion to the pontificate, he had acquired a great reputation for learning and taſte, and was reckoned one of the beſt *Latin* and *Italian* poets of his time. His moſt conſiderable pieces are paraphraſes upon ſome pſalms, and other places of the Old and New Teſtament, hymns and odes upon the feaſts of our Saviour, the Virgin *Mary*, and other ſaints, and epigrams on ſeveral illuſtrious men. His odes

a few days after his election, his coronation was deferred till the 29th of *September*, the feast of St. *Michael*, whom the popes generally take for their guardian, and to whom *Urban* particularly erected an image in bronze, upon the altar of *Sancta Petronella* in *St. Peter*'s church, with his own image kneeling before it, and the inscription, *Te mane, te vespere*. He began his pontificate with ordering the prayers of forty hours to be put up to God, for imploring his blessing upon his government, and endeavoured to restore and settle the peace of the city, which had been disturbed by a violent sedition during the conclave [y]. He likewise published the bull for the canonization of the saints nominated by his predecessor (Y) and increased their number with eight new ones of his own nomination [z].

He confers honours He did not neglect to dignify and enrich his relations. He conferred his own cardinal's hat upon one of his brothers,

[y] Heydegger, Hist. papat. ut supra, t. viii.

[z] Amat. de Graveson, ut supra, t. viii.

are particularly commended for their purity, and were so agreeable to the *Jesuits*, that they taught them in their schools, even during the life of the pope, as if they had been the work of a classic author. He corrected the barbarous hymns of the *Romish* church; and in an elegy prefixed to his works, he advised his cotemporaries to compose poems on pious subjects. Tho' he did not, as sovereign pontif, prohibit publishing poems on profane subjects, yet he is said so severely to have reprehended an author who presented him with an indecent poem, that he died of confusion (1). During his whole pontificate he was a great protector of men of learning and genius, though he treated false pretenders with contempt and ridicule. To one *Rusticus*, archbishop of *Rouen*, who dedicated a huge insignificant volume to him, he replied by a line from *Dispanter*'s grammar,—*Suprimit Urbanus que Rusticus edit inepte* (2).

(Y) He appointed the feast of *Ignatius Loyola* on the 31st of *July*, which day had been previously occupied by *St. Germain*, whose name the *Jesuits* blotted out of the calendar, to make room for that of their founder. The *French*, offended at the injury done to their saint, complained to the pope, who ordained, that the feast of both saints should be celebrated on the same day, and that, if the two saints could not agree cordially together, *Ignatius*, as the younger, should wait for the year of bissextile, or leap year, when he should have the intercalary year (3).

(1) *Le Pere Menetrier de representations en Musique, &c.* (2) *Bayle*, let. xliii. *edit.* 1731. *Contin. de Mezerai, Baillet, Jugemens des Savans, t.* iv. *Janus Nicius Erythræus in Pinacothec, p.* ii. *Amat. de Graveson, ut supra.* (3) *Hist. des Papes, a la Haye, an.* 1731.

Anthony,

Anthony, a capuchin, who, after his promotion, ſtill obſerved the ſtrict rules of his order, and ſpent the greateſt part of his time with his brother monks in a convent, which he built in the city. *Urban* alſo conferred the dignity of cardinal upon two of the ſons of his other ſurviving brother *Charles*, whom he loaded with benefices and penſions: for a third nephew he revived the office of prefect of *Rome*, which he conferred upon him, with great power and authority; and near the quirinal he built a vaſt and magnificent palace, with fine gardens, for the family of *Barberini*, purchaſing alſo for them large eſtates [a], among which is that of *Paleſtrina*, which they enjoy at this day, under the title of a principality.

and wealth on his relations.

As the prince of *Wales* was ſtill in *Spain*, *Urban*, before he would grant the diſpenſation for his marriage, wrote to him, and to his father king *James*, exhorting them to embrace the faith of their anceſtors. As they had both advanced ſo far inconſiderately, he was in hopes of their compliance; but he was diſappointed by the ſudden departure of the prince from *Spain*, who having conceived a diſlike to the match, broke off the negociation. King *James* immediately after publiſhed an order, commanding all the popiſh clergy to quit *Britain* and *Ireland*, and all the papiſts in his dominions to deliver up their arms. However, with great inconſtancy, he again thought of a popiſh alliance for his ſon; and for that purpoſe ſent an embaſſy to *France*, to negociate a treaty of marriage betwixt the prince of *Wales* and the princeſs *Henrietta Maria*. *Urban*, afraid of the conſequences of a union betwixt *Great Britain* and *France*, oppoſed this match with great earneſtneſs, and declared that he would never grant the diſpenſation. The articles of marriage were, nevertheleſs, agreed upon; and *Lewis* XIII. aſſuring the pope that he would not, on that account, grant any protection to the heretics, *Urban* at length conſented to ſend the diſpenſation [b].

He exhorts the king of England and his ſon to embrace the popiſh religion. A. D. 1624.

In the mean time he endeavoured to put an end to the diſpute betwixt the *French* and *Spaniards*, with regard to the poſſeſſion of the *Valteline*; and for that purpoſe propoſed ſome articles of accommodation to both parties, which were rejected by *Lewis* XIII. as being too favourable to the *Spaniards*. During this troubleſome negociation, *Urban* renewed the bull of *Pius* V. againſt the alienation of church-lands, and appointed a ſelect number of grave and religious men to viſit the monaſteries, colleges, hoſpitals, and other

[a] Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. Richelieu. Contin. de Mezerai.

[b] Hiſt. du Miniſt. de

public

public places, to inſpect their abuſes and irregularities, and to give a weekly account to him of their proceedings [c]. He likewiſe publiſhed a bull for the celebration of a univerſal jubilee the following year at *Rome*; but before the commencement of this feſtival, he was alarmed with the news that the marquis *de Cœuvres*, the *French* ambaſſador in *Switzerland*, had invaded the *Valteline*. Without any regard to the pope's flag, the marquis entered the valley in the end of *November*, and in leſs than two months reduced all the forts. The pope made loud complaints againſt this proceeding by his nuncio at the court of *France*, and ſent another nuncio to *Paris* to demand ſatisfaction. A ſuſpenſion of arms, with regard to the *Valteline*, was granted for two months; but as the duke of *Savoy* had begun a war againſt the *Genoeſe*, in which he was aſſiſted by the *French*, the pope was ſtill very uneaſy; and being deſirous to put a ſtop to the diſturbances in *Italy*, he recalled the nuncio who had lately gone to *France*, and in his room he ſent his nephew, cardinal *Francis Barberini*, in the character of legate *a latere*, to accommodate the differences which had occaſioned a war in *Italy*. The legate was received at *Paris* with great honour; but after ſeveral conferences, finding that he could expect no ſucceſs from his negociation, he returned in the month of *September* to *Rome* [d].

The French invade the Valteline. A.D. 1625.

Cardinal Barberini ſent legate to France. A.D. 1626.

A FEW months after *Urban*, ſent his nephew legate *a latere* to *Spain*, to endeavour to negociate a peace in that kingdom, and to ſtand as godfather to the king's daughter. In the mean time he raiſed 6000 troops, which he ſent towards the *Valteline*, to aſſiſt the *Spaniards*, and *Germans* againſt the *French*. However, theſe proceedings were unneceſſary; for cardinal *Richelieu* being afraid of the conſpiracy, which ſoon after broke out, willingly agreed to a peace with *Spain*, leſt that court ſhould ſupport the malecontents in *France*. The peace was accordingly concluded betwixt the two nations at *Monçon*, a town in *Arragon*, without conſulting the legate, whom they deceived by dating the concluſion of the treaty two months before his arrival [e]. *Urban* expreſſed no reſentment for this neglect of his legate and nephew, but, on the contrary, declared to the *French* ambaſſador at *Rome*, that he rejoiced greatly at the peace between the two crowns of *France* and *Spain*, eſpecially as the profeſſion of no other

He proceeds to Spain.

[c] RYCAUT Hiſt. Urb. VIII. [d] Contin. de MEZ. Hiſt. de Miniſt. de Richelieu. Hiſt. des Traitez de Paix. [e] Idem ibid.

religion

religion but that of the church of *Rome* was to be allowed in the *Valteline*.

MEAN while *Urban* made a promotion of twelve cardinals, and ſent cardinal *Gipſius* to take poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Urbino*, at the deſire of the duke *Francis Maria Rovere*, who having no male heirs, and being near eighty years of age, agreed to deliver up his fief to the apoſtolic ſee before his death, in conſideration of 100,000 crowns for military ſtores and artillery [f]. The pope was alſo very ſollicitous, by means of his nuncio at *London*, to convert king *Charles*, who was generally believed to have an inclination to the popiſh religion, which he diſſembled from political views. Though his nuncio was obliged to quit the kingdom, he ſtill found means to prevail with the king to ſhew ſome favour to the papiſts: and being very zealous for ſubjecting *England* to the apoſtolic ſee, he deſired all thoſe who were qualified to inform him, to give him their advice in writing, how ſuch a re-union could be moſt conveniently accompliſhed (Z). He was greatly deceived in his expectations from *Charles*, king of *England*; for that ſame year he ſent back the *French* domeſtics that had accompanied his queen; and at the intreaty of the *Hugonots* in *France*, he provided a fleet and army for their aſſiſtance, which the following year made a deſcent upon the iſle of *Rhee*, from whence they were obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. *Urban* hearing of the defeat of the *Engliſh* army, wrote a congratulatory brief to *Lewis* XIII. He likewiſe congratulated him the year after upon the reduction of *Rochelle*; for which event he expreſſed his joy by compoſing an epigram upon the king, and going in proceſſion with the cardinals to the church of St. *Lewis*, where he celebrated maſs, and returned ſolemn thanks to God [g]. While the *French* king was engaged in this ſiege, *Urban* in the month of *April* publiſhed a univerſal jubilee, for imploring ſucceſs to his arms, and proſperity to the church. About the ſame time he offered his mediation to terminate the differences betwixt the duke of *Nevers*, who had ſucceed-

The pope acquires the poſſeſſion of the duchy of Urbino.

A. D. 1628.

A war raiſed in

[f] SPOND. ut ſupra. [g] Idem ibid.

(Z) On this occaſion one father *Pearſon*, an *Engliſh Jeſuit*, then at *Rome*, adviſed the pope, among other things, to confer all the benefices and cures in *England* upon the *Jeſuits*, and to allow no other regulars to enter the iſland; which would be a means of preventing the great ſcandal raiſed by the emulation among the different orders (1).

(1) *Etat du Siege de Rome, t.* i.

ed

Italy, *on account of the ſucceſſion to the duchy of* Mantua.

ed to *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, and the dukes of *Savoy* and *Guaſtalla*, who formed pretenſions to that ſucceſſion. As he could not prevail with the duke of *Savoy* and the *Spaniards* to lay down their arms, and refer the diſpute to his arbitration, he ſollicited *Lewis* XIII. to march into *Italy*, promiſing to act in concert with him in defence of the duke of *Mantua*. *Lewis* willingly hearkened to the pope's propoſal; and while he was engaged in the ſiege, his ambaſſador at *Rome* offered the plan of a league to be concluded betwixt himſelf, the pope, and the *Venetians*. Though *Urban* was very deſirous to ſee the duke of *Mantua* in peaceable poſſeſſion of his territories, yet his apprehenſions of the reſentment of the *Spaniards* made him decline entering into the league; and he continued in the ſame ſentiments the following year, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of the king of *France*, who in the month of *February* forced the paſſes of the *Alps* with a pow-

A. D. 1629.

erful army, and took poſſeſſion of *Suſa*. The preſence of the *French* king quickly obliged the duke of *Savoy* to come to an accommodation with the duke of *Mantua*, and forced the *Spaniards* to retire from before *Caſal*: the pope, nevertheleſs, could not be prevailed upon to ſign a defenſive alliance againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*, which *Lewis* again propoſed to him: and though the war continued for ſome time in *Italy*, occaſioned by the emperor's rejecting the accommodotion planned by the *French* king, and claiming the ultimate deciſion of the diſpute as ſupreme lord of the fief, *Urban* ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution of obſerving a neutrality. *Lewis* XIII. being obliged to march back into *France* againſt the *Hugonots*, the *Spaniards* renewed the ſiege of *Caſal*; and an imperial army entering *Italy*, invaded the duchy of *Mantua*, and laid ſiege to the city of that name. *Urban*, with great ſollicitations, endeavoured by his legates and nuncios to effect an accommodation; but, at the ſame time, he imprudently contributed to the continuation of the war, by allowing the imperialiſts before *Mantua*, who were reduced to great diſtreſs, to purchaſe proviſions in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. By this means they were enabled to lie all winter before the city, which they took by treachery and ſurprize the following year, in the month of *July* [h].

Richer *ſubmits his writings to the judgment of the*

DURING the continuance of this ſiege, the pope received the agreeable news of the ſubmiſſion of doctor *Richer* in *France*, who, by his book *de eccleſiaſtica & politica poteſtate*, had raiſed a party, by the name of the *Richeriſts*, who were ſo powerful and daring, that a general ſchiſm of the *Gallican*

[h] SIRI Memor. recondit. t. vi.

church

church was apprehended at *Rome*. As the pope, on condition of his recantation, promiſed a red hat to the archbiſhop of *Lyons*, the elder brother of *Richelieu*, the powerful cardinal, by threatening *Richer* with the baſtile, or (as ſome ſay) [i] by preſenting drawn ſwords to his throat, compelled him to ſign and ſeal a declaration, by which he acknowleged the *Roman* ſee the infallible judge of truth, and ſubmitted his book to the judgment of his holineſs [k]. The pope, a few days after, receiving this declaration, ſent a hat to the archbiſhop *Richelieu*, who was diſtinguiſhed from his brother by the title of cardinal of *Lyons*. *Urban* a few weeks after publiſhed a bull, on the 15th of *January*, for ſuppreſſing a new order which began to appear in *Italy*, and was compoſed of ſome female diſciples of the *Jeſuits*, who aſſumed the name of *Jeſuiteſſes*. Roman ſee.

A. D. 1630.

AT the ſame time he continued his endeavours to conclude a peace in *Italy*, and for that purpoſe ſent his nephew *Anthony Barberini* and cardinal *Mazarine*, the one as legate, and the other as nuncio, to *Pignerol*, to negociate with cardinal *Richelieu*. The conferences were then ineffectual, and in the end of *April* the legate returned to *Bologna*; but the loſs of *Mantua*, and the death of the duke of *Savoy*, and *Spinola* the *Spaniſh* general, which happened a few months after, made a great alteration in affairs. The *Spaniards* beginning to be apprehenſive of the power of the imperialiſts in *Italy*, and the duke ſeeing his territories entirely in poſſeſſion of the *French*, began willingly to hearken to a peace, which was at length concluded on the 26th of *October*, by the unwearied endeavours of the nuncio *Mazarine* [l]; and by which, among other articles, it was agreed, that the dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua* ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of their reſpective territories. Mean while the pope, by a conſiſtorial decree, conferred the title of *Moſt eminent and moſt reverend* upon the cardinals, becauſe that of moſt illuſtrious was then become too common. He prohibited all other eccleſiaſtics from aſſuming this new title, excepting the three eccleſiaſtical electors of *Germany*, and the maſter of the knights hoſpitallers of *Jeruſalem* [m]. *A peace concluded in* Italy.

As *Guſtavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweden*, had about this time entered *Germany* with a powerful army, to defend the proteſtants, who were oppreſſed by the emperor, *Lewis* XIII. *The pope endeavours to*

[i] MORISOT ad Curetum Canonicum Lingonenſem, epiſt. ix. [k] PATIMANA. SPOND. ut ſupra. [l] Contin. de MEZER. Hiſt. du Miniſt. de Richelieu, t. iii. Hiſt. du Card. Mazarin, l. i. [m] SPOND. ut ſupra.

divert the French *king from an alliance with the king of* Sweden.

entered into an alliance with him, in hopes of humbling the overgrown power of the *Auſtrian* family. This alliance with the heretical prince gave great offence to the pope; and the following year he made many remonſtrances againſt it to the *French* king, who wrote to the pope with his own hand, offering to renounce his alliance with the *Swedes*, if the king of *Spain* would withdraw his protection from his brother the duke of *Orleans*, who in diſcontent had retired to *Bruſſels*, and would join his forces to thoſe of *France*, in order to extirpate the *French Hugonots*, and the *German* proteſtants. *Urban* communicated this letter to the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, who immediately wrote concerning it to *Madrid*, from whence, however, he received no anſwer [n]. In the mean time the king of *Sweden* defeated the imperial army at *Leipſic*; and by that time the elector of *Saxony* had entered *Bohemia* and taken *Prague*, he had over-run all *Germany* from the *Elbe* to the *Rhine*. This rapid progreſs confounded the emperor, and greatly alarmed the pope, who did his utmoſt by his legates, exhortations, and letters, in ſupport of the catholic cauſe. According to *Spondanus*, he likewiſe gave ſupplies in money [o]; though other authors affirm, that he intereſted himſelf but very little in the *German* war, which ſeems to have been the opinion of the court of *Spain*; for in the month of *March*, cardinal *Borgia* preſented a formal proteſt to the pope, in the name of the catholic king, declaring, that whatever damage the catholic religion had ſuffered, or ſhould ſuffer, could not be aſcribed to *Philip*, but to his holineſs.

A. D. 1631.

The houſe of Auſtria *complain againſt the pope;* 1632.

who refuſes to publiſh a cruſade againſt Guſtavus Adolphus

URBAN is likewiſe ſaid to have given but a cold reception to a cardinal and ambaſſador extraordinary ſent to him by the emperor, to demand aſſiſtance in troops and money. He declared, that the treaſures of the church had been exhauſted by the late war in *Italy*; and that if the imperial troops, which had unjuſtly ravaged the *Mantuan* territories, had been employed againſt the *Swedes*, the emperor would not have needed any foreign aſſiſtance. He abſolutely refuſed to publiſh a cruſade againſt *Guſtavus*; but he granted the emperor 100,000 crowns, promiſed to endeavour to detach the *French* king from his alliance with the *Swedes*, and publiſhed an univerſal jubilee for the proſperity of the catholic religion in *Germany* [p]. As he declared in a full conſiſtory, that the *Spaniards*, by their unbounded ambition, obliged even good catholics to rejoice at the victories of an heretic, the imperial

[n] Journal des Savans, Jan. 1688. [o] SPOND. ut ſupra.
[p] Hiſt. de Richelieu, t. iv.

and

and *Spaniſh* miniſters at *Rome* endeavoured to perſuade the cardinals to call a general council to depoſé him [q]. Their endeavours, however, were ineffectual; the temporal power and grandeur of the pope rendering ſuch an attempt ridiculous, eſpecially as *Urban* about the ſame time, by his diſintereſtedneſs, had greatly raiſed his character among the *Romans*. Though, by the death of the duke of *Urbino*, he had then entered into the peaceable poſſeſſion of that duchy, he nevertheleſs refuſed to give the inveſtiture of it to any of his nephews, and, contrary to the perſuaſions of the *Italian* princes, united the whole territories of the late duke to the dominion of the church; in memory of which union he ordered an inſcription to be engraven, and hung up in the *Vatican* [r]. The reſentment for the pope's conduct was indeed very high in *Spain*, where even ſome of the *Jeſuits* declared againſt him. The king's council alſo deliberated about depriving his holineſs of all collation to benefices in that kingdom, and propoſed to erect a datary in *Spain*, to prevent any money from being carried to *Rome*: however, their reſentment cooled upon the death of *Guſtavus*, who was ſlain at the battle of *Lutzen* on the 16th of *November* [s].

He unites the duchy of Urbino *to the territories of the church.*

NOT long after the pope had a rupture with the *Venetian* republic, occaſioned firſt by a public affront given by one of his nephews to the *Venetian* ambaſſador at *Rome*; on which account the republic ordered their ambaſſador to return without taking leave. They, in their turn, had offended the pope, by refuſing to give the title of eminence to the cardinals; but what chiefly irritated both parties, was a conteſt about the navigation of the *Po*, which had been obſtructed by the legate at *Ferrara*. Some ſkirmiſhes had happened in the neighbourhood of this city betwixt the *Romans* and *Venetians*; but the pope being apprehenſive of a war, willingly accepted the mediation of the duke of *Crequi*, the *French* ambaſſador, who, about the middle of *June*, arrived at *Rome* with a ſplendid retinue, to yield obedience to the pope in the king's name. *Crequi* made great profeſſions of the attachment of *Lewis* XIII. to his holineſs; but not being able to prevail with *Urban* to engage in a defenſive alliance with *France*, he left *Rome*, and proceeded to *Venice*, where, in conjunction with the ſieur *de La Thuilerie*, the *French* ambaſſador to the republic, he entered into a negociation with the *Venetian* deputies [t]. The pope, in the mean time, made an encroach-

A rupture betwixt him and the Venetians. A. D. 1633.

The French *offer their mediation.*

[q] HEYDEGGER, Hiſt. Papat. Ætat. vii. Traitez de Paix. [r] RYCAUT Hiſt. Urban [s] HEYDEG. ut ſupra. [t] Hiſt. de Richelieu. RYCAUT, ut ſupra.

ment upon the liberties of the *Gallican* church, by naming commiſſaries to judge ſix biſhops, who were accuſed of favouring a rebellion, which the year before had been raiſed by the dukes of *Orleans* and *Montmorency*. This proceeding, however, was not in the leaſt oppoſed by the court or clergy of *France*; but, on the contrary, *Richelieu* was ſuppoſed to have deſired the commiſſion from *Rome*, that his power and authority might ſeem to be countenanced by the pope, whoſe friendſhip he was at great pains to ſecure, that the imperialiſts and *Spaniards* might be deprived of the papal intereſt [u].

A. D. 1634. THE following year *Urban* ſent *Mazarine*, his vice-legate at *Avignon*, as nuncio extraordinary to *France*, in order to be fully ſatisfied with regard to the origin of the war in *Germany*, and the complaints of the houſe of *Auſtria* againſt the *French*, for granting protection to the elector of *Triers*. During his reſidence in that kingdom, *Urban* publiſhed a bull, renewing the decrees of the council of *Trent*, and of the following popes, for the reſidence of biſhops, ordering all biſhops, archbiſhops, patriarchs, and cardinals, to reſide in their own dioceſes, and not to depart from thence without an apoſtolic licence. By this new conſtitution *Urban* intended civilly to remove from *Rome* and *Italy* ſome cardinals and prelates, who endeavoured to oblige him to declare himſelf a party in the preſent war [w]. Far from engaging warmly in the diſputes in *Germany*, he ſeemed not even greatly to reſent the impriſonment of the elector of *Triers*, who, in the month of *March*, was ſurprized in his capital by the *Spaniards*, and carried priſoner to *Bruſſels*. The elector had inflamed the reſentment of the houſe of *Auſtria* againſt him, by embracing a neutrality upon the invaſion of the *Swedes*, and putting his territories under the protection of the *French*, who had a garriſon in *Triers*, when it was ſurprized by the *Spaniards*. The *French* inſiſted upon the liberty of the archbiſhop, who had never been declared an enemy, or put to the ban of the empire; and, upon the refuſal of the *Spaniards*, immediately declared war againſt them.

The elector of Triers *is impriſoned by the* Spaniards.

1635.

The pope offers his mediation betwixt the kings of France *and* Spain.

MAZARINE, who was ſtill in *France*, wrote to the pope, that, by his mediation, the differences betwixt the two crowns might be eaſily accommodated. In conſequence of this letter, *Urban* immediately ſent an order to *Mazarine*, and to his nuncio *Bolognetti*, to act as mediators; but he quickly found, that the two kingdoms were too much ani-

[u] Contin. de MEZERAI Hiſt. de Lewis XIII. ut ſupra.

[w] SPOND.

mated

mated againſt each other, to hearken at that time to an accommodation: he therefore continued in his former reſolution, of ſtrictly adhering to a neutrality, though he was again ſollicited by the *French* to enter into a defenſive alliance with them [x]. About the ſame time, he ordered his two nuncios at *Paris* to complain to the king againſt the proceeding of *Richelieu*, who had procured ſeveral biſhops to annul the marriage of the duke of *Orleans* with the ſiſter of the duke of *Lorrain*, as contracted without the knowlege of his brother the king. The pope intereſted himſelf in that affair, at the deſire of the queen mother and the ducheſs of *Orleans*, who were then refugees at *Antwerp*; but all that he could obtain from the cout of *France* was a long memorial, preſented by the biſhop of *Montpelier*, urging the abſolute neceſſity of annulling the marriage, which had been contracted contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom [y].

THE great power and arbitrary behaviour of *Richelieu* began to give ſome uneaſineſs and jealouſy to the pope, who was apprehenſive leſt he ſhould aſſume the title and dignity of patriarch, as he had taken poſſeſſion of all the regular abbies, which in *France* are chiefs of orders. The following year, therefore, he refuſed him the bulls which he demanded for the abbies of *Ciſteaux* and *Premontre*; and recalled *Mazarine*, who, he was informed, was devoted to the ſervice of the cardinal duke. Though *Richelieu* deſired that he might be ſent to *Madrid*, on pretence of negotiating a peace, but in reality to be his ſpy at that court, *Urban* would not conſent, but ordered him to return to his legation at *Avignon* [z]. In reſentment for theſe mortifications, *Richelieu* recalled the count *de Noailles* from *Rome*, and ſent the marſhal *d'Etrees* in his place, who he knew was not agreeable to the pope, and much leſs to the *Spaniſh* faction at *Rome*. *He is jealous of the power of* Richelieu. A.D. 1636.

D'ETREES was ordered to complain to the pope of his great ſeverity to his vaſſal the duke of *Parma*, whom he had threatened with excommunication, for eſpouſing the *French* party in *Italy*. *Urban* at firſt refuſed to acknowlege the marſhal as an ambaſſador; but even after he had granted him an audience, he would give him no ſatisfaction with regard to his difference with the duke of *Parma* (A). The pope's nephews,

[x] Hiſt. des Traitez de Paix.
[y] Contin. de MEZERAI.
[z] Idem ibid.

(A) *D'Etrees*, during this embaſſy, received two great affronts at the pope's court, the one in the perſon of his daughter-

nephews, particularly cardinal *Francis*, at that time had a ſecret pique againſt the duke of *Parma*, who it ſeems had not paid his court to them ſo aſſiduouſly as they expected. They had alſo deſired that the duke ſhould contract an alliance in their family, on which account they had prevailed with him to viſit the pope at *Rome*, and promiſed him an abatement of the intereſt of a large ſum of money, which his father had borrowed from a public bank in the city. As the pope attributed to himſelf the power of lowering the intereſt borrowed from the public banks, the duke eaſily obtained the abatement which he deſired; nevertheleſs ſome difference happening betwixt him and the cardinal nephews, about ceremony, he rejected the propoſed alliance, and left *Rome*, without taking leave. He ſoon after married a princeſs of the houſe of *Medicis*; on which account he incurred the reſentment of the pope and his nephews, who reſolved to make him ſenſible of their power. As he had mortgaged the duchy of *Caſtro*, a fief of the apoſtolic ſee, for the money which he had borrowed, and paid the annual intereſt in corn from that duchy, which the miniſters of the apoſtolic chamber, who had the care of ſupplying the public granaries of the city, received inſtead of money, the nephews prohibited any corn from *Caſtro* from entering the eccleſiaſtical ſtate: they likewiſe allowed the intereſt to run in arrear for two or three years; at the end of which time they made a demand of the whole, which the duke was not able to ſatisfy; on which account the whole duchy of *Caſtro* was confiſcated, and *Taddeo*, prefect of *Rome*, ſeized upon it with an armed force. The viceroy of *Naples* and the grand duke of *Tuſcany* interceded for the duke, who found himſelf unable to oppoſe the army, and was aprehenſive of being attacked in his dominions of *Parma* and *Placentia*. The ſenate of *Venice* likewiſe offered their mediation; but *Urban* ſcorned to admit of any interceſſions betwixt him and his vaſſal; declared the duke to be deprived of his dominions and fiefs, in conſequence of having incurred the ſentence of greater excommunication; and condemned him alſo to pay all the expences of the war. In purſuance of this ſentence, the duke's palaces and goods in *Rome* were expoſed to ſale, and the dutchy of

Difference betwixt the pope and the duke of Parma;

which proceeds to an open rupture.

ter-in-law, who was debauched upon a promiſe of marriage by the pope's nephew, cardinal *Anthony*, and poiſoned by him upon her proving with child; the other in the perſon of his groom, whom the cardinal patron ordered to be killed at *Freſcati*, upon account of his inſolence (1).

(1) *Amelot de la Houſſaye*, *mem. Hiſt. polit. t.* ii.

Caſtro

Caſtro was taken into the poſſeſſion of the *Camera*, though not annexed to the popedom. Towards the end of the year likewiſe, *Urban* demanded a paſſage for his army, conſiſting of 20,000 men, through the dominions of the duke of *Modena*, with the intention of carrying the war into the duchy of *Parma*. A. D. 1641.

DURING theſe confuſions in *Italy*, the pope had ſent cardinal *Ginetti* to the congreſs, which was eſtabliſhed at *Cologn* for negociating a peace betwixt the emperor, *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Swedes*. He had alſo received the filial obedience from the emperor *Ferdinand* III. though the legality of his election was not a little conteſted in *Germany*; and had ſome diſputes with the cardinal *Richelieu*, who being diſobliged with him for refuſing the cardinals hat to *Mazarine*, and denying to grant the bulls for the abbies of *Ciſteaux* and *Premontre*, would not receive his nuncio in *France*. At length the difference betwixt the pope and the *French* court was accommodated; and about the time that he demanded a paſſage for his army through the *Modeneſe*, he made a promotion of cardinals, when he conferred a hat upon *Mazarine* [a]. About the ſame time he publiſhed a bull, condemning all the books of *Janſenius* (B) upon the aſſiſtance and efficacy of grace, as renewing the doctrine of *Michael Baius*, condemned by former popes; and prohibited, under ſevere cenſures and civil penalties, any one from treating of the aſſiſtance of grace, without the expreſs permiſſion of the holy ſee [b]. Urban *condemns the books of* Janſenius *on grace and free-will.*

BUT

[a] Hiſt. du Card. Mazarine, l. i. adverſus Auguſt. Janſenii.

[b] Bulla Urban VIII.

(B) We have already mentioned, that, in the end of the former century and the beginning of this, the controverſy about the agreement of grace with the freedom of the will, had made a great noiſe, occaſioned by the book of *Molina*, the *Spaniſh Jeſuit*, on that ſubject. The two parties, after the trial they had at *Rome*, were ſilent for ſeveral years, till one *Garaſſe*, a *Jeſuit*, revived the diſpute, by publiſhing a book in the year 1626, intituled, *A ſummary of the fundamental truths of the Chriſtian religion*. This treatiſe was anſwered by the abbé *de St. Cyran* in a maſterly manner; ſo that the *Jeſuit*'s book was generally condemned, and was publicly cenſured, as containing a great many erroneous, ſcandalous, and heretical propoſitions, and being full of falſe quotations of ſcripture, and of the fathers of the church. The revival of this diſpute induced *Janſenius*, who was then at *Louvain*, to examine thoroughly the ſentiments of *St. Auguſtine* upon grace, predeſtination, and free-

A. D. 1642. BUT the chief concern of the pope at this time was the war with the duke of *Parma*, which began to engage him in difficulties, that, in the beginning of the rupture, he had not expected. Though he had obtained leave of a free paſſage for his army from the duke of *Modena*, yet the *Venetians* and duke of *Tuſcany* having aſſiſted the duke with money and troops, he found it impoſſible to advance, as his raw men, from their dread of a new enemy, deſerted in great numbers. In theſe circumſtances the pope inconſiderately made an offer of a ſuſpenſion of arms for fifteen days, during which time the *Venetians*, the grand duke, and the duke of *Mantua*, entered into a formal alliance to aſſiſt the duke of *Parma*, who immediately, with great boldneſs, invaded the *Bologneſe* territory with 3000 horſe, without either foot or cannon. This unexpected irruption ſtruck a panic into the pope's army, which fled with great precipitation; while the duke, without oppoſition, made himſelf maſter of *Imola*, *Faenza*, and *Forti*. Upon theſe ſucceſſes, *Rome* was thrown into great conſternation; new levies were ordered, the coach horſes were ſeized, and ſent from the city to mount the ſoldiers; the prefect, who had behaved with great cowardice, was recalled, and the command of the army given to cardinal *Antonio*, who proceeding to *Viterbo* with 9000 men, endeavoured to oppoſe the march of the duke into the duchy of *Caſtro*. Winter approaching, and the pope's arms having been ſo unſucceſsful, the cardinal nephews made propoſals for an accommodation, which were rejected by the allies, as being diſadvantageous to the duke of *Parma*, who they inſiſted ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of all his former territories.

The war of Parma *involves him in great difficulties.*

1643. Early in the following ſpring the war was again renewed, with

free-will; and after reading the works of that father on theſe ſubjects thirty times over, and reconciling his infinite variations, he at length compoſed a huge volume in folio, intituled, *Auguſtinus*, which was publiſhed in the year 1640, two years after his death. The *Jeſuits* denounced his book to the inquiſitor at *Rome*, and publiſhed theſes againſt it; ſo that the popiſh clergy were immediately divided into two parties, diſtinguiſhed by the names of *Janſeniſts* and *Moliniſts*. Theſe laſt were oppoſed by the *Sorbonne* and the moſt eminent divines of *Europe*; however, they found means of ſecuring their intereſt at the court of *Rome*: but though the pope publiſhed a bull in their favour, the conteſt betwixt both parties hath ſtill ſubſiſted, and hath lately been the occaſion of great animoſities and diſturbances in *France* (1).

(1) *Hiſt. de Janſeniſme*, t. i. *Leydecker Hiſt. Janſeniſme edit. Utrecht* 1695, *Les Imaginaes, let.* iii. *Lettres de Janſenius.*

various

various ſucceſs on both ſides, though carried on with little vigour, each party declining the approach of their enemy, and making conqueſts where they were ſure to meet with no reſiſtance. After the ſummer had been ſpent in ſuch military operations, without much blood-ſhed, propoſals for peace were again offered by the pope, who being affected with the diſtreſſes of his ſubjects, which his nephews had long diſguiſed, began to be very deſirous of ſeeing an end of the war. Accordingly *Urban*, conſenting to reſtore the duchy of *Caſtro* to the duke, and the court of *France* interpoſing as a mediator, a peace was concluded in the beginning of the following year, to the great joy of the ſubjects of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, who curſed the ambition of the *Barberini*, for having engaged their uncle in a diſgraceful and ruinous war, which had coſt the apoſtolic ſee upwards of 20,000,000 of crowns [c]. During the continuance of this war an ambaſſador arrived at *Rome*, to yield obedience to the pope in the name of *John* duke of *Braganza*, as king of *Portugal*; but as the *Spaniards* were very powerful in *Italy*, and looked upon the *Portugueſe* as rebels, the pope, from an apprehenſion of the *Spaniſh* reſentment, refuſed to acknowlege the new king, and would not admit his ambaſſador to an audience [d]. He ſurvived the peace with the duke of *Parma* but a few months, and died on the 29th of *July*, in the 77th year of his age, and the 21ſt of his pontificate. He is accuſed of having been in ſome meaſure concerned in the maſſacre of the proteſtants in *Ireland*, which kingdom, it is ſaid, he endeavoured to reduce under his own dominion, by means of his nuncio *Rinuncini* [e]. Nevertheleſs, he was eſteemed by the proteſtants, who frequently drank his health, and ſtiled him their good friend [f]. He was reckoned one of the moſt learned men of his time, and was greatly commended for prudence and generoſity. His chief fault was nepotiſme, or too great a deſire of aggrandizing his nephews, who, in the end of his life, gained a great aſcendency over him, and engaged him in the war of *Parma*, which made the *Romans* long remember his pontificate with deteſtation. He was likewiſe greatly blamed for ſtripping the braſs from the roof of the pantheon, or rotondo, to adorn an altar in St. *Peter*'s

A peace concluded with the duke of Parma. A. D. 1644.

Urban *dies at* Rome.

[c] RYCAUT, ut ſupra. Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. LARREG, Hiſt. de Louis XIV. t. i. WICQUEFORT l'Ambaſſadeur & ſes Fonctions, l. i. [d] VERTOT Hiſt. of the Revolution in Portugal. Hiſt. de Traitez de Paix, t. ii. [e] RAPIN, LUDLOW's Mem. [f] L'Homme du Pape & du Roi, p. 127.

church,

by the court of France. A. D. 1645.

faction entirely devoted to the houſe of *Auſtria* and the grand duke, thought the *Barberini*, when ſupported by *France*, would ſerve as a counterpoiſe to that party: he therefore received *Anthony* into his protection, allowed the *French* arms to be replaced upon his palace, and wrote a letter to the pope in favour of the *Barberini*, who in the mean time received daily affronts and mortifications at the papal court. The pope paid no regard to the letter of *Mazarine*; but a few days after erected a congregation of five cardinals, all enemies to the *Barberini*, with a commiſſion to examine their paſt conduct. He ordered cardinal *Anthony* to return to *Rome* within two months, under pain of excommunication, and forfeiture of all his revenues and benefices which he held from the church, in the mean time ſequeſtering his revenue, and prohibiting cardinal *Francis* and the prefect from removing any of their effects. The new congregation cited cardinal *Francis* to give an account of all the ſums which he had taken from the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, during the five laſt years of the pontificate of his uncle: and as he endeavoured to defend himſelf, by alleging that his office of vice-chancellor exempted him from giving an account of his adminiſtration, they produced a decree, annulling the diſpenſation granted by his uncle for his indemnification. This ſevere perſecution of the *Barberini* raiſed the public compaſſion, and drew a general odium upon the pope, who was univerſally accuſed of ingratitude and imprudence, eſpecially as he diſcovered as great a paſſion of nepotiſme as his predeceſſor, and was wholly guided by the counſels of Donna *Olympia Maldachini*, who had impudently aſſumed the adminiſtration of affairs, domineered over the whole court, and amaſſed money with ſuch greedineſs and rapacity, that the extortion of the former pontificate appeared moderate and merciful [n].

The pope's nephew is baniſhed from Rome.

THE behaviour of the pope to his nephew *Camillo*, or cardinal *Pamphilio*, likewiſe expoſed him to the public cenſure. The cardinal having fallen in love with the princeſs *Roſſana*, a young widow, laid aſide his hat without the knowlege of the pope, and privately married her; which proceeding ſo exaſperated his uncle and his mother, that, after a private conference of two hours, they reſolved to baniſh him and his lady from *Rome*. This ſevere determination was accordingly executed, to the aſtoniſhment of the *Romans*, who thought the crime very pardonable, as the princeſs *Roſſana* was not only diſtinguiſhed by her birth and fortune, but by her

[n] Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. Hiſt. du Card. Mazarine. DE LARREY Hiſt. de Louis XIV. Contin. de MEZERAI. RYCAUT, Hiſt. Innocent X.

beauty

eauty and perſonal accompliſhments. Their baniſhment as chiefly attributed to Donna *Olympia*, who being jealous ſt the princeſs ſhould leſſen her ſovereign authority, thought roper to keep her at a diſtance from the court [o].

In the mean time the *Barberini* prepared their accounts, hich they delivered to the congregation in the beginning of *anuary*, referring themſelves to the books in the apoſtolic hamber for their diſcharge, and deſiring that theſe books night be examined. Their demand, however, was refuſed, nd the court in an extraordinary manner, and without form f law, ſequeſtered their money in the public bank, and all heir revenues within the eccleſiaſtical dominions. This ſe- ere and unexpected ſentence made them think of their per- ſonal ſecurity. They accordingly left *Rome* privately and retired to *France*, where they were received with great re- ſpect. *Mazarine*, in the mean time, earneſtly ſolliciting the pope in their behalf, and even threatening to ſend an army into *Italy* if *Innocent* would not conſent to a reconciliation. The *Venetians* being deſirous of preventing any diſturbances on their ſide the *Alps*, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to re- concile the pope and *Mazarine*, but without any effect. Both parties were too much actuated by private reſentment to hearken to an accommodation. The pope having refuſed a red hat to the archbiſhop of *Aix*, the brother of *Mazarine*, that cardinal in reſentment protected the *Barberini*, and fitted out a powerful fleet, with a deſign of making a de- ſcent on the coaſt of *Italy*, and humbling his holineſs.

A.D. 1646.

The Barberini *eſcape into* France.

The news of the *French* preparations alarmed the pope; but what confounded him much more was a report that the chapel at *Loretto* had again taken flight and quitted *Italy*. Soon after the *French* fleet appeared on the coaſt, and took poſſeſſion of *Piombino*, *Portolongone*, *St. Stephano*, and *Telamone*, places belonging to the *Spaniards* in *Tuſcany*. Theſe ſucceſſes obliged *Innocent* to think in earneſt of a reconcilia- tion with the *Barberini*; he therefore ſuſpended the execu- tion of his bull, which he had publiſhed againſt them for three months, during which time he re-eſtabliſhed them in their former employment, took off the ſequeſtration from their effects, and declared, that he would accept of their ſubmiſſion if they would repair to the county of *Avignon*, and write to him from thence [p]. The duke of *Guiſe* ſoon

The French *invade* Tuſcany;

which influences the pope to pardon the Barberini.

[o] Rycaut, ut ſupra. [p] Larrey, ut ſupra. Hiſt. du Card. Mazarine, l. ii. Silhon eclairciſſement touchant l'Adminiſtration du Card. Mazarine. Nani Hiſt. Venice. Rycaut, ut ſupra.

after

A. D. 1647. after arriving at *Rome*, inſinuated himſelf into the favour of Donna *Olympia* and of the pope; and having had ſeveral conferences with his holineſs, he perſuaded him the following year to a reconciliation with *Mazarine*, and prevailed with him to confer a hat on the archbiſhop of *Aix*, as a means of ſecuring for the future the intereſt of the prime miniſter of *France*, who governed that kingdom in a moſt abſolute manner. *Mazarine*, however, being offended that the promotion of his brother had been ſo long delayed, thanked the pope in a very cold manner, and, contrary to his expectation, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of *Piombino* [q].

He refuſes to acknowledge the king of Portugal.

MEAN while ſeveral biſhoprics becoming vacant in *Portugal*, the king nominated ſucceſſors to them; and the clergy of that kingdom, with his conſent, diſpatched *Nicholas de Monteyro* to *Rome*, to procure the bulls. The *Spaniſh* ambaſſador made ſeveral attempts to aſſaſſinate this envoy in *Rome*, on which account he was ordered by the pope to quit the city. He refuſed, however, to confer the biſhoprics at the nomination of the king of *Portugal*, but offered to beſtow them, *proprio motu*, on the ſame perſons whom the king mentioned. This expedient was rejected by the king, who nevertheleſs refuſed to order his clergy to elect a patriarch, or to allow the chapters to chuſe the biſhops, and the other prelates to conſecrate them, as he was adviſed by ſeveral doctors in his dominions [r].

ABOUT the ſame time the authority of the pope received a check from the clergy of *France*, who, knowing the diſpoſition of the preſent prime miniſter, in a numerous aſſembly drew up a formal proteſt againſt the encroachments upon their liberties during the late pontificate. The parliament of *Paris* likewiſe endeavoured to oppoſe the innovations introduced by the nuncio of *Innocent*, who, from his own authority, had ordered a decree of the *Roman* inquiſition againſt a book of Mr. *Arnaud*, doctor of the *Sorbonne*, to be publiſhed and diſperſed in *France*. The parliament, in defence of the privileges of the nation, drew up an arret, prohibiting all perſons from printing, publiſhing, and ſelling, any briefs, decrees, or bulls, from *Rome*, without letters patent from the king, regiſtered in their court. They received a letter from the king, who was then at *Compeigne*, or rather from *Mazarine*, who was biaſſed in favour of the ſee of *Rome*, deſiring them not to proceed on that ſubject. They, nevertheleſs, continued their deliberations, and, by a decree, prohibited

[q] Memoires du Duc de GUISE, l. i. LARREY, ut ſupra.
[r] Hiſt. des Traitez de Paix.

the

the archbiſhops and biſhops, their vicars and officials, the rector and members of the univerſity, from receiving, publiſhing, or executing, the decrees of the inquiſition, or other bulls and briefs, excepting thoſe allowed of by the laws of the kingdom [s].

Confirms the bull of Urban *againſt the* Janſeniſts.

MEAN while the celebrated diſpute about grace, betwixt the *Janſeniſts* and *Jeſuits*, revived with great warmth. *Innocent* obſerving that the bull of his predeceſſor on that ſubject was eluded, ſent briefs to the governor of *Flanders*, to the archbiſhops of *Mechlin* and *Cambray*, to ſeven other biſhops, to the *Sorbonne*, to Mr. *William des Anges*, doctor of *Louvain*, to *William Leopold*, archduke of *Auſtria*, and to the biſhop of *Straſburg*: by which he confirmed the bull of *Urban*, and ſtrictly ordered it to be publiſhed and put in execution. It was accordingly publiſhed in ſome places, and a perſecution began to be raiſed againſt the *Janſeniſts*, all being rigorouſly prohibited from being admitted to the direction of ſouls, unleſs, after having ſolemnly made profeſſion of the faith of the council of *Trent*, they ſhould ſign the formula of the condemnation of *Janſenius*. The *Janſeniſts*, provoked by this rigorous treatment, drew up an appeal to the pope, under the the title of *The complaint of the truth ſuffering in the* Low Countries, ſupplicating him to order the doctrine to be examined before it ſhould be condemned. In three other writings, which they then publiſhed, they maintained, that an opinion, which was not contrary to the Scripture nor the councils, could not be condemned as heretical; and that the cenſure had been publiſhed not againſt *Janſenius*, but againſt *St. Auguſtine*, whoſe doctrines he had only put in a proper light. The primate of *Flanders*, the biſhop of *Ghent*, and the grand vicars of the epiſcopal ſee of *Ypres*, likewiſe declared their reaſons why they could not publiſh the pope's bulls; on which account the *Jeſuits*, who were favoured at *Rome*, formally condemned five propoſitions taken from the works of *Janſenius*, which the *Janſeniſts* maintained were not to be found in his writings [t].

DURING theſe proceedings a rebellion happened in *Naples* and *Sicily*, occaſioned by the grievous taxes laid upon the people to ſupport the war againſt *France*. The duke of *Guiſe*, who was then at *Rome*, was encouraged by the pope to head the rebels, in hopes of ſecuring the poſſeſſion of thoſe kingdoms, to which he had ſome diſtant pretenſions. The

[s] Hiſt. du Cardinal Mazarine, l. v. Contin. de MEZERAI.
[t] Hiſt. General de Janſeniſme, Contin. de MEZERAI. HEYDEGGER Hiſt. Papat. Æt. vii.

duke

A.D. 1648. duke accordingly proceeded to *Naples*, and by his courage and conduct, without being aſſiſted by *France*, quickly made a ſurpriſing progreſs. The *French* however, the following year, making a ſhew of ſending a powerful army to that kingdom, the pope was very apprehenſive leſt they intended to ſeize it for themſelves: he therefore urged the duke to aſſume the title of king of both *Sicilies*, offered to give him the inveſtiture of the kingdom, promiſed to lend him 300,000 crowns, and aſſured him that all *Italy* would form a league in his behalf. The duke replied, that it was not then a proper time to declare his pretenſions, but begged that *Innocent* would ſend him the money, of which he was in great need. The pope, however, did not think proper to ſend him the ſubſidy he had promiſed him, but only adviſed him to be diffident of the *French* and *Spaniards*, who were equally his enemies.

Offers the inveſtiture of Naples *to the duke of* Guiſe; *and*

condemns the treaties of Oſnaburgh *and* Munſter.

SOON after *Innocent*, having received copies of the treaties of *Oſnaburgh* and *Munſter*, by which a general peace was eſtabliſhed in *Germany*, *France*, and *Sweden*, he publiſhed a bull, by which he proteſted againſt them with great formality. His nuncio *Fabio Chigi*, who had preſided at the negociations for three years as mediator, had done his utmoſt, by declamations and proteſts, to prevent the concluſion of the peace; but his remonſtrances being ineffectual, the pope, in his bull which he publiſhed in the end of *November*, exclaimed againſt the injuſtice and iniquity of the treaties, as the heretics were allowed thereby to ſecularize eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions, and were admitted equally with catholics to public offices and employments. As the number of electors was augmented without the conſent of the apoſtolic ſee, and many other things agreed to, prejudicial to the orthodox religion, he therefore condemned, annulled, and declared invalid, all thoſe articles in the treaties prejudicial to the catholic religion, divine worſhip, and the apoſtolical *Roman* ſee, the inferior churches, and the eccleſiaſtical order, as alſo to their juriſdictions, authorities, immunities, franchiſes, liberties, exemptions, revenues, privileges, and rights [u]. This proteſtation, however, had no effect upon the different parties concerned in the treaties; and *Conringius*, *Blondel*, *Hoornbeeck*, and other proteſtants, wrote an anſwer to it, ſhewing the neceſſity and reaſonableneſs of the treaty.

1650. IN the mean time, finding himſelf loaded with the multiplicity of affairs, he reſolved to adopt a nephew, with the deſign of creating him cardinal patron, to give audience

[u] HEISS Hiſt. de l'Empire, t. iii. DUMONT, t. ii. par. ii.

to

to ambaſſadors and miniſters, and in his abſence to preſide at the council. Accordingly, by the advice of his favourite cardinal *Panzirollo*, and afterwards upon his public recommendation, he fixed upon *Aſtalli*, brother of the marquis *Aſtalli*, that had married a niece of Donna *Olympia*, who being conſulted ſlightly on the affair, ſeemed not averſe to his promotion. However, to her great ſurprize, a few days after, *Aſtalli*, who was then about twenty-ſeven years of age and clerk of the chamber, was promoted in a full conſiſtory, and declared cardinal of the houſe of *Pamphilio*. The ſame day the pope ſent him to lodge at one of his palaces, and aſſigned him a revenue of 10,000 crowns; and by way of public rejoicing, though unuſual on ſuch occaſions, ordered the cannon of *St. Angelo* to be fired. The pope, with great irreſolution, immediately began to repent of his proceeding, and when the new cardinal took his leave of him to go and viſit the members of the ſacred college, he ſaid to him, "Go, "we do not know what we have been doing." Donna *Olympia* likewiſe, coming to the palace with her daughters, and complaining with great bitterneſs againſt him, he was immediately diſgraced, and not allowed a ſingle ſervant; ſo that *Panzirollo*, who found the neceſſity, for his own ſake, of ſupporting him, was obliged to furniſh him with attendants, and to maintain him at his own expence for fifteen days.

He adopts a nephew, whom he creates cardinal patron.

PANZIROLLO, ſoon after, prevailed upon the pope to countenance and honour *Aſtalli*; and, what was more, had influence ſufficient to perſuade him to diſgrace *Olympia*, and to baniſh her the court. She had abuſed her authority in a moſt ſcandalous manner, and had gained ſuch an abſolute aſcendant over the pope, that in every thing his will had been ſubſervient to her dictates. Her avarice and ambition were unbounded: ſhe diſpoſed of all benefices, which were kept vacant till ſhe fully informed herſelf of their value: ſhe rated an office of 1000 crowns for three years, at one year's revenue, and if for life at twelve years purchaſe, one-half of which ſum ſhe required to be paid by advance: ſhe gave audience upon public affairs, enacted new laws, abrogated thoſe of former popes, and ſat in council with *Innocent* with bundles of memorials in her hands. It was generally ſaid, that they lived together in a criminal correſpondence, and that ſhe had charmed him by ſome ſecret incantation. In the proteſtant countries the loves and intrigues of *Innocent* and Donna *Olympia* were repreſented upon the ſtage, and libellous jeſts were daily put into the hands of *Paſquin* at *Rome*. As ſhe had uſurped ſuch an abſolute authority, the new cardinal nephew ſaw the neceſſity of ruining her credit;

Olympia *diſgraced and baniſhed.*

he therefore ſeconded the endeavours of *Panzirollo*, and inſinuated to the pope, that his reputation had ſuffered greatly among the catholics by her ſcandalous proceedings, and that his nuncios were treated with diſreſpect and contempt at the courts of the emperor, *France*, and *Spain*. Upon theſe repreſentations, *Innocent* at length, but with great reluctance, baniſhed *Olympia*, and was reconciled to prince *Camillo* and the princeſs *Roſſano*; though ſome authors affirm, that her baniſhment was no more than a political retreat, and that ſhe ſtill in private directed the affairs of the pope *w*. After the baniſhment of *Olympia*, the cardinal patron and *Panzirollo* were for ſome time in great credit and eſteem; but *Panzirollo* having weakened his health by his continual application to buſineſs, and dying the year following, cardinal *Aſtalli*, or *Pamphilio*, quickly found his influence leſſened.

A. D. 1651. DURING theſe tranſactions the *Barberini* ſuffered continual mortifications at the pope's court, notwithſtanding ſeveral remonſtrances of the *French* ambaſſador in their behalf. At length the averſion of *Innocent* for *Mazarine* and the *French* increaſing, he began to think of a reconciliation with the *Barberini*, in order to leſſen the *French* intereſt in the conclave. For this purpoſe he conſulted with the heads of the *Spaniſh* faction, who, in order to bring over *Francis Barberino* to their party, offered an advantageous match for his niece the princeſs of *Paleſtrina*, who was then in *France*, and promiſed to reſtore to him 10,000 crowns a year, which he held in abbies within the dominions of his catholic majeſty. The *French* ambaſſador at *Rome*, being informed of this ſecret negociation, wrote to *France*, urging the abſolute neceſſity of giving the princeſs of *Paleſtrina* in marriage to one of the peers of the kingdom, and of writing without delay to cardinal *Francis*, to prevent him from cloſing with the *Spaniards*. *Mazarine* having conſidered the ambaſſador's letter, created cardinal *Antonio* biſhop of *Poictiers*, and cardinal *Francis* grand almoner of *France*. However, they could not reſiſt the offers made to them by Donna *Olympia*, who had now recovered great credit with the pope, and promiſed to reſtore them to his intimate favour, on condition that they would aſſent to the marriage of Don *Thaddeo*'s ſon with her grand-daughter, without any dowry. They em-

The Barberini *are reſtored to favour and confidence.*

1652.

w GALEAZO GUALDO, PRIORATO Hiſt. de Jules Mazarine, t. ii.—L'Abbe GUALDO Hiſt. de Donna Olympia Maldachina. Etat du Siege de Rome. RYCAUT, ut ſupra. HEYDEGGER Hiſt. Papat. Mem. du Card. de Retz, t. iv. DESMARETZ Tableau des Papes. Hiſt. du Card. Mazarine.

braced

braced theſe offers with great ardour; and cardinal *Antonio* having privately conducted his niece, the princeſs of *Paleſtrina*, to *Padua*, returned to *Rome*, where the eldeſt ſon of *Thaddeo* was created a cardinal, and the marriage celebrated betwixt his ſecond ſon and the grand-daughter of *Olympia*. Soon after the princeſs of *Paleſtrina* was married to the duke of *Modena*, and cardinal *Francis* was admitted into the cabinet council, which was compoſed of the pope, Donna *Olympia*, the cardinal patron, and monſignor *Azzolini* [x].

INNOCENT in the mean time intereſted himſelf, in ſome meaſure, in the civil commotions in *France*; and being informed that *Mazarine* had impriſoned cardinal *de Retz*, he ſent an extraordinary nuncio to obtain his liberty. The nuncio, however, was prohibited from paſſing *Lyons*, which ſo provoked the pope, that he declared to the abbe *Chartre*, whom the cardinal had ſent to *Rome*, "That if the malecontents would furniſh an army, he would ſupply them with "a legate [y]." About the ſame time he was ſollicited by the *Janſeniſts* and *Moliniſts* to publiſh a bull in their favour. The *Janſeniſt* clergy of *France* complimented the pope on this occaſion, and referred to his deciſion in the firſt inſtance, which, by the privileges they enjoyed, they were not obliged to do. They hoped by this complaiſance to flatter the pope to declare in their favour; however they were greatly deceived; for the intrigues of the *Jeſuits* prevailing, the pope publiſhed a bull, condemning the five propoſitions of *Janſenius*, tho' he had acknowleged to Mr. *St. Amour*, that, as he had never ſtudied divinity, he would not conſider them. Notwithſtanding this bull, as the pope declared that he did not intend to condemn the two doctors of grace, *St. Auguſtine* and *St. Thomas*, and deſired the *Auguſtines* and *Dominicans* at *Rome* to preach grace as formerly, according to the opinion of thoſe two doctors, both parties claimed the victory, and the diſpute ſtill continued [z].

The pope ſollicites the liberty of cardinal de Retz. A.D. 1653.

He publiſhes a bull againſt the doctrines of Janſenius.

DONNA *Olympia* and the *Barberini* had at this time the management of the pope. *Olympia* again aſſumed the ſupreme direction of affairs, as before her diſgrace; and the *Barberini*, having had long experience in the adminiſtration of the government during the pontificate of their uncle, ſo ſucceſsfully inſinuated themſelves into the pope's eſteem, that he refuſed them no favour they aſked; ſo that, before his death, they repaired all the loſſes that their eſtates had ſuffered during their

Olympia again aſſumes the adminiſtration.

[x] RYCAUT. ut ſupra. [y] Mem. du Card. de Retz.
[z] LARREY Hiſt. de Louis XIII. t. ii. p. 441. WICQUEFORT Let. de Juillet, 1653. Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. Journal de ST. AMOUR, par. iii. c. xiii. HEYDEGGER Hiſt. Papat.

A. D. 1654. diſgrace. As the *Barberini* increaſed in favour, the reputation of the cardinal patron declined; and he being likewiſe undermined by Donna *Olympia*, the pope was provoked, in the beginning of the following year, to order him to lay aſide the arms and name of *Pamphilio*, and to retire from *Rome*. He likewiſe deprived him of all his offices and benefices, obliged him to deliver up 60,000 crowns of ready money, and left him only a yearly revenue of 6000 crowns[a]. A few weeks after the diſgrace of *Aſtalli*, *Innocent*, as a means of procuring new friends to protect his family, made a promotion of nine cardinals; among whom was *Azzolini*, who a few months before, by the intereſt of Donna *Olympia*, had obtained the office of ſecretary of the briefs. As the commotions in *Naples* were again renewed, *Azzolini*, together with the *Barberini*, endeavoured to perſuade the pope to attempt the conqueſt of that kingdom, the *Barberini* offering to maintain an army of 10,000 men at their own charge, on condition that, after the conqueſt ſhould be made, the principality of *Salerno* ſhould be granted to them in full ſovereignty.

INNOCENT declined this enterprize on account of his great age, and in the mean time reſigned himſelf wholly into the hands of Donna *Olympia*; who, obſerving his infirmities daily increaſing, redoubled her ardour in her rapacious ſchemes, diſpoſing of benefices and livings to the higheſt bidders, in all parts of *Italy*, eſpecially in the ſmall province of *La Marca*, where ſhe is ſaid to have conferred no leſs than 336 benefices. She was again in hazard of being diſplaced by a new favourite, namely, the cardinal *De Retz*; who, having eſcaped from his impriſonment in *France*, arrived at *Rome* in the end of autumn, and was received by the pope with uncommon marks of diſtinction. At his firſt arrival he ſent the treaſurer of the chamber to him with a purſe of 4000 crowns of gold. He conferred upon him the red hat in a full conſiſtory, and began to talk of adopting him for his nephew; but three days after he was ſeized with a diſtemper, under which he languiſhed for ſeveral weeks, and died on the 7th of *January*, in the 81ſt year of his age, and the 11th year of his pontificate[b]. During his laſt illneſs, he received nothing but from the hands of Donna *Olympia*, who was at great pains to prolong his life, watched continually at his bed-ſide, and prevented the ambaſſadors or others from diſturbing him with diſcourſes upon buſineſs. She is ſaid, during the laſt ten days of his life, when he continued

Innocent dies at Rome. A. D 1655.

[a] PRIORAT. ut ſup. [b] Idem ibid. RYCAUT. Etat de Siege de Rome. Mem. du Card. de Retz, t. v.

with-

without the use of reason, to have amassed about half a million of crowns [c]. According to *Priorato*, his aspect was noble and majestic, and his spirit firm and active [d]; but other authors affirm, that he was excessively ugly and deformed; and that he was ignorant, irresolute, cunning, and revengeful [e]. He is commended for his temperance and strict regard to justice, which he executed with great impartiality; and, during his pontificate, he adorned the city with several magnificent buildings and public works [f].

Upon the death of *Innocent* X. the cardinals immediately began to cabal, and to form parties for the future conclave. The most powerful factions were those of *Spain* and *France*; but ten cardinals, who had been promoted by *Innocent*, formed a party independent of any crown, and privately resolved to elect *Fabio Chigi*, tho' they agreed apparently to advance the interest of cardinal *Sachetti*, as a means of distracting the other factions. On the 18th of *January*, the cardinals entered with the usual ceremony into the conclave, where the independent party, which was distinguished by the name of the flying squadron, quickly discovered its power, being sufficiently strong to prevent the election of any whom it did not approve of. There were no less than 22 pretenders, most of whom had considerable interest, and all of them high expectations. Many of the candidates quickly suffered the mortification of an exclusion; but *Sachetti* continued for several days to have thirty-two and thirty-three voices upon every scrutiny, which was made every forenoon and afternoon. The various intrigues at this election are minutely related in the history of the conclaves, and by *Priorato* and the cardinal *De Retz*; but we shall only observe, that the cardinals, after they had been shut up eighty days, unanimously chose cardinal *Chigi*, who owed his election chiefly to the interest of cardinal *De Retz* and the *Barberini*, and during the conclave behaved like *Sixtus* V. with great reserve and affected modesty [g]. He was elected on the 8th of *April*, and assumed the name of *Alexander* VII. (D). His

Alexander VII. *is elected.*

[c] Rycaut. [d] Prior. ubi sup. [e] Tabl. des Papes. De Larr. Hist. Louis XIV. Nani Hist. de Venise. [f] Rycaut. [g] Guald. Priorat. Hist. de Mazar. l. v. Hist. des Conclav. t. ii. Mem. de Card. de Retz.

(D) *Fabio Chigi*, or *Ghigi*, was descended of an ancient and noble family at *Siena*, and was born in that city in the year 1599. His ancestors had made a considerable figure at *Rome* during the pontificate of *Julius* II. but, meeting afterwards with misfortunes, they were obliged to return to Siena.

Great expectations from his pontificate.

His elevation to the pontificate gave univerſal ſatisfaction, and the greateſt expectations were raiſed of his future government. The people expreſſed the moſt extravagant joy, and as nothing was talked of at *Rome* but the ſanctity and piety of the pope, it was generally believed, that the virtue of miracles would be again reſtored to the church. Great rejoicings were alſo made in all the catholic countries, in hopes that they would now be no longer ſubject to the blind paſſions which had prevailed for ſo many centuries at the *Roman* court. Several proteſtants are even ſaid to have come expreſsly to *Rome*, to examine if matters were really ſo as repreſented. In reality, he began his pontificate in ſuch a manner as increaſed the hopes that had generally been conceived of him. He continued to faſt twice a week, as he had practiſed when he was cardinal. He prohibited his relations to come to *Rome* without his permiſſion; rejected the congratulations of Donna *Olympia*, and forbid her to enter the palace; and, inſtead of indulging himſelf in the luxury of a court, he lived in the ſtricteſt abſtinence and mortification of body. To remind him of his mortality, he ordered his coffin to be brought into his chamber; he eat common victuals ſeaſoned with aſhes, and ſlept on a ſtraw mattreſs, or on boards, with a ſtone pillow under his head [h]. Whether

[h] Synd. of Alex. Mem. du Card. de Retz. Cont. de MEZER.

Fabio was educated carefully, and went early to *Rome*; where, being recommended by the marquis *Pallavicini* to *Urban* VIII. he, by his taſte for poetry and profeſſed admiration of *Horace*, ſecured the eſteem of that pope, who ſent him as inquiſitor to *Malta*; from whence he returned with the greateſt commendations from the grand maſter and the knights, who declared that *Malta* had never before been bleſſed with ſuch a legate. *Urban* then appointed him vice-legate at *Ferrara*; where he reſided three years, and acquired the eſteem of all ranks of people by his moderate and juſt adminiſtration. He was afterwards ſent as nuncio to *Cologn* to be preſent at the negociations for a general peace, where, it is ſaid, he diſcovered ſome inclination to embrace the proteſtant religion (1). At *Munſter* he preſided at the negociations, as pope's legate, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent the concluſion of the treaty, which was prejudicial to the intereſts of the *Roman* ſee. Upon his return to *Rome*, *Innocent* created him a cardinal; and, at the death of *Panzirollo*, appointed him firſt ſecretary of ſtate (2).

(1) *Bayle Nouv. de la Rep. des Let. Octob.* 1686. *Idem*, *Dict. Hiſt. Art. Chigi.* (2) *Angel. Correr. Relat. della Corte Romana. Il Syndicato di Aleſſandro VII.* Gualdi. Priorat. ut ſup. *Wiquef. l'Ambaſ. t.* ii.

by

by these external observances he deceived himself, or wanted to deceive the world, is uncertain; but cardinal *De Retz* mentions, that he urged upon him the necessity of some outward shew, to secure the regard of the public; and remarks likewise, that the pope appeared to him to have a little genius, which placed a great importance upon minute and trifling matters; as instances of which remark he relates, that, when a fine statue was shewed to the pope, he took notice only of a fringe that went round the bottom of the robe, and in a conversation with himself in the conclave, when talking of his youthful studies, he observed that he had wrote two years with the same pen [i].

AFTER his coronation, in his first consistory, he granted the pallium to the cardinal *De Retz*, by which he confirmed him in his archbishopric of *Paris*, contrary to the inclination of the king. Having, by this proceeding, greatly exasperated the *French* court, he, for the future, acted with greater reserve towards the cardinal, and refused to interest himself in protecting him from the resentment of *Mazarine* [k]. Mean while, having received a great number of memorials against Donna *Olympia*, he ordered her to retire to *Orvieto* within eight days, and not to remove from that city without new orders from him. The same day that she quitted *Rome*, he began to take the examination of witnesses for drawing up the process against her; but, the charges against her being so numerous, he ordered ten of the most material points to be selected, to which she should be obliged to give an answer.

He orders Donna Olympia *to be prosecuted.*

WHILE he was thus prosecuting *Olympia*, with all the severity that the law would allow, he began to abate of his rigour to his relations, and at the persuasion of some of the cardinals he sent for his brother Don *Mario*, with his son *Flavio*, and two other nephews *Augustine* and *Sigismond*, with several other relations, whom, in a short time, he loaded with wealth and dignities (E). Don *Mario* was made go-

A. D. 1656.

He heaps honours and wealth upon his relations.

[i] Mem. du Card. de Retz. t. v. [k] Idem ibid.

(E) It is said, that, at the beginning of his pontificate, he swore never to receive his relations at *Rome*; and that afterwards, being greatly embarrassed with his oath, the *Jesuit Pallavicini* freed him from his scruples, by advising him to go and meet them out of the city; which ingenious expedient was embraced by the pope, who accordingly went to meet them at the distance of a mile from *Rome* (3).

(3) *Heydeg. Hist. Papat. ut sup.*

vernor of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; his ſon was created cardinal patron; *Sigiſmond*, being too young for any dignity, was gratified with rich penſions; *Auguſtino*, deſigned to be the pillar of the houſe, was married to a rich niece of cardinal *Borgheſe*; another nephew, by his ſiſter, was created a cardinal; and the brother of this nephew, who was a knight of *Malta*, was made general of the gallies [l]. *Alexander* likewiſe, by degrees, began to lay aſide his auſtere manner of living, and, at length, by the perſuaſions of his relations, he ran into the other extreme, and exceeded all his predeceſſors in the pomp and magnificence of his robes, furniture, and equipages [m]. Cardinal *De Retz* mentions, that, upon his return from the medicinal wells in *Tuſcany*, he found the pope quite changed; that he was continually employed in trifles; that he was envious and jealous of all the world; that he was ridiculouſly vain; and that he never ſpoke a word of truth [n]. Mean-while a grievous plague afflicted the city of *Rome* and its neighbourhood, which raged to ſuch a degree, that not only trade and commerce were interrupted, but the common courts of juſtice were ſhut up. Donna *Olympia* was cut off by this peſtilence; and *Alexander*, inſtead of confiſcating her eſtate to the apoſtolic chamber, as was generally expected, allowed the prince *Pamphilio* to ſucceed as her heir, after drawing from him about a million of crowns, which he beſtowed on his own kindred [o]. At the ſame time, being informed, that *Chriſtina* queen of *Sweden* had abdicated her crown, embraced the popiſh religion, and was arrived in *Germany* in her way to *Rome*, he ſent an extraordinary nuncio to congratulate her upon her converſion. As the plague ſoon after abated, ſhe proceeded to *Rome*, where ſhe was received with the greateſt magnificence, and on *Chriſtmas-day* was confirmed in *St. Peter's* church by his holineſs; who, to her former name *Chriſtina*, ſuperadded that of *Alexandra*, and aſſigned her a penſion of 12,000 crowns.

A ſevere plague at Rome.

The Venetians *ask aſſiſtance from the pope againſt the* Turks.

As the *Venetians* at this time were engaged in a war with the *Turks*, who had invaded the iſland of *Candia*, they earneſtly ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the Chriſtian powers againſt the infidels. The pope excuſed himſelf from granting them any ſubſidy, as his treaſury had been exhauſted by the rapaciouſneſs of the nephews of his predeceſſors, and by the large ſums which had been lately iſſued to ſupport the poor, who had been diſtreſſed by a famine, which had attended

[l] Syndic. d'Alexand. HEYDIG. ut ſup. NANI Hiſt. de Veniſe. [m] Contin. de MEZER. Syndic. d'Alex. [n] Mem. du Card. de Retz, ut ſup. [o] RYCAUT. Life of Alexand.

the

the peſtilence. However, at the ſollicitation of *Pallavicini*, the *Jeſuit*, who preſented him with a large ſum of money, he hearkened to ſome expedients propoſed to him by the *Venetians* for ſupporting the holy war; and, on condition that they would repeal the law againſt the *Jeſuits*, and allow them to return to their dominions, he granted a bull, authorizing the ſenate to ſell ſome lands and rents belonging to the two orders of the *Crociferi* and *Santo Spirito*, and likewiſe appointed a nuncio, who, with three ſenators, ſhould paſs the title to the purchaſers. The repeal of the law againſt the *Jeſuits* at firſt met with great oppoſition in the ſenate; but the neceſſity of their affairs obliging them to court the favour of the pope, they at laſt conſented to allow the *Jeſuits* to return; and, having obtained the bull, raiſed above a million of ducats by the ſale of the church lands, tho' not without the cenſures and curſes of the clergy againſt them, the pope, and the *Jeſuits*. This condeſcenſion of the republic was very agreeable to the court of *Rome*, and ſeveral cardinals, as a teſtimony of their zeal againſt the infidels, granted very conſiderable ſubſidies to the maintenance of the war [q].

A. D. 1657.

They repeal the act againſt the Jeſuits.

THE *Jeſuits* being thus re-eſtabliſhed at *Venice*, the pope employed his authority to confirm their doctrine in *France*; and as the *Janſeniſts*, by ſubtle diſtinctions, had eluded the bull of his predeceſſor, he renewed the cenſure of *Innocent* X. againſt the five propoſitions ſaid to be contained in the books of *Janſenius*, and condemned them by a new bull, both *in their obvious ſenſe*, and *in the ſenſe intended by the author*. This bull, however, had not the effect he deſired; for, inſtead of putting an end to diſputes, the controverſy was continued with greater animoſity; and the *French* court, and ſome biſhops, eſpouſing the cauſe of the *Jeſuits*, a confeſſion of faith was drawn up, which the king, by a particular edict, ordered all the clergy to ſwear to, then the ſeculars, and even the nuns. By this formulary, all perſons, tho' they had never ſeen or read the book of *Janſenius*, were obliged to ſwear that the five condemned propoſitions were contained in his book [r]. The *Janſeniſts*, on this occaſion, ſuffered a great perſecution. The fathers of *Port Royal*, in hopes of ſatisfying the court, offered an entire ſilence and ſubmiſſion to the fact, and promiſed to condemn the five propoſitions wherever they ſhould find them; but

Alexander condemns the book of Janſenius.

A. D. 1658.

His bull occaſions great diſ-

[q] Idem ibid. DE REINCOURT, les Faſtes de Louis le Grand. NANI, cited by DE LARR. Etat du Siege de Rome. [r] Idem ibid. t. iv.

turbances in France.

this propoſal being rejected by *Mazarine*, the divines and nuns of that place abſolutely refuſed to conſent to any other expedient. The biſhops of *Alet*, *Angers*, *Beauvais*, and *Pamiers*, refuſed purely and ſimply to ſubmit to the pope's bull, which condemned the doctrine of *Janſenius*; on which account *Alexander* the following year appointed commiſſaries to try them for their diſobedience and hereſy. But nineteen of their brethren writing to him, and affirming, that the *French* prelates, when accuſed of hereſy, could only be tried by the council of their province, the affair at that time proceeded no farther, *Tellier* and *Colbert* perſuading *Lewis* XIV. to ſtop the diſpute, which had already proceeded too far, and which, in the end, might occaſion a rupture betwixt him and the court of *Rome* [s].

The peace of the Pyrenees *concluded without his participation.* A. D. 1659.

ALEXANDER in the mean time earneſtly preſſed the courts of *Spain* and *France* to agree to a peace, offering himſelf as mediator, and deſiring that the conferences might be held at *Rome*. As he had acted as mediator at *Munſter*, and had thoroughly canvaſſed the differences betwixt the two nations, he expected that they would have both willingly deſired his arbitration; however, to his great diſappointment and ſurprize, the treaty was concluded the following year, without his knowlege, at the *Pyrenees*, by *Mazarine* and Don *Lewis de Haro* [t]. *Alexander* blamed the *French* more than the *Spaniards* for his being excluded from the treaty, as he obſerved that *Mazarine* induſtriouſly ſeized all opportunities of throwing contempt upon his perſon and authority. He diſſembled, however, his reſentment; and, as the *Turks* had begun hoſtilities in *Upper Hungary*, he wrote to the kings of *France* and *Spain* to turn their arms againſt the infidels, at the ſame time laying a tythe upon all the eccleſiaſtical revenues in *Italy*, to raiſe a ſubſidy for the emperor [u]. This appears to have been a pretended zeal; for *Mazarine*, ſoon after ſending ſome troops to the aſſiſtance of the *Venetians* againſt the *Turks*, and deſiring his holineſs to propoſe a general league againſt the infidels, to declare himſelf the head of the alliance, and to animate the other Chriſtian princes by his example, *Alexander* paid no regard to theſe exhortations; but even by his backwardneſs cooled the zeal of others, who ſeemed deſirous of a general league [w]. The pope at that time was chiefly engaged in filling the city with inſcriptions, and adorning it with magnificent buildings. He, however,

He rejects the propoſal of a league againſt the Turks. A. D. 1660.

[s] Contin. de MEZER. Pyrenees, p. 119. 125.
[t] PRIORAT. Hiſt. de la Paix des DE LARREY Hiſt. de Louis XIV.
[u] RYCAUT, ubi ſup.
[w] ANGELO CORRARO, ut ſup.

did not neglect to testify his hatred for *Mazarine*, by assembling a consistory, and re-uniting the duchy of *Castro* to the apostolic chamber, because that minister had presumed to intercede in behalf of the duke of *Parma* [x].

THE difference and animosity between the pope and the cardinal occasioned a bad correspondence betwixt his holiness and the duke of *Crequi*, the *French* ambassador at *Rome*. This ambassador, at his first arrival, was received with the utmost ceremony and respect; and, being distinguished by his nobility and personal accomplishments, was greatly caressed by the pope. As he was naturally of a haughty disposition, and had secret orders from the king to mortify the pope and his relations, he soon began to pay more respect to other cardinals than to the pope's nephews. *Alexander* immediately resented this affront, and behaved to *Crequi* with great coldness and indifference at his audiences. This bad correspondence soon broke out into an open enmity, occasioned at first by two *Frenchmen*, who, to shew their bravery, disarmed the night patrol, consisting of three *Corsi*. These *Corsi* were punished for having made no resistance, and their officer broke. Soon after some bailiffs and officers, to shew themselves diligent in their duty, entered the ambassador's house in search of some criminals, while he was at mass in his chapel. That same evening a *Frenchman*, who, in passing through the quarters of the *Corsi*, had thrown out against them some ignominious reproach, was pursued by them to the ambassador's house, where they assembled, to the number of 400, with drums beating and colours flying, and fired upon the ambassador, who came to the window to endeavour to appease them. They likewise fired upon his lady, who was returning home in her coach, and killed one of her lacquies. As Don *Mario* and cardinal *Imperiali* covered the escape of the *Corsi* who were reckoned most guilty, and but slightly punished the others, the duke of *Crequi* looked upon the pope's relations as the authors of the insult; and tho' the whole family of the *Chigi* paid their visits of condolance to him and his lady, excusing the riot and tumult, which, they said, was owing solely to the insolence of the guards, he insisted upon more full satisfaction for the outrage, and sent an account of the whole transaction to his court.

The French ambassador insulted at Rome. A. D. 1662.

THE pope and the queen of *Sweden* likewise wrote to *Lewis* XIV. excusing the tumult; but he paid more regard to the letters of his ambassador, and immediately ordered the nuncio to leave *Paris*, and soon after conducted him with a

[x] DE LARREY, ut sup.

guard

He quits Italy, *and returns to* France.

guard to the confines of *Savoy*. About the ſame time the duke of *Crequi* left *Rome*, and retired into *Tuſcany*, where he continued for ſome time, receiving propoſals of an accommodation from the pope, who likewiſe wrote ſeveral other letters to *Lewis* XIV. full of ſorrow and reſentment for the late outrage. The duke, not receiving the ſatisfaction he expected, at length left *Italy*, having, before his departure from *Leghorn*, notified to the pope the demands of the king; who required, *that Don* Mario *ſhould be baniſhed to* Siena *for five years*; *that cardinal* Imperiali *ſhould be deprived of his hat*; *that the* Corſican *nation ſhould be baniſhed for ever from* Rome; *and that a pyramid ſhould be erected, with an inſcription, in the place where the outrage was committed*; *and beſides, that* Caſtro *ſhould be reſtored to the duke of* Parma, *and the vale of* Commachio *to the duke of* Modena. Theſe high terms quite confounded the pope, eſpecially as he obſerved, that the dukes of *Savoy*, *Modena*, and *Parma*, declared for the *French*, and the *Spaniards* had granted leave for a *French* army to march through the *Milaneſe* into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. However, having private aſſurances of aſſiſtance from the emperor, and being encouraged by ſome cardinals, he made great profeſſions of hazarding every thing in defence of the dignity of the apoſtolic ſee.

A.D. 1663.

As he ſoon found that the emperor had no great intention of fulfilling his promiſes, and was informed that the parliament of *Aix* had taken the opportunity of an inſurrection at *Avignon*, to reunite that city and its dependences to the crown of *France*, he willingly embraced the offer of the *Venetians* to act as mediators. Accordingly *Lewis Grimani*, the *Venetian* ambaſſador at *Paris*, prevailed upon the king to agree to a congreſs at *Lyons* for an accommodation; but as the pope ſent the title of extraordinary nuncio to his deputy *Raſponi*, the conferences were quickly broke off, without any effect. Soon after the negociations were again renewed at *Buonvicino* on the frontiers of *Savoy*, *Raſponi* reſiding in the duchy, and the agents from *Modena* and *Parma*, with *Crequi*, *Grimani*, and the twelve conſuls of *Avignon*, reſiding in *France*. But the pope abſolutely refuſing to conſent to the reſtitution of *Caſtro* and *Commachio*, the treaty was again broke off. During this congreſs at *Buonvicino*, a *French* fleet appeared on the coaſt of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and great warlike preparations were made at *Rome*; the fleet, however, retired, without any act of hoſtility, to *Sardinia*; and to the ſurprize of *Italy*, when the treaty broke off, the pope ordered his new-levied troops to be diſbanded. Both parties thus diſcovering a deſire of an accommodation, a few

A treaty concluded

months

months afterwards *Piſa* was appointed for a third congreſs; where a treaty was at length concluded, on the 22d of *February*, between *Raſponi* and *Bourlemont*, the plenipotentiaries of the pope and the *French* king. *betwixt the pope and the* French.

THE conditions of this treaty were very diſhonourable for the pope; for it was agreed, that *Caſtro* ſhould be again diſmembred from the patrimony of the church, and reſtored to the duke of *Parma*, on condition of his paying to the apoſtolic chamber, within eight years, 1,629,750 crowns, at two payments; ſo that, upon making the firſt payment, he ſhould receive the inveſtiture of one half of the duchy. In lieu of *Commachio*, the pope was alſo obliged to give the duke of *Modena* 40,000 crowns, or a palace at *Rome*, to deliver to him *Mont d' Eſte*, valued at 30,000 crowns, to remit to him a debt of 50,000 crowns, which he owed to the *Montiſts*, and beſides to grant him the right of perpetual patronage to the abbeys of *Pompaſa* and *Bondeno*. It was alſo ſtipulated, that the cardinal nephew ſhould be ſent as legate to *France*; where, at his firſt public audience, he ſhould declare to the king, according to a form of words inſerted in the treaty, that his holineſs was ſorry for the outrage committed againſt the duke of *Crequi*, of which neither he nor any of his family was culpable. That cardinal *Imperiali* ſhould go to *France* to make his ſubmiſſion in perſon to the king; that cardinal *Maldachini* ſhould be allowed to return to *Rome*, there to live in freedom and ſecurity; that Don *Mario* ſhould declare in writing, upon the faith of a gentleman, that he had no part in the outrage committed againſt the king's ambaſſador; and till ſuch certification, confirmed by the pope's brief, ſhould be delivered into the king's hands, he ſhould not have liberty to enter *Rome*; that Don *Auguſtino* ſhould, upon the approach of the duke of *Crequi* to *Rome*, go out to meet him as far as *St. Quirico*, or *Civita Vecchia*, or *Narni*, according as the duke ſhould chuſe his route; that Donna *Berenice*, or the princeſs *Farneſe*, ſhould go out to meet the ambaſſadreſs as far as *Ponte Molle*; that the pope ſhould annul all proceedings againſt the duke *Ceſarini*, and all others, on account of the above-mentioned outrage; that the *Corſican* nation ſhould be declared for ever incapable of ſerving either in *Rome* or in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and that the captain of the guard at *Rome* ſhould be broke; that, oppoſite to the place where the *Corſi* held their chief guard, a pyramid ſhould be erected, with an inſcription, declaring the crime for which they were baniſhed; that upon the arrival of the cardinal legate at *Paris*, and the execution of the foregoing articles, the king ſhould reſtore *Avignon*, with A. D. 1664. *The conditions of the treaty.*

with its dependences, to the pope; who ſhould grant a free pardon to all the inhabitants who had been concerned in the revolt, and ſhould proſecute none of them for any thing that had happened ſince that time; and laſtly ſhould grant aſſeſſors to the judges of *Avignon*, and the county of *Venaſſin*. However mortifying and diſgraceful theſe conditions were to *Alexander*, he was obliged punctually to fulfil them, tho' he laboured much to excuſe the baniſhment of Don *Mario*, and the ſending cardinal *Chigi* as legate to *France*[y].

A. D. 1665. AFTER the execution of the articles of the treaty, Don *Mario* returned from *Sora* to *Rome*, and the pope had leiſure to attend to the diſputes in *Spain* betwixt the *Dominicans* and *Jeſuits*, concerning the immaculate conception of the Bleſſed Virgin. This controverſy was carried on with ſuch animoſity, that, inſtead of being determined in the ſchools by a moderator, it was in danger of being decided in the field by the ſword. To prevent any commotion, the king ſent the biſhop of *Placenza* to *Rome*, deſiring his holineſs to determine the controverſy by a bull: but *Alexander*, inſtead of deciding which of the opinions was orthodox, followed the example of his predeceſſors, and left the article of faith ſtill unſettled. The *Jeſuits*, however, having prevailed upon him to embrace the opinion of the immaculate conception, he publiſhed a bull, prohibiting any one, under ſevere penalties, from aſſerting the contrary doctrine, either in public or private. This determination did not ſatisfy the king of *Spain*, who was beſides greatly offended with the pope for ſeeming to favour the king of *Portugal*, and ordered his ambaſſador to threaten him with the loſs of 130 biſhoprics and 60 abbeys in *Spain*, if he ſhould concern himſelf with the biſhoprics in *Portugal*[z].

Alexander offends the king of Spain *by favouring the king of* Portugal.

ABOUT the ſame time the divines of the *Sorbonne* having cenſured two books, which had been publiſhed by the *Jeſuits*, under the falſe names of *James de Vernant* and *Amadeus Guimenius*, and which defended the pope's ſupremacy and infallibility, *Alexander* wrote to the king, complaining of their proceeding. *Lewis*, in compliance with his holineſs's requeſt, aſſembled a congregation of biſhops at *Pontoiſe*, who paſſed a ſlight cenſure on the *Sorbonniſts*, blaming their preſumption, without condemning their opinion. The parliament of *Paris*,

[y] WICQUEF. l'Ambaſſad. &c. t. iv. Des Faſtes de Louis le Grand. NANI. DE RIENCOURT. DE LARREY. Contin. de MEZER. Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. RYCAUT, ubi ſupra. Traitez de Paix, t. i. p. 635. [z] RYCAUT, ut ſup. WICQ. BAYLE Dict. Hiſt. & Crit. Art. Chigi (Fabio).

however,

however, publiſhed a declaration againſt the pope's brief, and in defence of the proceeding of the divines of the *Sorbonne*, whoſe ſentiments they affirmed were the ſame with thoſe of the fathers, councils, holy ſee, and all the parliaments and univerſities of the kingdom. The pope, greatly irritated at the freedom of the parliament, in the month of *June* publiſhed a terrible bull againſt the cenſures of the *Sorbonniſts*, annulling them as *preſumptuous*, *raſh*, and *ſcandalous*, and prohibiting all eccleſiaſtics from receiving or approving them, under pain of excommunication *latæ ſententiæ*. His bull, however, in *France*, was treated with great contempt, and looked upon with deteſtation, as plainly countenancing the moſt immoral doctrines, ſince it condemned thoſe who had cenſured them. The parliament of *Paris*, in the end of *July*, publiſhed an arret, prohibiting all the king's ſubjects from reading, ſelling, or poſſeſſing, the ſaid bull, and ordered the cenſures of the *Sorbonniſts* againſt the books of *Vernant* and *Guimenius* to be regiſtered in the rolls of the court, prohibited all perſons of whatever rank from maintaining or teaching the cenſured propoſitions, declared their intention of ſupporting the faculty of divinity in their right of cenſuring all books, which ſhould contain propoſitions contrary to the authority and diſcipline of the church, to the purity of Chriſtian morality, to the rights of the crown, and the liberties of the *Gallican* church; and ordered two of their members to read their arret in the preſence of the members of the faculty, and to exhort them to continue their cenſures, as occaſion ſhould anſwer, with the ſame zeal [a]. Tho' no author mentions how the pope received this terrible ſtroke, it may be preſumed, that it greatly affected him: however, that he might not ſeem expreſsly to approve of the deteſtable maxims which had been cenſured, he ſoon after publiſhed a bull, condemning ſeveral propoſitions taken from the writings of the *Jeſuits* [b]. At the requeſt of the court and clergy of *France*, he likewiſe canonized *Francis de Sales*, titular prince and biſhop of *Geneva*, having alſo a few years before made another ſaint in favour of the *Spaniards*, namely, *Thomas de Villa Nova*, a hermit, of the order of *Auguſtines*, and archbiſhop of *Valencia*, who had been dead upwards of 100 years [c].

He publiſhes a bull againſt the proceedings of the doctors of the Sorbonne; *who are ſupported by the parliament of* Paris.

[a] Recueil de diverſes Pieces concernant les Cenſures de la Faculte de Theolog. de Par. &c. a Munſter. an. 1669. BAYLE. Crit. Gener. du Calvin. let. xxv. RYCAUT, ut ſup. [b] Catech. Hiſt. & Dogmat. t. ii. p. 41. & 43. [c] HEYDEG. Hiſt. Papat. Ætat vii. DE LARR. Hiſt. de Louis XIV.

The pope fits out a fleet against the Turks.

THE following year the pope fitted out his gallies against the *Turks*, and sent them, under the command of *Bichi*, into the *Archipelago*; where, in conjunction with the gallies of *Malta*, they attacked several maritime places belonging to the infidels; but, having passed the summer without any memorable action, they returned in the beginning of winter to *Italy* [d]. A few months after he again offended a great many catholics, by a bull, which he affixed to the gates of *St. Peter*'s church, ordering all cardinals, bishops, and others, in treating of the point of attrition, either in discourses or in books, not to censure those who held the opinion contrary to what they themselves maintained, whether that which affirms the necessity of the love of God, proceeding from the fear of the pains of hell, or that which denies any such necessity in attrition. On this occasion he was accused of intending to extirpate true piety from the heart, and to impose, as problematical or dubious, an opinion which was asserted in the most clear terms through the whole scripture [e]. About the same time he sent three chests of relics to *France*, together with a bull, which affirmed that they might, with all confidence, be exposed to the veneration of the people. Notwithstanding this bull, when the relics were examined by a physician, one of the skulls, intituled *Caput Sancti Fortunati*, or the head of St. *Fortunatus*, was found to be artificially made of pasteboard, and fell to pieces upon being put into warm water. The physician, however, received a letter *de cachet*, prohibiting him from publishing the discovery, upon pain of being sent to the *Bastile* [f].

A. D. 1667.

He dies at Rome.

THESE were some of the last acts of *Alexander*; for very soon after he died at *Rome*, on the 22d of *May*, in the 69th year of his age, and the 13th of his pontificate, very little regretted by the people; who, being disappointed in their expectations of great things from him, looked with prejudice and dissatisfaction upon all his conduct, which, during his whole reign, was very inconsistent. He was of a middle stature, and good habit of body, had an agreeable air in his countenance, and was pleasant and facetious in his conversation. He is accused of being ungrateful, irresolute, hypocritical, vain, proud, envious, of having made a game of religion for worldly purposes, and of having chiefly attended to the enriching of his own family, without any regard to justice. He was, however, tolerably learned, loved the sciences, and delighted in the conversation of learned men.

[d] RYCAUT. [e] HEYDEG. ut sup. [f] Politique du Clerge de France, p. 69. Edit. 1682.

He

He had a great taſte for magnificent buildings, and enlarged and adorned many ſtreets in *Rome*, much to the ornament of the city and the convenience of the inhabitants, tho' he thereby exhauſted the apoſtolic chamber, and ruined ſeveral private perſons, by ordering their houſes, which interrupted the regularity of the ſtreets, to be demoliſhed, without granting them any ſatisfaction [g] (F).

THE conclave, which followed upon the death of *Alexander*, was not without parties and factions, according to the uſual manner. The faction of *Chigi* conſiſted of thirty-ſeven voices; that of the *Barberini* of about ſixteen; the *Spaniſh* of nine; the *French* of about ſeven; beſides ſome others who adhered to no party. A few candidates made ſome ineffectual endeavours in their own behalf; but the weather being extremely hot, the air unhealthy, and one of the cardinals dying, *Barberino* and *Chigi* joined their intereſt in favour of cardinal *Roſpiglioſi*; who, without having made any intereſt for the pontificate, was elected on the 20th of *June*, and aſſumed the name of *Clement* IX. [h] (G). After his coronation, Clement IX. *is elected.*

[g] NANI, ut ſup. ANGELO CORRARO, ut ſup. [h] Hiſt. des Conclaves. RYCAUT. Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. p. 124.

(F) He is ſaid to have condemned the horrid cruelties, which the poor *Vaudois* in the vallies of *Piedmont* ſuffered during his pontificate (4); and to have refuſed the adoration offered to him by ſome *Engliſh* proteſtants, who had mixed themſelves with others at an audience, and were reproved by the pope for offering to commit, what they believed, an act of idolatry (5). As a ſingularity, it is affirmed that he was related to the grand ſignior *Mohammed* IV. A *Turkiſh* corſair, in the year 1525, had made a deſcent in *Italy*, and pillaged a caſtle belonging to *Siena*, from whence they carried off *Margaret Marſili*, who was married to *Soliman*, and by him had *Selim* II. from whom *Mohammed* IV. was deſcended in a direct line. *Leonard Marſili*, the brother of the captive *Margaret*, was grand-father to *Laura Marſili*, the mother of *Alexander* VII (6).

(G) *Julio Roſpiglioſi* was born at *Piſtoia* in 1600, being deſcended from an ancient and noble family. Having received a good education, and being diſtinguiſhed by his active and lively genius, *Urban* VIII. appointed him auditor to his nephew *Barberino*, when he went as legate to *France*; and being ſatisfied with his conduct, he

(4) *Courtellus inter Preſtant. & Erudit. Viror. Epiſt. Eccleſiaſt. p.* 876. *Edit.* 1684. (5) *Sorbier. apud Bayle Dict. Hiſt. & Crit. Art. Chigi (Fabio) rem.* 1. (6) *Paſtorius in Henninge redivivo, p.* 157. *apud Heydeg. Hiſt. Papat. Joh. Ulricus Wallichius in Tractatu de Relig. Turſica, Mahammedis Vita, & Orient. cum Occident. Antichriſt. compar. p.* 320, 321.

nation, which was performed on the 26th of the same month, he thanked the cardinals in a full consistory for their suffrages; and, to reconcile his subjects to his government, he abolished some taxes with which they were burthened, and took care that provisions might be cheap and plentiful at *Rome*. He was likewise very desirous to assist the *Venetians* against the *Turks*; but, his predecessor having left an empty treasury, he was obliged to suppress some of those orders of regulars, which appeared of little service to the *Romish* church, and had degenerated from the rules of their institution. He accordingly issued out a bull, authorising the *Venetians* to secularize the lands of these orders within their dominions, and to apply the money to the sacred war. The sale of these lands, however, in the *Milanese* and the kingdom of *Naples*, met with great opposition from the *Spaniards*; who affirmed, that they could not be sold without the consent of the catholic king, and that the pope had no right to dispose of the money arising from their sale. The execution of the pope's decree was opposed at *Naples* by force; on which account he thundered out an anathema, but without success; for the king's ministers defended their proceeding with great firmness, so that the controversy continued for several years in suspence, and was not terminated till the time of the succeeding pope[1].

He orders the secularization of some monasteries.

He offers his mediation for a peace betwixt France *and* Spain. A. D. 1658.

THO' *Clement* is said to have blamed himself afterwards for this secularization, on account of a scruple of conscience, yet at this time he appeared fully satisfied of the necessity and justice of such a proceeding, and endeavoured besides to engage the Christian princes in a league against the infidels; for which purpose he ordered his nephew, whom he recalled from *Brussels*, where he had resided as inter-nuncio three years, to return by *Paris*, and to persuade *Lewis* XIV. to a

[1] RYCAUT. NODOT. Relat. de la Cour de Rome.

sent him afterwards as nuncio to *Spain*, in which character he behaved to the satisfaction both of the court of *Rome* and of the catholic king, and his commission was therefore continued for eleven years, tho' usually it did not exceed three. Upon his return to *Rome* he was appointed governor of the city, during the vacancy of the see, at the death of *Innocent* X. *Alexander* VII. created him a cardinal at his first promotion, and afterwards made him secretary of state; in which office he so distinguished himself, that he had the approbation of the pope, of the sacred college, and of all *Rome* (7).

(7) *Hist. de Familles de Rome. De Larr. Hist. Louis XIV. t.* iii. *p.* 537.

peace

peace with *Spain*, and to an alliance against the *Turks*. The cardinal *Rospigliosi* accordingly proceeded to *Paris*; but his conferences with the king produced but very little effect. A few *French* gentlemen went as voluntiers to *Candia*; and the *French* king agreed to treat of a peace at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, though in the mean time he sent an army, the following *February*, into *French Compte*, and in a few weeks made himself master of that whole province. About the same time, the cardinal nephew having returned to *Rome*, *Clement* sent an extraordinary legate to *France*, and another to *Spain*, to forward the peace; and having appointed *Bargellini* as his plenipotentiary at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the treaty was at last concluded, by his mediation, in the month of *May* [k].

His moderation with regard to his relations.

MEAN while he acted with great moderation with regard to his relations, conferring upon them only small and inconsiderable favours. As he had never engaged much in the commerce of the world, his heart was so tempered by virtue, that the assaults and persuasions of flatterers were vain and fruitless. They endeavoured to persuade him of the expediency of following the usual maxims, and of aggrandizing his house; but he with constancy resisted their advices, his relations themselves not being very sollicitous for wealth or honours, but contenting themselves with the respect they received at court, not seeming to reflect upon the change which would happen to them upon the death of the pope, or acting as though such a change would be of no importance [l]. A certain author indeed alleges, that the pope had allowed cardinal *Chigi* to engross his confidence, and that resigning himself too much to his counsels, he was persuaded by him to overlook his own kindred [m].

He quiets the differences betwixt the Jansenists and Molinists.

As the differences betwixt the *Molinists* and the *Jansenists* in *France* began to threaten the public peace in that kingdom, the court found the necessity of abating the rigour exercised against these last; and the pope consenting to alter the form of proceeding against the four bishops who had refused to subscribe to the formula ordained by the king, they gave an account of their conduct in a letter to his holiness, who declaring that he was satisfied with their reasons, the king immediately published a decree, affirming, that he was likewise satisfied, and prohibited all his subjects from writing in that controversy, or provoking each other by party

[k] DE LARREY Hist. de Louis XIV. t. iii. RYCAUT.
[l] Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. [m] NODOT, ut supra.

names [n]. About the same time *Clement* granted a bull, allowing *Lewis* XIV. to nominate successors to all bishoprics, abbeys, and benefices, in his kingdom, and likewise permitted him to remove the cross which had been erected at *Rome*, over-against the church of *St. Anthony*, in memory of the conversion of *Henry* IV. of *France* to the catholic religion. In return for these favours, *Lewis* XIV. allowed the pyramid, erected on account of the banishment of the *Corsi*, to be demolished, and omitted interesting himself in behalf of the duke of *Parma*, who offered the money stipulated at the treaty of *Pisa* for the restitution of *Castro*, but could not prevail with the pope to grant him the investiture of the duchy [o]. In the mean time, *Clement* sollicited the Christian princes, with great earnestness, to send succours to *Candia*; and having prevailed upon *Lewis* XIV. to send a fleet thither, under the command of the duke of *Beaufort*, he fitted out his own gallies, and ordered his nephew *Vincenzo Rospigliosi*, who commanded them, to join the *French* fleet and the gallies of *Malta*. By his sollicitation other succours were likewise sent from *Germany*, by the elector of *Bavaria*, the bishop of *Strasburg*, and other princes of the *Rhine*.

Sends a fleet to the assistance of Candia.

He acknowleges the king of Portugal.

While he was thus endeavouring his utmost to prevent *Crete* from falling into the hands of the *Turks*, he was informed that the king of *Portugal* had been deposed by his brother Don *Pedro*. This prince had succeeded him in the throne, and married his queen, who had obtained a divorce from her first husband. The cardinal *de Vendome*, uncle of the queen, whom the pope had sent as legate into *France*, ratified the dissolution of the first marriage, without waiting for any instructions from *Rome*, although his legation did not extend to *Portugal*. The legate excused this extraordinary step, by alleging, that his commission was conceived in the most ample terms, and that he had written to *Rome* without receiving any answer, though it is said that his letter was purposely never sent. To satisfy the pope, the queen sent her confessor to *Rome*; and *Lewis* XIV. likewise wrote to his holiness, to persuade him of the justice of the divorce, as the impotence of the queen's first husband was attested by no less than thirty physicians. *Clement*, however, would not consent to confirm the marriage, but gave a commission

[n] Catechisme Hist. & Dogm. Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. Varet Relat. de ce qui s'est passé dans l'Affair de la Paix de l'Eglise, edit. 1706. Quesnel P. de Clement IX. edit. 1700. Instruction pastorale de l'Eveque de Montpellier, 1724. [o] Ricaut, ut supra.

to

to the dean of the inquiſitors in *Portugal* to examine the cauſe. As the dean, after going through a new proceſs, declared the firſt marriage invalid, and the ſecond lawful, the pope at length, at the ſollicitations of the *French* king and the marquis *de Las Minas*, who came to *Rome* as ambaſſador of obedience, granted the bull for a diſpenſation in the beginning of the following year: and as the kingdom of *Portugal*, by the peace with *Spain*, had been declared independent, he made no difficulty of receiving the obedience of Don *Pedro*, and of conferring the *Portugueſe* biſhoprics according to his nomination P. A. D. 1669.

About the ſame time he applied himſelf earneſtly to reeſtabliſh his finances, which were under ſuch a bad regulation, that the apoſtolic chamber was in great hazard of becoming bankrupt. For this purpoſe he inſtituted a congregation *Dello aggravio*, conſiſting of ſome cardinals and prelates, which was then much approved of, though it appeared afterwards that it was inſufficient to remedy the diſorders in the finances. *Clement* likewiſe complained greatly of the ignorance of the prelates about his court, and was revolving ſome means of reforming that evil, when being informed, by the *Venetian* ambaſſador, of the loſs of *Candia*, which is ſaid to have been delivered to the *Turks* by the intrigues of the *Jeſuits* [1], he was ſo ſeized with grief, that he ſuddenly fell into a kind of apoplexy. This perhaps, in ſome meaſure, might be owing to his intemperance in eating, which vice he ſeemed to glory in, thinking that he thereby demonſtrated the ſtrength of his conſtitution: Though he revived from this fit, yet melancholy ſo oppreſſed his ſpirits, that he died about a month after, on the 9th of *December*, generally lamented by all ranks of people. He was poſſeſſed of many eminent virtues, and, among others, of modeſty, mildneſs, and charity. Immediately after his promotion, he diſcovered great generoſity and public ſpirit; and it was evident to all that his heart was engaged in promoting a general reformation. He is accuſed of wanting firmneſs and reſolution, of being too indulgent to the great, and to thoſe from whom he had received any obligations; but theſe faults may have proceeded from the weakneſs of old age, and the excels of his gratitude. As he was not ambitious of worldly honour, he forbad his relations to raiſe any magnificent monument to his memory: his ſucceſſor, however, erected a ſtately monument for him, with his ſtatue, in the church

Complains of the ignorance of the prelates.

He dies at Rome.

P Vertot Hiſt. des Révol. de Port. Etat du Siege de Rome.

[1] Jo. Burchardi Mail de Rom. Pontif. elect. p. 93, not. c.

of *St. Peter*, and the people of *Rome* voluntarily cauſed ſeveral eulogies to be engraved to his honour, particularly one in the area of the capitol, on the triumphal arch of *Septimius Severus* [r].

A. D. 1670

After the uſual ceremonies at the death of the pope, the cardinals entered the conclave on the 20th of *December*, where, upon account of the obſtinacy of the factions, they continued more than four months, before they could agree in their choice of a ſucceſſor to the papal chair. Beſides the *Spaniſh* and *French* factions, and the flying ſquadrons, there were other three parties, headed by *Roſpiglioſi*, *Barberino* the dean of the college, and by cardinal *Chigi*, which laſt, to intimidate his adverſaries, declared, that he propoſed to eat cherries in the conclave; to which *Barberino* replied, that he intended to eat figs. The great number of candidates likewiſe retarded the election; but, after ſeveral excluſions, and a remonſtrance from the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, who was admitted to an audience in the conclave, the intrigues quickly ceaſed. The old cardinals declared, that they would agree to the choice of any one to obtain their liberty; and *Roſpiglioſi*, *Barberino*, and *Chigi*, finding that their obſtinacy had no other effect than to retard the election, at laſt united their intereſt in favour of cardinal *Emilio Altieri*, a decrepid old man, of eighty years of age, who, on the 29th of *April*, was elected pope by fifty-nine voices, and aſſumed the name of *Clement* X [s].

Clement X. *is elected.*

His election gave great joy to the *Romans*, as he was deſcended of a *Patrician Roman* family, which had been illuſtrious for more than 600 years. His brother had been created a cardinal by *Urban* VIII. but did not long ſurvive his promotion. The ſame pope ſent *Emilio* into *Poland*, as auditor to the nuncio, and, upon his return, gave him the government of *Ravenna*, created him biſhop of *Camerino*, and ſent him as nuncio to *Naples*, where he reſided during the inſurrection of *Maſſaniello*. During the pontificate of *Innocent* X. he was recalled to *Rome*, and likewiſe deprived of his revenues; but upon the election of *Alexander* VII. his reputation was reſtored, and he obtained the nunciature of *Poland*. *Clement* IX. declared him chief of his bed-chamber, and when he was lying on his death-bed, upon his own ſollicitation, created him a cardinal [t].

[r] Nodot. relat. de la Cour de Rome, let. ii. Contin. de Mezerai, Rycaut. [s] Heydegger Hiſt. Papat. Etat du Siege de Rome. Hiſt. des Conclaves, t. ii. [t] Idem ibid.

Imme-

IMMEDIATELY after his election, as he had no near relations of his own name, he adopted cardinal *Paluzzi* as his nephew, for no other apparent reaſon, but becauſe his niece Donna *Laura Altieri* was married to the cardinal's nephew Don *Gaſparo Paluzzi*. He ceded to the family of the *Paluzzi* all the revenues of the houſe of *Altieri*, erected their caſtle *Ruſſina* into a principality, and appointed Don *Angelo*, the cardinal's brother, general of the gallies, and Don *Gaſparo*, his nephew, general of the forces of the church [u]. This ſudden promotion of the family of *Paluzzi*, which was known to be poor and loaded with debts, greatly ſurprized the *Romans*, who dreaded that the new cardinal nephew and his relations would uſurp the whole adminiſtration, and govern with great avarice and extortion. It quickly appeared that their fears were juſt; for cardinal *Paluzzi*, or *Altieri*, refuſed to affix the ſeal to ſeveral grants and favours which the pope, according to the uſual cuſtom, had beſtowed at his coronation, under pretence that his holineſs had been ſurpriſed, or that the benefices had been diſpoſed of before. He likewiſe gave orders to the maſter of the pope's chamber, and to all the attendants near his perſon, not to permit any addreſſes, petitions, or memorials, to be preſented to the pope, without his knowlege and permiſſion. Thus the cardinal nephew aſſumed an abſolute power, and diſpoſed of all offices, benefices, and places of truſt, according to his pleaſure, which was always regulated by the greateſt profit; which proceeding occaſioned a univerſal murmuring among the *Romans*, many of whom, ſince the promotion of the pope, deduced their lineage from ſome branch or other of the family of *Altieri*, and pretended to be his relations either by blood or alliance. The oppoſition to the exorbitant and deſpotic power of the nephew was not ſo great, however, as might have been expected; for as it was confined to eccleſiaſtical affairs and domeſtic concerns, it was overlooked at firſt by the courts of *France* and *Spain*; and the cardinals hoped, that, from the great age of the pope, it would be of very ſhort duration. But this very reaſon prompted the cardinal nephew to make the greateſt advantage of his preſent proſperity; he therefore ſought, by all means, to eſtabliſh the grandeur of his family, and ſoon after contracted an alliance with the houſe of *Colonna*.

He adopts cardinal Paluzzi *as his nephew,*

who aſſumes a moſt abſolute power.

MEAN while the pope received a ſplendid embaſſy from the king of *Spain*, who ſent the viceroy of *Naples*, with the title of ambaſſador extraordinary, to *Rome*, to make the preſent A. D. 1671.

[u] Hiſt. des Familles de Rome.

of the white gennet, and to perform the ceremony of obedience for the kingdom of *Naples*. After his departure, father *Nitardo*, inquiſitor general of *Spain*, was left as reſident ambaſſador at *Rome*, and was dignified with the title of archbiſhop of *Edeſſa* by the pope, who the following year promoted him, and ſeveral others, to the dignity of cardinal *.

Pius V. is canonized. *Clement*, about the ſame time, likewiſe canonized pope *Pius* V. at the ſollicitation of the *Dominicans*, tho', by the perſuaſion of *Altieri*, he refuſed to concern himſelf with the affairs of *Poland*, which was almoſt wholly over-run with the arms of the *Turks*. That he might not ſeem, however, intirely to neglect the Chriſtian cauſe, he raiſed the ſum of 300,000 crowns, by a tax on eccleſiaſtical benefices in *Italy*, as a ſubſidy to the *Poles*, of which only 50,000 crowns were ſent into *Poland*, the reſt being detained by *Altieri* for his own uſe. The king of *Poland* dying about the ſame time, *Altieri*, to gratify the *Spaniards*, preſumed to recommend prince *Charles* of *Lorrain* as a proper ſucceſſor; but the *Poliſh* nobility, who had never received kings at the nomination and recommendation of *Rome*, choſe the great general of the crown, *John Sobieski*, who, according to the uſual privilege, immediately after his election nominated the biſhop of *Marſeilles*, as the perſon for whom he deſired the cardinal's hat. *Altieri*, at the deſire of the *Spaniards*, made an objection to his nomination; and though the king perſiſted in the choice that he had made, he ſtill prevented the pope from beſtowing the hat; on which account, during the whole reign of *Clement*, there was a bad correſpondence betwixt *Poland* and the court of *Rome*.

A.D. 1673.

A diſpute with the French king concerning the regalia. THE cardinal nephew, however, was more favourable to the family of the late pope; for, about the beginning of the following year, he perſuaded *Clement* to beſtow the hat he had received from his predeceſſor upon *Felice Roſpiglioſi*. About the ſame time he engaged him in a diſpute with the *French* king, who intending to reform the order of St. *Lazarus*, for that purpoſe appointed a new chief or general, in conſequence of the right of regalia, or *jus patronatus*, which he affirmed was inherent in his crown. *Altieri*, to vindicate the papal authority from the king's uſurpations, perſuaded a certain *Gaſcon*, who had come to *Rome* for preferment, to accept of the honour of the abbot of the order of St. *Lazarus*, and conferred upon him the abbacy of St. *Colombiere*. This proceeding of *Altieri* was reſented with great warmth by the *French* ambaſſador, who impriſoned the

* RYCAUT.

ſcrivener

ſcrivener that had drawn up the new abbot's memorial to the pope. The *Gaſcon*, however, had the confidence to return to *France*; but he had no ſooner entered the kingdom, than he was ſeized and committed to priſon. *Lewis* XIV. publiſhed an edict the following year in defence of his right of regalia, which he affirmed extended over all his kingdom, though the biſhops of *Pamiers*, *Alets*, and ſome others, alleged, that their dioceſes were exempted [x]. A.D. 1674.

ALTIERI in the mean time ſtill governed at *Rome*, in his uſual arbitrary manner; and as the farmers and collectors of the cuſtoms and impoſitions, which are laid on all ſorts of proviſions brought into *Rome*, complained greatly of the frauds and abuſes committed by foreign miniſters, who allowed great quantities of proviſions to be brought into the city by private perſons under their name, he publiſhed an edict, depriving the ambaſſadors and cardinals of their immunities, and ordering them to pay the ſame taxes as others for all proviſions which they uſed. By this edict, he in ſome meaſure appeaſed the farmers, whom he had obliged to give a greater ſum than uſual for the cuſtoms, on account of the approach of the jubilee year. But the ambaſſadors complained loudly of his arbitrary and irregular government, and agreed to go in a body, and to demand an immediate audience of the pope, and reſolved for the future not to acknowlege him as cardinal nephew. He, however, prevented their acceſs to the palace, by drawing chains acroſs the ſtreets, and placing guards at the avenues; and being ſure of the protection of the pope, he behaved with ſuch reſolution, that they were obliged in the end to comply with the edict, which, however, was not rigorouſly put in execution, they being ſtill allowed, in ſome meaſure, to enjoy their immunities by way of indulgence [y]. All the ambaſſadors then, by orders from their courts, were reconciled to him, except the duke *d'Etrees*, the ambaſſador of *France*, who alleged, as the cauſe of his remaining diſcontent, that *Altieri* had made ſecret offers to aſſiſt the *Spaniards* in regaining *Meſſina* from the *French*. Altieri *deprives the ambaſſadors of their immunities.*

THE following year the jubilee was celebrated according to the uſual manner; and as *Italy* was at this time free from the diſturbances of war, great numbers of pilgrims and ſtrangers crowded to *Rome*, to receive the benefits of indulgences and pardons. During this feſtival *Clement* created ſix cardinals, among whom was *Philip Howard*, a *Domini-* 1675.

[x] Idem ibid. De LARREY Hiſt. de Louis XIV. t. iv. p. 199.
[y] Etat du Siege de Rome, t. i. p. 157 & 158.

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can, of the illuſtrious family of *Norfolk*, who had been great almoner to the queen of *England*. About the ſame time he received a letter from the king of *Perſia*, concerning an alliance againſt the *Turks*, in anſwer to one that his predeceſſor had written to that prince [z]. Another alliance againſt the grand ſignor was alſo propoſed to him, by an ambaſſador that arrived at *Rome* from *Muſcovy*. *Clement* received this ambaſſador with great reſpect: no treaty, however, was concluded, in conſequence of his embaſſy; and he returned to *Muſcovy* diſſatisfied, becauſe the pope refuſed the title of emperor to his maſter [a]. Soon after *Clement* had a diſpute with the viceroy of *Naples*, who having formed a reſolution of extirpating the banditti from that kingdom, had for ſome time proceeded againſt them with great rigour, and had even ordered ſome of them to be ſeized within the juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The pope did not live to receive ſatisfaction for this inſult, but died a few months after, on the 22d of *July*, loaded with old age, which had enfeebled his underſtanding, and reduced him to dotage. A few hours before his death, *Altieri* preſſed him to fill up four vacant places of cardinals with creatures of his own, but he would not conſent; and to ſtop his importunity, he ſaid to him, ſomewhat moved, "You ought to be content "as you have been pope for ſix years: ſuffer me now "to follow my own inclinations, and to be pope for ſix "hours only [b]." He is commended for his goodneſs and moderation [c]; but he was treated by the *Romans* with great contempt, for ſuffering the *Altieri* to govern in a moſt ſcandalous manner, and to oppreſs his ſubjects in order to enrich themſelves, and to build one of the fineſt palaces in *Rome* [d].

An ambaſſador arrives at Rome *from* Muſcovy. A. D. 1676.

Clement *dies at* Rome.

Innocent XI. *is elected.*

As cardinal *Altieri*, on account of his arbitrary proceedings, had incurred the public hate, it was generally believed, that, upon the death of the pope, he would be removed from all his offices, and deprived of his ſuffrage in the enſuing conclave; but the immenſe wealth that he had acquired during the ſhort reign of his reputed uncle, procured him a great number of friends; ſo that after the pope's death was publiſhed, and the *ſigillum piſcatorium* broken in pieces, he quitted *Monte Cavallo*, and repaired, with a numerous train, to his new palace, where he received viſits of condolance from the cardinals, princes, ambaſſadors, prelates, and nobles. After the funeral obſequies of the late pope were per-

[z] Hiſt. des Familles de Rome. [a] Ibid. [b] Rycaut.
[c] Amat. de Graveson Hiſt. Eccleſ. t. viii. [d] Rycaut.

formed,

formed, the cardinals entered the conclave in proceſſion on the 2d of *Auguſt*, and next day, after ſome others had come in, which made their number amount to fifty-two, the doors were ſhut, and the guard committed to prince *Savelli*. Several candidates were propoſed and rejected at various ſcrutinies, the time being conſumed in a trifling manner till the 1ſt of *September*, when four other cardinals from *France* entered the conclave. Though at ſeveral ſcrutinies many votes had appeared in favour of *Odeſcalchi*, yet the election was ſtill deferred, till a courier ſhould return from *France* with the approbation of *Lewis* XIV. His recommendation being obtained, the *French* ambaſſador entered the conclave, and preſented his letters to the cardinals, who accordingly, on the 21ſt of *September*, after the ambaſſador had retired, choſe *Odeſcalchi*, who took the name of *Innocent* XI [e].

He had been a candidate at the former election; but the auſterity of his manners, and the innocence of his life, prevented him from ſucceeding [f]. At this conclave he ſhewed ſome reluctance to accept of the pontifical dignity; and before he would conſent, he propoſed ſome articles for the reformation of the eccleſiaſtical government which he required the cardinals to ſubſcribe to the performance of [g]. His former name was *Benedict*, and he was born at *Como*, of a very antient family, which is even ſaid to have flouriſhed in the times of the *Lombards* and *Charlemagne* [h]. In his youth he was educated in his own country by the *Jeſuits*, and afterwards he ſtudied the civil and canon law, partly at *Rome* and partly at *Naples*. He propoſed at firſt to follow the profeſſion of arms in the *Neapolitan* ſervice; but ſtopping at *Rome* in his way to *Naples*, he was prevailed upon to embrace an eccleſiaſtical life; and having a conſiderable revenue of his own, he was immediately made a prelate [i]. *Urban* VIII. made him one of the prothonotaries of the apoſtolic chamber, and afterwards preſident of the ſame; then commiſſary of the province of *La Marca*, and governor of *Macerata*. Upon his return to *Rome* he made a preſent of a valuable ſervice of plate to Donna *Olympia*, which he obſerved ſhe had coveted, and by that means obtained the office of clerk of the chamber. Soon after, by voluntarily loſing conſiderable ſums of money in her houſe at play, he was rewarded with a cardinal's hat, and was afterwards appointed legate at *Ferrara*, and biſhop of *Novara*, which biſhopric, ſome years

[e] Hiſt. des Conclaves, t. ii. RYCAUT. [f] AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE. [g] RYCAUT. [h] Campana Traite des Familles illuſtres d'Italie. [i] Etat du Siege de Rome.

after, he resigned to his brother, as the air of that place did not agree with his health [k]. In the mean time he lived at *Rome* in a retired and modest manner, and was looked upon as a good and charitable man, disengaged from the world, without pride, vanity, and pomp, moderately zealous, without bigotry, and chiefly severe upon himself [l].

He proposes a general reformation.

AFTER his elevation he no sooner took the government of affairs into his own hands, than he began a reformation in several particulars. He determined to abolish nepotism, and prohibited his nephew Don *Livio* from receiving or returning visits, as nephew of the pope. The senate of *Venice* honoured him with the title of nobility, and he was created duke of *Ceri*, which were all the honours he acquired; for the pope by no intreaties could be prevailed upon to make him general of the church, or cardinal patron. *Innocent* even proposed by a bull, for ever to abolish that name and office; but he could not obtain the consent of the cardinals, of those especially who aspired at the pontificate. In the mean time he was indefatigable in re-establishing his finances, which were in the utmost disorder; in reforming the divine service, in correcting several abuses in the city, and in endeavouring to revive modesty and virtue among the ecclesiastics and religious orders. He immediately sent nuncios to *France*, *Spain*, *Poland*, and *Portugal*, exhorting them to peace; and abolished a great many indulgences, confraternities, and new offices, invented by superstition and monkery. He prohibited the *Jews* from dealing in usury, though he himself became afterwards the most insufferable usurer, by threatening to reduce the interest of the money in the public bank one-half *per cent.* unless the proprietors would accept of 70 crowns for a hundred [m].

To assist him in the administration of the government, *Innocent* made choice of cardinal *Cibo*, whom he appointed superintendant and secretary of the ecclesiastical state. At the same time he reduced his army and increased the number of archers at *Rome*, with the intention of proceeding severely against all kinds of criminals. He publicly reproved the cardinals for their pomp and luxury, sent the bishops who remained at *Rome* to their dioceses, appointed four divines to reform the abuses of the church, and four cardinals, with as many clergymen, to examine the lives and manners of

[k] Hist. des Familles de Rome. Voyage Hist. d'Italie, t. i. let. xxxii. [l] NODOT relat. de la Cour de Rome. [m] HEYDEGGER Hist. du Papat. par. ii. p. 297. Hist. des Familles de Rome. BURNET's Travels.

those

thoſe who aſpired to the prieſthood, and ordered that none ſhould be admitted to that dignity, who were in the leaſt blemiſhed with an ill fame, or had not applied themſelves to ſtudy [n]. To prevent the *Altieri*, as he ſaid, from plundering elſewhere, he allowed them to remain in *Rome*, and continued them in their military and other employments.

He ſends a nuncio to aſſiſt at the negociations at Nimeguen. A. D. 1677.

THE following year the conferences for a general peace being appointed at *Nimeguen*, he ſent his nuncio thither, to act as mediator, who, though he was not acknowleged in that character by the proteſtant powers, yet received particular honours from the magiſtrates of the city, who offered him all ſecurity for the free exerciſe of his religion during the congreſs [o]. Mean while great diſturbances happening at *Rome*, on account of the franchiſes and immunities claimed by ambaſſadors, *Innocent* reſolved intirely to aboliſh them, the bulls publiſhed againſt thoſe privileges by his predeceſſors *Julius* III. *Pius* IV. *Gregory* XIII. and *Sixtus* V. having been hitherto ineffectual. As the ambaſſadors extended their privileges to a conſiderable extent round their houſes, ſo as to comprehend ſeveral ſtreets, through which the officers of juſtice were not even allowed to walk, a ſanctuary was thereby afforded to an infinite number of criminals, and the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador at this time was accuſed of abuſing this privilege, by confining in his quarter a great number of preſſed men, who were to be ſhipped off to recruit the army at *Meſſina*. This report occaſioned ſeveral tumults in *Rome*, which the pope endeavoured to ſuppreſs, by puniſhing the rioters ſeverely: but to put a ſtop to the original cauſe of the diſorder, he publiſhed an edict, intirely aboliſhing the privileges of quarters, againſt which the ambaſſadors proteſted, but without any effect; the pope continuing firm and reſolute, and prevailing upon the queen of *Sweden* to renounce the privileges of her quarter, as an example to the reſt [p].

He aboliſhes the franchiſes of ambaſſadors.

BEFORE this conteſt about the franchiſes was intirely ſettled, the pope was engaged in another with the king of *France* about the regalia, or the right of inveſtiture of biſhopricks. Since the publication of the king's edict, declaring that right inherent in the crown, there had been ſome diſpute in *France* betwixt the king and the biſhop of *Pamiers*, who refuſed to accept of one nominated by the king as his

A difference betwixt him and the king of France.

[n] HEYDEGGER, RYCAUT, ut ſupra. [o] Lettr. & Negot. des Ambaſ. Francois, t. ii. p. 216. De LARREY Hiſt. de Lous XIV. [p] Lettr. ſur les Matieres du temps. RIENCOURT. Jo. BURCHARD de elect. Roman. Pontif. p. 93, not. E. Etat du Siege de Rome. RYCAUT.

arch-

A. D. 1678. archdeacon, and appealed to the pope. *Clement* X. did not concern himself much in the controversy; but *Innocent* espoused the cause of the bishop, and wrote two briefs to the king, exhorting him not to violate the liberties of the church, by subjecting those dioceses to the regalia who were exempted from it; concluding, "That he had not forgot those popes "his predecessors, who, upon the like occasions, had en- "dured long and great afflictions [q]." These two briefs producing no effect, the following year he wrote a third, threatening the king with ecclesiastical censures, if he did not revoke the edict which he had published. As *Lewis* had sequestered all the revenues of the bishop of *Pamiers*, 1679. the pope likewise wrote to the cardinal *d'Estrees*, desiring him to use all his influence in support of the authority of the holy see; but, by the cardinal's answer, he found that he was more attached to the king than to the see of *Rome*. The cardinal, indeed, soon after was sent to *Rome* to treat with the pope; but his negociation was ineffectual, both parties insisting obstinately upon their different pretensions. *Lewis* XIV. in the mean time assembled all the bishops then at *Paris*, who asserted the authority of national churches in judging of all matters, both of faith and manners; and prayed his majesty to give leave for assembling a national council or general assembly.

The clergy of France declare against the pretensions of the pope, A. D. 1682.

THE king consented to call a general assembly, which was accordingly summoned to meet the 1st of *October* following. Its first deliberations were concerning the regalia, which question was debated for some time. At length, on the 3d of *February*, an act was signed, whereby they declared, that the right to the regalia was inherent in the crown, and ought to prevail through the whole kingdom, without regarding the pretended exemption of some bishoprics. The prelates likewise wrote concerning the dispute to his holiness; and, a few days after, the archbishop of *Paris* presented the act to the king, together with the letter to the pope, which they begged his majesty to order the duke *d'Etrees* to deliver to his holiness. They in the mean time continued their assembly, and made several regulations concerning morals and church discipline. To put a stop to the usurpations of the see of *Rome*, they drew up four propositions; by the first of which they affirmed, that a general council was above the pope, according to the doctrine established in the 4th and 5th sessions of the council of *Constance*, rejecting the opinion of those who allege that the doctrine

[q] RYCAUT.

above-

above-mentioned is only true during a ſchiſm. In the 2d they aſſerted, that neither the pope nor the univerſal church, has any power over the temporal juriſdiction of kings, who cannot be depoſed, and whoſe ſubjects can never be abſolved from their oath of allegiance. By the 3d they declared, that the power of the pope ought to be limited by the canons, and that he had no authority to decree any thing contrary to the liberties of the *Gallican* church, and to the maxims eſtabliſhed by the councils. In the laſt they maintained, that the deciſions of the pope in matters of faith are not authentic, without the conſent of the univerſal church; therefore that he was not infallible, unleſs at the head of a council, and then only when he decreed according to the deciſions of the ſaid council. The king, by an edict, ordered the profeſſors in divinity and the canon law to teach theſe four propoſitions, and all his ſubjects to receive them, prohibiting the publiſhing of any doctrines that were contrary to them [r].

DURING theſe tranſactions in *France*, in oppoſition to the papal power, *Innocent* furniſhed the emperor with ſeveral ſubſidies againſt the *Turks* who aſſiſted the rebels in *Hungary*, and threatened to invade that kingdom. He likewiſe condemned ſixty-five propoſitions about caſes of morality, which were partly drawn from the writings of the *Jeſuits*, and tended to the depravation of manners. And as there were no leſs than twenty-ſix vacancies in the ſacred college, he made a promotion of ſixteen cardinals, reſerving the other ten hats to gratify kings or princes, who ſhould deſire that dignity for any of their favourites [s]. Being informed of the proceedings of the *French* biſhops, he immediately called a conſiſtory, in which they were formally condemned, and their four propoſitions ordered to be burnt: and in anſwer to their letter, he wrote to them in very ſevere terms, accuſing them of betraying the cauſe of God, and aſſuring them, that he was reſolved, at the hazard of his life, to defend the honour and authority of the holy ſee [t]. The cardinal *d'Eſtrees* ſtill reſiding at *Rome*, and finding the pope inflexible, the controverſy was allowed to remain in ſuſpence, rather than occaſion a breach of amity with the holy ſee;

who condemns their proceedings.

[r] Idem ibid. HEYDEGGER. Contin. de MEZERAI. DE LAROQUE nouv. Traité de la Regale. RIENCOURT. DE LARREY ut ſupra. DU PIN nouv. Bibliot. des Aut. Eccleſ. t. xix. BURNET's Treatiſe on the Regalia. [s] RYCAUT. [t] HEYDEGGER Hiſt. Papat.

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the pope, nevertheleſs, during the reſt of his pontificate, retained a warm reſentment againſt the *French*.

He aſſiſts the emperor againſt the Turks, A. D. 1683.

THE following year, *Innocent* being informed of the immenſe preparations made by the *Turks*, which were deſigned againſt the emperor, he urged the king of *Poland* to conclude an alliance with *Leopold*, which was accordingly negociated by his nuncio at *Warſovia*; by which *Sobieski* engaged to march in perſon to the relief of *Vienna* if it ſhould be beſieged [u]. Tho' the infidels, in the end of *September*, were ignominiouſly defeated, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege of that city with great loſs, yet as the year after they ſtill continued their incurſions in *Hungary*, the pope was very ſollicitous to form a general league againſt them, and offered to contribute to the utmoſt of his power by ſubſidies in money, which he continued from time to time to ſend to *Vienna*, prevailing at laſt with the *Venetians* to join in the alliance with the emperor and the king of *Poland* [w].

and publicly approves of the revocation of the edict of Nantz. 1686.

DURING the progreſs of the war in *Hungary* againſt the infidels, the pope received the news of the revocation of the edict of *Nantz*, and of the proſecution of the proteſtants in *France*, on which account great rejoicings were made at *Rome*. The pope wrote to the king, commending his zeal and ſingular piety, and ordered *Te Deum* to be ſung, and the cannon of *St. Angelo* to be fired. He likewiſe teſtified his joy on that account in a *Latin* diſcourſe which he made to the conſiſtory; though ſeveral authors affirm, on the teſtimony of a letter which then appeared under the name of the queen of *Sweden* [x], that the pope diſapproved of the cruelties exerciſed againſt the proteſtants; while others ſay, that he was ignorant of their ſufferings, his health not allowing him to read the treatiſes which were then publiſhed on that ſubject [y].

INNOCENT in the mean time endeavoured, with great zeal, to repreſs the immodeſty and luxury of the dreſs of the women at *Rome*. In the firſt years of his pontificate he had ordered the capuchins, both confeſſors and preachers, to labour for the reformation of manners; and as the panic which had ſeized *Italy*, upon the irruption of the *Turks* into *Germany*, produced no effect, about that time he publiſhed an edict, ordering the women, both married and unmarried, to

[u] Recueil des Traitez de Paix, &c. t. iv. p. 560. [w] RYCAUT. [x] BAYLE nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres, Mai 1686. [y] Memoires du Marquis de LA FERE. BAYLE, ut ſupra. JUILET. 1686. Les Actes de l'Aſſemblee Generale du Clerge de France 1685, concernant la Religon, avec des Reflexions ſur ſes Actes, edit. 1686.

cover

cover their ſhoulders and boſom to the neck, and their arms to the wriſt, threatening thoſe who did not obey within ſix days with excommunication, *ipſo facto*; and declaring that confeſſors, who ſhould preſume to abſolve any one, ſhould themſelves incur the excommunication, and beſides be liable to all the ſpiritual and temporal puniſhments his holineſs ſhould think proper; which temporal puniſhments fathers, huſbands, maſters, and heads of families, ſhould likewiſe incur, if they connived at the breach of the edict in any of thoſe under their authority. Theſe terrible menaces, however, produced but little reformation; ſo that this year the pope publiſhed another prohibition, expreſsly forbidding the women to employ any maſter of muſic to teach them to ſing, or to play on any inſtrument, even though the maſter ſhould be an eccleſiaſtic, or their own near relation; at the ſame time ordering the nuns, who were uſed to ſing at divine ſervice, to learn only from other nuns their companions [z].

Sumptuary laws againſt luxury of dreſs.

SOON after the pope was offended with the treaty of *Augſburgh*, concluded betwixt the emperor, the king of *Spain*, and the eſtates of the empire, for their mutual defence againſt the enterprizes of the *French* king; not that he favoured the ambitious ſchemes of *Lewis* XIV. but becauſe the contracting powers had declared, in expreſs words, that they intended to provide againſt all infractions of the truce by *France*, both in ſpirituals and temporals. He inſiſted upon an alteration of that article; and his deſire not being complied with, he withdrew his ſubſidy from the emperor, though at the ſame time he granted a conſiderable ſum to the king of *Poland* [a]. This bad correſpondence betwixt him and the emperor continued but for a ſhort time; for, in the beginning of the following year, he renewed the ſubſidy, and granted a red hat to one of his nomination.

A. D. 1687.

ABOUT this time the ſect of the *Quietiſts* began to appear at *Rome*, and in ſeveral other cities of *Italy*. The author of the ſect was one *Molinos*, a *Spaniſh* prieſt, who ſome time before had publiſhed a book, intituled, *Il guida ſpirituale*; in which he advanced ſeveral uncommon doctrines; and making ſmall account of corporal auſterities, reduced all the exerciſes of religion to a ſimplicity of mind, and abſtract devotion by a ſilent contemplation of God, and withdrawing the ſoul from all groſs images. Several of his tenets, however, were alleged to have an immoral tendency; ſo that the

The ſect of the Quietiſts *is ſuppreſſed.*

[z] BAYLE, ut ſupra. & Dict. Hiſt. & Crit. art. Innocent XI. rem. K. [a] Hiſt. des Papes, a la Haye, an. 1734.

pope, at the inſtigation of the *Jeſuits*, ordered him, and ſeveral of his followers, to be impriſoned in the inquiſition, where he was put to the torture, to prevail with him to abjure his opinions. He, nevertheleſs, defended his doctrines with great ſubtilty, to the ſurprize of the cardinals and divines that examined him. The pope himſelf is ſaid to have looked upon him as a good man, and to have had a great opinion of his ſanctity; and ſeveral of the cardinals were thought to have ſecretly embraced his opinions: however, he was condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and obliged to abjure ſixty-eight propoſitions taken from his works [b].

A rupture betwixt the pope and the king of France.

THE pope was not only diſturbed with the affair of *Molinos*, but likewiſe with the pretenſions of the *French* king to the privilege of franchiſes at *Rome*. The duke *d'Etrees* dying the foregoing year, *Innocent* ordered his nuncio at *Paris* to inform the king of his reaſons for aboliſhing franchiſes, and to deſire him to drop all pretenſions to that privilege: but *Lewis* XIV. replied in a haughty manner, that he intended to ſend another ambaſſador to *Rome*, and was reſolved to maintain the antient rights of his crown in that city. *Innocent*, irritated by this reply, on the 2d day of *May* publiſhed a bull, denouncing the penalty of the greater excommunication againſt all thoſe, whether eccleſiaſtics or ſeculars, who ſhould claim or defend the privileges commonly called franchiſes, or ſhould, directly or indirectly, diſturb the officers of juſtice in the execution of their orders. He likewiſe ſent a maſter of the ceremonies to meet the new *French* ambaſſador at *Bologna*, to declare to him, that he would not be received in that character, unleſs he renounced his pretenſions to the franchiſes. The marquis *de Lavardin* the ambaſſador, without ſatisfying the maſter of the ceremonies, proceeded to *Rome*, attended by 200 officers, and 500 marine guards; and having intimidated the pope's officers, who offered to ſearch his baggage, he took poſſeſſion of the whole quarter belonging to his predeceſſor, where he kept a continual guard. The pope, however, refuſed him an audience, treated him as a perſon excommunicated, and interdicted
A. D. 1688. the church and the clergy of the pariſh of St. *Lewis*, where he was informed the ambaſſador on *Chriſtmas*-day had performed his devotions [c]. *Lavardin* proteſted againſt this ſentence of interdiction; and according to orders from his court, appeared frequently in the ſtreets and the churches,

[b] Idem ibid. BURNET's Travels.. [c] DE LARREY, ut ſupra. Contin. de MEZERAI. JAGERUS Hiſt. Eccleſ. & Polit. ſect. xvii. RINCOURT.

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and took all opportunities of asserting the privileges belonging to his character. *Innocent* at the same time renewed the dispute concerning the regalia; and by refusing bulls in favour of those bishops appointed by the king, kept thirty-eight cathedral churches without pastors.

'Tis probable *Innocent* followed the example of his predecessor *Sixtus* V. and saw the necessity of thwarting the ambition of *Lewis* XIV. who at this time disturbed the repose of *Europe*, as much as his catholic majesty *Philip* II. had ever done. Though the *French* king, in resentment, seized the city and county of *Avignon*, in hopes that *Innocent*, like *Alexander* VII. would condescend to a submission, yet he found himself greatly mistaken; for the pope still continued to oppose his designs, and soon after refused to confirm the election of cardinal *Furstemberg* to the see of *Cologn*, under pretence that he was a person of a bad character, but in reality because he was a creature of *France*, and his interest had been espoused by *Lewis* XIV. who expected by his promotion to have the electorate of *Cologn* at his devotion. Though the cardinal's competitor, prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, lay under several incapacities, the pope removed these by a bull, and confirmed him in the archbishopric, which served *Lewis* XIV. with a pretence to renew the war [d]. On this occasion the pope was accused by *La Fontaine*, *Racine*, and a great number of other *French* writers, of abandoning the catholic cause, which they alleged was promoted by the conquests of their monarch [e]. The *Jesuits* even in some monasteries, ordered public prayers to be made for his conversion [f].

The pope refuses to confirm the election of cardinal Furstemberg *to the see of* Cologn. A. D. 1689.

It is certain that *Innocent* did not warmly countenance the designs of *James* II. of *England*, for restoring the catholic religion in that kingdom. He had indeed appointed a nuncio at *London*, but he received the *English* ambassador at *Rome* with great indifference; and one Mr. *Porter* coming at this time to *Rome*, to ask his assistance in the expedition which king *James* was then undertaking for his restoration, he granted him only some chaplets and indulgences, while at the same time he sent money to the emperor to be employed against the *Turks*, which was in reality made use of to oppose the king's return [g]. Mean while the distempers, which he

[d] La Comtesse de La Fayette mem. de la Cour de France, p. 10. [e] La Fontaine Oeuvres Post. p. 182. Racine Prologue d'Esther. [f] Considerations sur les Affaires de l'Eglise. [g] La Fayette mem. de la Cour de France, p. 220 & 221.

He dies at Rome. had for a considerable time laboured under, increasing, he died on the 12th of *August*, in the 78th year of his age, to the great joy of the *French*, who had waited for his death with much impatience. He was reckoned one of the best popes that for a long time had filled the papal chair: his subjects, nevertheless, still felt the miseries of a despotic government to a great degree, as he did not abolish any of the taxes of his predecessors, while at the same time he kept a very frugal court, did not employ any money in public buildings, and neglected to fill up the vacancies in the sacred college; so that the circulation of money being languid, and the taxes excessive high, great numbers of people were compelled to leave his territories. On this account it was believed that *Rome* lost one-fourth part of its inhabitants during his pontificate [h].

Alexander VIII. is elected. THE successor of *Innocent* XI. was *Peter Ottoboni*, who was chosen pope on the 6th of *October*, and took the name of *Alexander* VIII. He was descended of an antient family at *Venice*; which is said to have come originally from the island *Negropont* in the *Archipelago*. Some of his ancestors had distinguished themselves in the wars of the republic against the *Turks*: his father had enjoyed the office of grand chancellor of the republic, and had purchased a patent of nobility, which had cost him 100,000 ducats. After he had finished his studies at *Venice* and *Padua*, at which last place he took the degree of doctor of laws, he went to *Rome*, in the 20th year of his age, where *Urban* VIII. made him referendary of both signatures, appointed him governor of *Terni*, *Rieti*, and *Citta Castellana*, and afterwards, at the nomination of the republic, made him one of the auditors of the rota or rolls. *Innocent* X. created him a cardinal priest, and two years after conferred upon him the bishopric of *Brescia*. *Alexander* VII. recalled him to *Rome*, and appointed him datary. He had a great share in the public affairs during *Clement* IX. *Clement* X. and *Innocent* XI. was a member of all the congregations at *Rome*, and, when promoted to the pontificate, was bishop of *Frescati*, and subdean of the sacred college. He was of an active, vigilant disposition, had a smiling aspect, and agreeable manners; so that having acquired a general esteem, his election gave great joy to the *Romans* [i].

[h] BURNET's Travels. [i] Mem. des Intrigues du Conclave de l'Année 1689. BAYLE Dict. art. Ottoboni, Le Mercure Gallant du Mois d'Octobre 1689. Hist. de Familles de Rome.

ALTHO'

ALTHOUGH he was older than the deceaſed pope when he arrived at the pontificate, yet he acted in the beginning of his reign with great vigour, and deſired to examine and to tranſact every affair himſelf. He immediately wrote to *James* II. late king of *England*, exhorting him to ſuffer his adverſe fortune patiently, and promiſing to ſpare neither his prayers, authority, nor purſe, for his reſtoration [k]. As *Lewis* XIV. had renewed the war with the emperor, he deſired to ſecure the favour of the pope, and therefore immediately reſtored *Avignon*, and dropp'd his pretenſions to the franchiſes at *Rome*: *Alexander* in return, ſeeming not to give great attention to the diſpute concerning the regalia, which had continued in ſuſpence during the reign of his predeceſſor. The chief advantage, however, that the king of *France* gained by his good correſpondence with the new pope, was a delay of the peace which the emperor deſired to conclude with the *Turks*, with the intention of turning the whole of his force againſt *France*. *Alexander*, by his exhortations, and by the ſubſidies which he granted to *Leopold* and the *Venetians*, prevailed with them to continue the war againſt the infidels.

He promiſes aſſiſtance to the abdicated king of England.

BUT the chief concern of the pope was the aggrandizing of his family; for he promoted all his nephews within three weeks after his elevation. He created his grand nephew cardinal patron, legate of *Avignon*, and grand chancellor of the *Roman* church, which laſt office *Innocent* XI. had aboliſhed. He afterwards conferred upon him ſuch a number of benefices, that his annual revenue amounted to 80,000 crowns. He appointed his nephew, Don *Antonio*, general of the forces of the church, and another nephew, Don *Marco*, general of the gallies, and afterwards duke of *Fiano*, which duchy he purchaſed for him, and likewiſe procurred for him an advantageous marriage with the houſe of *Colonna* [l] (D).

He obſerves no meaſures in aggrandizing his family.

[k] Mem. de la Comteſſe, ut ſupra.

[l] Etat du Siege de Rome, l. ii. p. 83.

(D) *Alexander*, ſoon after his promotion, aſked one of his intimates, What the *Romans* ſaid of him? He anſwered, that they ſaid he did not loſe time in advancing his family; to which the pope replied, *Oh, ſono vinti tre hore e mezza*, Three and twenty hours and a half of the day are already expired; the *Italians* not dividing their day by two diviſions of twelve hours, but by one diviſion of twenty-four (1).

(1) *Menagiana*, p. 208.

He renews the dispute with France about the regalia. A. D. 1690.

NOTWITHSTANDING the seeming attachment the pope at first discovered to the interests of *France*, he soon renewed the dispute concerning the regalia; and the following year he refused the bulls to those prelates who had assisted at the general assembly of the clergy at *Paris*, unless they would agree to a recantation. The prelates rejected this condition, while both courts seemed averse to a rupture, and consented to a negociation, to put an end to the dispute. The *French* found it inconsistent with their pretensions to grant the terms of satisfaction which the pope demanded; and in the month of *September* a deputy was dispatched to *Rome*, to support the cause of the bishops. The pope, however, though he agreed to a negociation, had resolved not to relinquish his claim; and a few weeks before the arrival of this deputy, had drawn up a bull, condemning the propositions composed by the general assembly. He kept this bull a secret, and still endeavoured to prevail with the king of *France* to comply with his desire; but finding his health declining, and *Lewis* XIV. threatening to re-establish the pragmatic sanction, if the bulls were not granted before *Easter*, he published his bull on the 30th of *January*, and died two days after, in the 81st year of his age, having enjoyed the pontificate only fifteen months and two-days [m]. He greatly disappointed the expectations that were raised upon his promotion, and had rendered himself unacceptable to the empire, *France*, and *Spain*. The *French* writers at first made him the subject of panegyric, but they quickly changed their stile, and published severe satires against him. The *Romans* likewise revenged themselves for the extortions of the *Ottoboni* by daily pasquinades, but the reproaches of the public did not influence his conduct. His predecessor, by oppressing his subjects with grievous taxes, had left about a million and a half of crowns in the treasury, which *Alexander* immediately disposed of. Besides, he gave his nephew 100,000 crowns, which *Innocent* had raised by sequestering the revenues of some vacant churches, as a fund for the subsidies against the *Turks*. He likewise made a promotion of cardinals, by which means several vacancies were made among the clerks of the chamber, each of which offices he sold for 60,000 crowns. He was greatly addicted to pleasantry, and was familiar to every one without distinction. He is accused of a great many vices, but more particularly of drunkenness and atheism [n].

His death. 1691.

[m] Idem ibid. De Larrey Hist. de Louis XIV. [n] Tableau des Papes, art. 51, p. 255—260.

The

THE intrigues of the following conclave delayed the election for ſeveral months; at length, on the 12th of *July*, *Anthony Pignatelli* was elected, and took the name of *Innocent* XII. He was born at *Naples*, of an ancient and noble family, which had originally come from *Tropea*, a city in *Further Calabria*. Having made choice of an eccleſiaſtical life, he came early to *Rome*, where he finiſhed his ſtudies, and afterwards by his merit recommended himſelf to ſeveral popes. *Urban* VIII. made him vice-legate of the duchy of *Urbino*. *Innocent* X. appointed him inquiſitor of *Malta*, governor of *Viterbo*, and nuncio at *Florence*; and his ſucceſſor *Alexander* VII. ſent him as nuncio to *Poland* and *Vienna*. *Clement* X. made him maſter of the houſhold, and *Innocent* XI. honoured him with the hat, created him biſhop of *Faenza*, legate of *Bologna*, and at laſt archbiſhop of *Naples*; in memory of which favours he took the ſame name, and declared that he would do his utmoſt to follow his ſteps, and to aboliſh nepotiſm [o]. He had hitherto lived in an exemplary manner, was remarkable for his ſimplicity, and ſeemed intirely free from artifice and diſſimulation [p]. Innocent XII. *is choſen pope.*

THE rejoicings at *Rome* on account of the election of the new pope were extraordinary. Immediately after his coronation (E) he applied himſelf to redreſs the diſorders occaſioned by the long vacation of the ſee. He refuſed to grant any benefices, or any ſhare in the government, to his relations, and even prohibited them from coming to *Rome*. At the ſame time he declared, that he deſired to be the univerſal father of the church, and of good men; and that he would give employments only to men of merit, without regarding acquaintance or kindred. He forbade the officers of juſtice to take bribes, or to have regard to perſons in the adminiſtration of their office. He had frequent conferences with cardinal *Caſanata* about the means of extirpating the abuſes and diſorders that had crept into the government, and into the city of *Rome*. He recommended good œconomy to the maſters of the houſhould, and to the commiſſaries of *He reforms many abuſes in* Rome.

[o] Hiſt. des Conclaves, p. 328, 329. [p] Mem. des Intrig. du Conclav. 1689, p. 171. Etat du Siege de Rome.

(E) At this ceremony he ordered a great number of medals to be thrown among the people, upon which were ſtruck his arms, conſiſting of three pots, which appeared full of money, and reverſed with theſe words; *Nihil pro me*, Nothing for myſelf (1).

(1) *Hiſt. du Pape a la fin de la Hiſt. des Conclaves.*

the chamber, ordering, that the expence of his dinner ſhould not exceed a feſton, or eighteen pence; and that nothing ſhould be provided for his ſupper. He ſuppreſſed all uſeleſs offices, and by theſe means made a ſaving of 80,000 crowns a year to the apoſtolic chamber, which was indebted 5000000 of crowns, by nepotiſm, during the ſhort reign of his predeceſſor. He ordered the *Sbirri* to go into all the quarters of the ambaſſadors, and commanded the garriſon at *Rome* to aſſiſt them in caſe of need [q]. He ſoon after ordered a young man to be hanged for having offered to oppoſe them; which example of ſeverity, tho' very diſagreeable to the people, was nevertheleſs at this time very neceſſary; for aſſaſſins were become ſo daring and numerous at *Rome*, that, during the late vacation of the ſee, no leſs than 182 perſons were murdered. The ſame day he happened, by a fall, to hurt his thigh, which accident obliged him for ſome time to keep his bed, and interrupted a laudable cuſtom, which he had introduced about a month after his election, of giving public audience every *Monday* to the poor, and to all thoſe who had any thing to propoſe to him.

Gives public audience to the poor, and

ALTHO' he acquired great reputation by his conduct; yet his ſubjects did not receive ſo much advantage from it as might be expected, as he had not the reſolution to grant any favours without conſulting his miniſters. It was, however, a means of the reformation of ſeveral abuſes. Upon receiving a complaint againſt a *Roman* prince, he compelled him to pay his creditors, and to behave to his vaſſals with moderation. He impriſoned a duke in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, for having threatened his uncle, who was a prelate; and baniſhed a cavalier, who had been guilty of ſome irregularities, notwithſtanding the interceſſion of a cardinal his uncle. Some ladies were ſent to the caſtle of *St. Angelo* for having played at baſſet and hazard contrary to his edict; and ſome of the *Sbirri* were whipped for having taken money from ſeveral great players at cards whom they had diſcovered. He prohibited the eccleſiaſtics from wearing perukes, and ordered all the curates at *Rome* to aſſemble every *Wedneſday*, to confer about caſes of conſcience. He was chiefly intent upon doing good to the poor, whom he called his nephews. He ordered 5000 of them to be lodged in the *Lateran* palace, and aſſigned a fund of 300,000 crowns for their ſupport; at the ſame time, to prevent the increaſe of the number of poor, impriſoning or baniſhing all idle perſons who refuſed to work [r].

[q] Hiſt. du Pape a la fin de l' Hiſt. des Concl. [r] Idem ibid.

IN

In the ſecond year of his pontificate, by ſteadineſs and reſolution, he obliged the cardinals to comply with his deſign of aboliſhing nepotiſm. Several members of the ſacred college were equally zealous with himſelf in that affair; and cardinal *Albani*, who was ordered to compoſe the bull, drew it up in the ſtricteſt terms, taking all poſſible precaution to prevent any evaſions of future popes, and limiting the bounties that the moſt indulgent could grant to their nephews, in dignities and benefices, to the ſum of 12,000 crowns. *Innocent* publiſhed the bull, and cauſed it to be ſubſcribed by all the cardinals who were at *Rome*. He likewiſe ſuppreſſed the theatre where the operas were repreſented, and applied himſelf to reform the licentious manners of the regular monks, whoſe ſcandalous lives were a diſgrace to Chriſtianity. As theſe monks were very rich, and very numerous in *Italy*, and were beſides related to ſeveral conſiderable families, it was a bold attempt to venture to diſturb them. Upon the news of the intended reformation, *Italy* and *Rome* were filled with manuſcripts and printed pamphlets, deſcribing, in an exaggerated manner, the abuſes of the court of *Rome*, and exhorting his holineſs to begin at the root, and to reform the ſcandalous diſorders of thoſe who ought to give an example to the lower orders of the church. *Innocent* was not diverted from his intention by theſe writings; but, at length, he dropt the deſign, by the advice of thoſe who foreſaw the impoſſibility of ſucceeding [a].

publiſhes a bull for aboliſhing nepotiſm. A. D. 1692.

Mean while he carried on a negociation with the court of *France*, to regulate the difference about the regalia. *Lewis* XIV. endeavoured, in the beginning of his pontificate, to intimidate him with threats; but, finding him fixed and reſolute, he made ſeveral propoſitions for an accommodation, which were not accepted by the pope, who inſiſted peremptorily upon the ſubmiſſion of the biſhops. *Innocent*, by his firmneſs, at length forced the king to a ſubmiſſion; and the following year the *French* biſhops, who had aſſiſted at the general aſſembly, were compelled to write a *Latin* letter to the pope, wherein they declared, that they proſtrated themſelves at the feet of his holineſs, and that their grief, for the things that had paſſed in the aſſembly which had ſo greatly diſpleaſed him and his predeceſſors, was very great, proceeded from the heart, and was more than they could expreſs. They therefore proteſted, that they held, and ought to hold, as null and invalid, all that had been decreed in that aſſembly with regard to the authority of the church and the pope. By

The French biſhops make their ſubmiſſion to the pope; A. D. 1693.

[a] Hiſt. du Siege de Rome, t. ii. p. 110. 113. 120.

this

this baſe and mean compliance, the court and biſhops of *France* were reconciled to the holy ſee, the deſpotic government in that kingdom forcing the prelates, in this public manner, to ſign what it is more than probable they believed a falſehood [t].

who refuſes to allow the emperor any juriſdiction within the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. A. D. 1694.

INNOCENT, having gained this victory over the *French* monarch, reſolved likewiſe to make the emperor ſubmit to his pretenſions. As there were many ſmall fiefs in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate that acknowleged the emperor as ſovereign, the count of *Martinitz*, the imperial ambaſſador at *Rome*, publiſhed a placard, ordering the poſſeſſors of, and pretenders to, theſe fiefs, to make an acknowlegement to *Leopold*. *Innocent* was highly offended with this proceeding of the ambaſſador, and ordered cardinal *Altieri* to affix another placard, wherein, by his ſovereign authority, he declared all the fiefs within his territories reunited to the chamber of the church. On this account a great number of ſatirical writings were publiſhed by both parties; but the emperor, to prevent a final rupture, recalled his ambaſſador, and in his ſtead ſent the count of *Lamberg*, who ſeemed leſs reſolute than his predeceſſor, and purpoſely dropt the diſpute, leſt the pope, in reſentment, ſhould declare openly for the king of *France*, who at this time had a powerful army in *Italy*, under the command of *Catinat* [u]. *Lewis* XIV. by his ſubmiſſion to *Innocent*, had ſo far gained his favour, that he privately devoted himſelf to the intereſt of *France*, withdrew his ſubſidy from the emperor, and wrote to the king of *Spain* to prevail with him to abandon the general alliance. His catholic majeſty, however, in his anſwer to the pope, juſtified the neceſſity of the war, which, he ſaid, was undertaken to procure the general repoſe of *Europe*, and the advancement of the catholic religion [w].

He perſuades the duke of Savoy to deſert the allies. A. D. 1696.

THE pope, not being able to prevail with the king of *Spain* to agree to a peace with *France*, applied himſelf to the duke of *Savoy*, with whom he was ſucceſsful; for, the offers made by *France* being very conſiderable, the following year the duke concluded a treaty with *Lewis* XIV. by which a neutrality was ſtipulated for *Italy*. *Innocent*, being deſirous to ſee the imperial troops out of *Italy*, ſent a preſent of 60,000 crowns to be diſtributed among the *Germans* [x]. At the ſame time he ſent a ſubſidy to the *Venetians* againſt the *Turks*, and another to king *James*; while at *Rome* he was endeavouring, to the utmoſt of his power, to put a ſtop to the

[t] Mem. Communes du Temps. [u] Etat du Siege de Rome.
[w] Ibid. [x] Europ. Hiſtor. t. ii. Lettres Hiſtor. en Nov. & Decem. 1696.

progreſs

progreſs of *Quietiſm*; which ſect was daily gaining ground, notwithſtanding the ſeverities of the inquiſition. The following year he received the agreeable news of the concluſion of a general peace, and of the converſion of the elector of *Saxony* to the *Roman* catholic religion, and ſent a nuncio to *Poland*, to congratulate him upon his election to that crown.

Archbiſhop of Cambray is accuſed of Quietiſm.

SOON after he received an accuſation againſt the celebrated *Fenelon*, archbiſhop of *Cambray*, who was ſaid to have embraced the doctrines and opinions of the *Quietiſts*. The archbiſhop, about the concluſion of the peace of *Ryſwick*, had publiſhed a book concerning the *maxims of the ſaints*; in which he affirmed, that the true foundation of piety was a pure and diſintereſted love of God. From thence M. *Boſſuet*, biſhop of *Meaux*, who is ſaid to have had a private pique againſt him, took an occaſion of accuſing him of *Quietiſm*. The archbiſhop defended the opinions he had publiſhed; but, his enemies carrying the affair to *Rome*, his book was this year condemned by a bull, to which he immediately paid an intire ſubmiſſion. Inſtead of appealing from the cenſures of the apoſtolic chair, by vague proteſtations of catholiciſm, upon receiving the pope's bull he kiſſed it; and, aſcending the pulpit, exhorted his hearers to conform to it, declaring, that he himſelf abjured his former ſentiments from the heart. By this conduct he diſappointed his enemies, and gave great ſatisfaction to the pope, who ſoon after wrote a brief to him, as a teſtimony of his regard for him, and approbation of his conduct[y]. Mean while *Lewis* XIV. who probably acted by the perſuaſion of his confeſſor, and had condeſcended to ſollicit the bull from *Rome*, ordered the parliament of *Paris* to regiſter it, and by his letters patent required the biſhops to receive it in the aſſemblies of the different provinces. Both the biſhops and the parliament, however, upon receiving the bull, added a proteſtation of *ſaving the authority of the ancient canons*[z]. As the following year was ſuppoſed to begin a new century, the pope publiſhed a bull for the celebration of a jubilee at *Rome*; on which account great numbers, both of proteſtants and papiſts, crouded thither, which occaſioned a conſiderable augmentation to the revenues of his holineſs. *Innocent* did not live to ſee the concluſion of this feſtival; but, after a long illneſs, died on the 7th of *September*, in the 86th year of his age, and the 10th of

His book is condemned. A. D. 1699.

A jubilee at Rome. 1700.

The pope's death.

[y] DE LARREY Hiſt. de Lewis XIV. t. vii. p. 136. Contin. de MEZER. p. 540. Etat du Siege de Rome, t. ii. p. 149.
[z] DE LARREY, ubi ſup.

his

his pontificate, greatly reverenced and eſteemed for his uprightneſs and integrity [a].

THE long indiſpoſition of *Innocent* had given leiſure to the cardinals to form parties for the following conclave, which was compoſed of no leſs than fifty-nine members. Accordingly the factions and intrigues were very violent; but the diſorders in *Rome* obliged the cardinals to lay aſide their private cabals, and to haſten the election. All the factions at length united in the choice of cardinal *John Francis Albani*, who, by a rare example of modeſty, for three days refuſed, with the moſt ardent proteſtations, to conſent to their choice. He prayed, wept, and conjured the cardinals to turn their thoughts upon a more worthy perſon; and, as a reaſon of his diſſent, he mentioned his great love for his relations, which would influence him to break the law againſt nepotiſm, to the ſcandal of Chriſtianity, the diſhonour of the ſacred college, and the damnation of his own ſoul. At laſt he yielded, on the 3d of *November*, and took the name of *Clement* XI. being then only in the 51ſt year of his age [b]. He was deſcended from a family of note in the duchy of *Urbino*, his grandfather having been created a *Roman* ſenator by *Urban* VIII. After he had completed his ſtudies, he was at firſt a canon in *St. Laurence in Damaſo*, then vicar of *St. Peters*, and afterwards governor of *Rieti* and *Orvieto*. *Innocent* XI. recalled him from *Orvieto*, and made him ſecretary of the briefs. As he was gay and chearful, he inſinuated himſelf into the favour of cardinal *Ottoboni*; who, after his promotion to the pontificate, under the name of *Alexander* VIII. conferred upon him the dignity of cardinal, without allowing his nephews to accept of any money from him. *Innocent* XII. kept him near his perſon, and employed him in the adminiſtration of affairs, as an expert man, who poſſeſſed the rare talent of pleaſing every one [c].

Clement XI. is elected.

IMMEDIATELY after his coronation, he declared to the governor of *Rome*, and to the principal officers, that he intended to cauſe juſtice to be executed with the utmoſt exactneſs, without reſpect of perſons, ordering the *Sbirri* to have no regard to the quarters of the ambaſſadors, but to purſue criminals in every place without diſtinction. He appointed one of his nephews ſecretary of briefs; but, that he might not ſeem partial to his relations, he ordered that, according to the general rule, they ſhould be examined with regard to their fitneſs and merit. He appeared to act with

He reſolves to execute juſtice with exactneſs.

[a] Journales du Temps. [b] Etat du Siege de Rome. [c] Ibid.

vigour,

vigour, and every day was giving new orders to ſuppreſs different abuſes, which had prevailed during the former reigns. He was always with the pen in his hand, to make remarks on different occurrences; and, not truſting intirely to his miniſters, deſired to ſee and examine into every chief matter himſelf [d].

Refuſes to engage in the war about the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. A.D. 1701.

Soon after his election, he wrote with his own hand to king *James*, and ſent him his picture. He likewiſe, in a private conſiſtory, granted the inveſtiture of *Naples* to *Philip* V. of *Spain*, grandſon of *Lewis* XIV. who conteſted the ſucceſſion of that kingdom with the archduke *Charles*, ſecond ſon of the emperor. This diſpute occaſioned great diſquietudes to the pope, who was ſollicited ſtrongly by each party to declare himſelf in his favour. As he was afraid leſt the party he ſhould eſpouſe might be worſted, he would not declare for either; but embraced a neutrality, and offered himſelf as mediator of the difference. Each party, however, being reſolved to aſſert his right by arms, his mediation was rejected, and *Lewis* XIV. in behalf of his grandſon, took poſſeſſion of the *Milaneſe*; which obliged the pope to raiſe 10,000 men, and to put his frontier places into a ſtate of defence, to prevent himſelf from being inſulted, and forced to abandon the neutrality. He leaned, however, to the ſide of *France*; and, hearing that the emperor intended to ſend an army into *Italy*, wrote to him, exhorting him to deſiſt from that intention, and aſſuring him that God would reward him an hundred fold.

The imperialiſts, nevertheleſs, entered *Italy*, where they quickly made a conſiderable progreſs, which obliged the pope to act with great reſerve. He therefore refuſed the *Hacqueney*, which was offered him in the name of *Philip* V. and, that he might ſeem to act with great impartiality, he ſent extraordinary nuncios to the emperor, and to the kings of *France* and *Spain*, to exhort them to peace. *Clement* had before this time acknowleged *Philip* as king of *Spain*, but refuſed to declare himſelf with regard to his ſucceſſion to *Naples*. The following year, the *French* being reinforced in *Italy*, and *Philip* V. arriving at the camp, *Clement* ſent cardinal *Barberini* to wait upon him as legate *a latere*, with a preſent of a golden croſs, of the value of 10,000 crowns; which proceeding gave great offence to the imperialiſts [e].

Sends a legate a latere to Philip V. A.D. 1702.

Tho' the pope favoured the cauſe of *Philip* againſt his competitor, he was nevertheleſs offended with the juſt re-

[d] Journales du Temps. [e] De Larrey Hiſt. de Lewis XIV.

ſpects

ſpects ſhewn to him by one of his ſubjects. *Philip* had aſſiſted at a divine ſervice, where cardinal *Cantelmi*, archbiſhop of *Naples*, had officiated. Afterwards he invited him to dine with him; when the cardinal, according to the reſpect paid by a ſubject to his ſovereign, continued ſtanding during the entertainment. This ſubmiſſion offended the court of *Rome*, and the pope wrote a brief to the cardinal, blaming his conduct, ordering him not to behave in ſuch a manner for the future, and declaring that what he had done ought not to ſerve as an example to others [f]. In the mean time, that the delay of accepting the *Hacqueney* might not prejudice the rights of the king of *Spain* to the kingdom of *Naples*, *Clement* conſented to declare, by an authentic act, that the delay ſhould have no conſequence to invalidate the right [g].

A falſe prophetess impriſoned in the inquiſition.

He likewiſe ordered *Clementia Marchioni*, an abbeſs of a monaſtery in *Naples*, to be apprehended, for endeavouring, by pretended prophecies, to cauſe the people to revolt in favour of the archduke *Charles*. The common people had a great opinion of her ſanctity, and believed her a real prophetess; but ſhe afterwards made a ſolemn abjuration, in the great hall of the inquiſition, before an extraordinary aſſembly of cardinals and officers of the holy office; and confeſſing that, from vanity, ſhe had deſigned to impoſe upon the world, ſhe was condemned to an impriſonment for ten years [h].

Soon after, towards the end of the year, he publiſhed an edict againſt luxury and extravagant entertainments, prohibiting the acting of plays, and the diverſions of the carnival, and deſiring that ſeaſon to be employed in prayers for peace among the catholic princes [i]. The *Romans* were deterred, by more powerful and affecting motives, from indulging in the licentious pleaſures of that feſtival; for, in the beginning of the following year, the city of *Rome*, and the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate, were filled with deſolation, by a dreadful inundation of the *Tyber*, and ſeveral terrible ſhocks of earthquakes. On the 3d of *February* the ſhocks were extremely violent, and continued for fifteen minutes, ſo that the greateſt number of the cardinals and courtiers run out of the palace, and abandoned his holineſs. As *Clement* was looked upon by the common people as a prophet, this belief was the occaſion of a general conſternation next morning, about three hours after midnight, when the city was univerſally

Deſolation at Rome *occaſioned by earthquakes.* A.D. 1703.

[f] Idem ibid. [g] Bellec. Hiſt. Gener. d'Eſpagn. t. ix. p. 27, 28. [h] Idem ibid. [i] Journal. du Temps.

alarmed

alarmed by pretended orders from the pope, deſiring all people immediately to quit their houſes, as there would be inſtantly a more terrible ſhock than any that had been felt. The whole inhabitants, except the ſick and diſabled, quitted their beds, and run into the ſtreets; and the alarm even reached his holineſs, who, upon being informed of the cauſe of the general terror, immediately ſent the *Sbirri* and guards to aſſure the people, that the pretended revelation was only a diabolical invention, and to exhort them to return to their houſes. This public calamity occaſioned a general penitence for ſome time. All courts of juſtice were ſuſpended, and a jubilee was publiſhed. *Clement* cauſed boxes to be placed at the churches, to receive the alms which ſhould be beſtowed to ſupport thoſe families that had been ruined. He appointed officers to viſit the ſhops of engravers, ſculptors, and painters, and to ſeize all indecent pictures and ſtatues. He prohibited men from teaching the women to ſing, or play on muſical inſtruments, and ordered that none of thoſe women, who received their dowry from hoſpitals, ſhould wear any habits of ſilk. As an encouragement to rebuild the houſes that had been deſtroyed, he declared them free from all charges and taxes for a conſiderable time; and that the prelates and other eccleſiaſtics might, by their lives, ſerve as an example to others, he publiſhed ſeveral regulations relating to them, and, among other things, prohibited them from playing at cards, or any other games, in the ſacred palace [k].

MEAN while *Clement* continned to ſollicit the catholic princes, who were at war, to agree to a congreſs for negociating a peace. His ſollicitations, however, were ineffectual; for, in the month of *September*, the archduke *Charles* was proclaimed at *Vienna* king of *Spain*. The imperial miniſters at *Rome*, on this occaſion, were preparing to make great rejoicings in the national church of the *Germans*, where they propoſed to expoſe the picture of the pope, with that of the archduke, dreſſed with the royal ornaments, after the *Spaniſh* faſhion. Upon complaints of the *French* and *Spaniſh* ambaſſadors againſt theſe preparations, *Clement* held ſeveral congregations, and at length declared to the *Germans*, that, if they preſumed to expoſe the pictures in any church, he would lay it under a ſentence of interdiction [l]. The pope, by endeavouring to give offence to no party, diſpleaſed both; and, tho' he continued to adhere to a neutrality, he could not ſecure his dominions from ſharing in the calamities of the war;

[k] Ibid. [l] Ibid.

for,

The imperial and French *armies, without leave, enter the pope's territories.*

for, in the following campaign, both armies entered the territories of *Ferrara*, where they committed a great many disorders. As a means of removing such troublesome guests, *Clement* thundered out an anathema against those generals who should refuse to withdraw their troops. The *French* immediately obeyed, and the *Germans* soon after marched towards the *Trentin* [m].

A.D. 1704. *The idolatrous worship of the* Chinese *converts condemned.*

THE attention of the pope in the mean time was engaged by a spiritual contest, which for some years had divided the *Roman* church. Before the death of his predecessor, news had arrived in *Europe*, that the *Jesuit* missionaries in *China*, to facilitate the conversion of that people, had allowed their converts, after they had embraced Christianity, to continue their idolatrous rites paid to the great philosopher *Confucius*. The *Jesuits* on this account were accused of impiety, and many books immediately appeared, shewing the profaneness of such an indulgence [n]. The society, however, wrote in defence of the practice of their missionaries, and had interest at *Rome*, during the few months of the life of *Innocent* XII. to elude the prosecutions of their enemies. They were likewise so successful as to procure the friendship of *Clement*, who gave a general scandal by the protection which he afforded them, and delayed giving sentence in the affair as long as possible. But the clamour against the fathers of the society became so universal, that he was obliged to give a decision; and, having appointed a congregation to examine the affair, on the 20th of *November*, by a bull, he authorized their sentence, which condemned the worship and ceremonies of the *Chinese* converts. The pope likewise, to examine fully into the affair, sent the cardinal of *Tournon* to *China*; who, not favouring the society, was, by their intrigues, exposed to a great many hardships in that country [o].

The disputes about Jansenism *are again renewed.*

As the reputation of the *Jesuits* had, in some measure, suffered by this apostolic decision against them, *Clement* embraced the first opportunity of shewing himself favourable to the society. About two years before, the dispute about *Jansenism* had begun to revive in *France*, occasioned by a case of conscience, which had been presented to the doctors of the *Sorbonne*. It was demanded of them, what ought to be thought of a person who did not believe the fact concerning *Jansenius*; namely, that the five propositions were contained in his writings, and was firmly persuaded, that the

[m] BELLEG. ut sup. [n] ARNAUD Morale Pratique des Jesuites, t. vi. DU PIN Hist. Eccles. du 17 Siecle, t. iv. [o] Contin. de MEZER. p. 542. Etat du Siege de Rome, t. ii. p. 213.

church

church had no right to exact ſuch a belief, and who, nevertheleſs, in ſuch a diſpoſition of mind, had ſigned the formulary purely and ſimply. The doctors replied, that any perſon might act ſo with a ſafe conſcience; and forty of them ſubſcribed to this deciſion. As many writings immediately appeared, cenſuring the determination of the doctors, ſome of them replied in their own defence, addreſſing the explication of their opinion to cardinal *Noailles*, archbiſhop of *Paris*, as judge ſupreme in his own dioceſe. The cardinal, however, the year following, publiſhed an ordonnance, condemning the deciſion of the doctors, as contrary to the conſtitutions and briefs of *Innocent* X. *Alexander* VII. and *Innocent* XII. at the ſame time condemning the invidious and ſcandalous libels that had been publiſhed againſt the doctors, and exhorting the clergy to peace. The ſame day a ſevere edict of the king appeared againſt renewing the diſpute; while at *Rome* the pope, by a brief, condemned the deciſion of the caſe of conſcience, and by another brief acquainted the king of his ſentence of condemnation. *Clement* this year wrote a third brief, addreſſed to the cardinal *Noailles*, to excite him to act zealouſly againſt the determination of the doctors, the greateſt part of whom, however, ſome time before, had, by a formal act, promiſed to conform their ſentiments and conduct to the archbiſhop's ordonnance. By the influence of the pope's nuncio, *Lewis du Pica*, and ſome others of the chief ſubſcribers, were baniſhed; which drew another brief of thanks from *Rome*.

MEAN while the *French* prelates, particularly *Godet des Marets*, biſhop of *Chartres*, who had declared againſt the deciſion of the caſe of conſcience, perſuaded *Lewis* XIV. to demand a bull from *Rome*, which ſhould declare, that it was not ſufficient to keep a reſpectful ſilence with regard to the truth of the fact, but that it was neceſſary to believe it abſolutely and in the heart. As this was the chief point of the whole diſpute, the pope purpoſely ſhunned determining it; for if, according to truth, he had declared that an implicit faith ought not to be required to facts which might be known by ſenſible evidence, the *Janſeniſts* would have been victorious; and if he ſhould give a contrary deciſion, he would eſtabliſh a principle oppoſed by all divines. He therefore, the following year, publiſhed a bull, diſtinguiſhed by its three firſt words, *Vineam Domini Sabaoth*; by which he declared, that due ſubmiſſion was not given to apoſtolic bulls by a reſpectful ſilence only; which, with regard to points of faith, was acknowleged by both parties. He gave no further deciſion of the point in diſpute; but, taking it for granted that the pro- A. D. 1705.

A. D. 1708. valid, and alleging, that, as the cities of *Italy* were fiefs of the empire, his army had a right to require lodging and ſubſiſtence; adding alſo, that he intended to maintain all the rights of the imperial crown in *Italy*, and to except no cities which could not prove their immunities by authentic titles. About the ſame time the cardinal *Grimani*, who, for his ſervices to the imperial party, had been appointed viceroy of *Naples*, publiſhed an edict in that kingdom, ſuppreſſing the tribunal of the nunciature, and prohibiting the clergy from paying annates to the *Roman* chancellary. He likewiſe affirmed in his edict, that the king of the *Two Sicilies* ought not to take the inveſtiture from the pope, becauſe theſe provinces were not eccleſiaſtical fiefs, and that the ſtates of *Avignon* and *Benevento* ought to be reunited to the kingdom of *Naples*.

The pope raiſes an army to protect his dominions.

CLEMENT in the mean time, to ſecure his territories as much as poſſible, with the conſent of the cardinals, drew 500,000 crowns from the treaſure lodged in *St. Angelo*; ordered conſiderable levies of troops to be made thro' the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate; gave the command of his army to the count *de Marſigli*, who had lately been diſgraced by the emperor; and reinforced the garriſon of *Ferrara* with 3000 men. However, he was not powerful enough to reſtrain the diſorders committed by the imperialiſts, who obliged many of his ſubjects to lay down their arms, under pain of military execution. The emperor pretended to ſeize the territory of *Ferrara* for his ally the duke of *Medena*; and as the duke of *Mantua* and *Montferrat* had eſpouſed the cauſe of *Philip* V. he put him to the ban of the empire, confiſcated his eſtates, and, having ſtripped the *Mantuan* territory of all the artillery and military ſtores, which were carried to *Milan*, he gave the inveſtiture of *Montferrat* to his ally the duke of *Savoy*, on condition that he ſhould not deſert the grand alliance till the concluſion of a general peace [r]. Theſe and other violent proceedings of the emperor obliged the pope and cardinals to act with greater ſpirit in their own defence. The levies were accordingly continued, and ſeveral cardinals, and the greateſt part of the *Roman* barons, voluntarily aſſeſſed themſelves in conſiderable ſums, according to their ability. The count *de Marſigli* marched into the territory of *Ferrara*, where the papal troops had ventured to act offenſively againſt

[r] Idem ibid. STRUVIUS Hiſt. Germ. ſect. xii. t. ii. p. 4060. 4081. Lettr. Hiſt. Mar. 1707. La Clef du Cabinet des Princes, Decem. 1708. LUNIGIUS Literis Proc. p. 111. BARR. Hiſt. d' Allemagne.

the

the *Germans*. Upon the news of theſe hoſtilities, the count *de Thaun*, who had returned to *Lombardy*, marched thither with ſome new regiments; and, having taken poſſeſſion of ſeveral poſts in the territory of *Bologna*, inveſted *Ferrara*, prohibiting any proviſions to be carried into the city under pain of death. At the ſame time an imperial army advanced from *Naples* towards the frontiers of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, threatening an invaſion, on purpoſe to divide the pope's forces. The emperor, however, propoſed an accommodation to his holineſs, and in the mean time ordered a ceſſation of all hoſtilities.

As the ſtates and princes of *Italy* were over-awed by the *Germans*, and the coaſts of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate were threatened by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* fleets, while the *French* were in no condition to give him any aſſiſtance either by ſea or land, *Clement* found himſelf obliged to ſubmit to the terms preſcribed by the emperor. Accordingly, on the 15th of *January*, a treaty was concluded betwixt him and *Joſeph*, by which he agreed to diſband all his troops, excepting 5000 men; to give winter-quarters to 6000, or, according to ſome authors, to 5000 *Germans*; to diſmiſs all the *French* and *Spaniards* in his ſervice; and to pay a contribution of 100,000 *Roman* crowns. Among other articles it was alſo agreed, that commiſſaries ſhould be appointed to examine the emperor's pretenſions to *Comacchio*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Modena*; and a congregation of cardinals was ordered to inquire into the claim of the archduke *Charles* to the crown of *Spain*. This laſt article was merely a form; for, before the ratification of the treaty was delivered, *Clement* was obliged to acknowlege *Charles* as king of *Spain*, to write to him as ſuch, and to ſend a nuncio to his court at *Barcelona*, while the ambaſſadors of *France* and *Philip* V. entered their proteſt againſt every thing done to the prejudice of the rights of the two crowns. *He is obliged to conſent to a peace with the emperor.* A. D. 1709

CLEMENT, however, notwithſtanding this declaration, ſoon after ſent an extraordinary nuncio to *Philip* V. at *Madrid*, with the bleſſed linen for his infant ſon the prince of *Aſturias*[s]; and in the midſt of the diſturbances occaſioned by the war in *Italy*, he had been very attentive to the religious diſputes in *France*, having granted a bull, at the requeſt of *Lewis* XIV, for ſuppreſſing of the monaſtery at *Port Royal*, in the ſuburbs of *Paris*, which he ſtiled *a neſt of hereſy*[t]. He like-

[s] BARRE ut ſup. Hiſt. des Papes, a la Haye, edit. 1734.
[t] Catechiſme Hiſt. & Dogmat. t. ii. p. 141.

wiſe

He condemns the New Teſtament, publiſhed by Queſnel, *with moral reflections.*

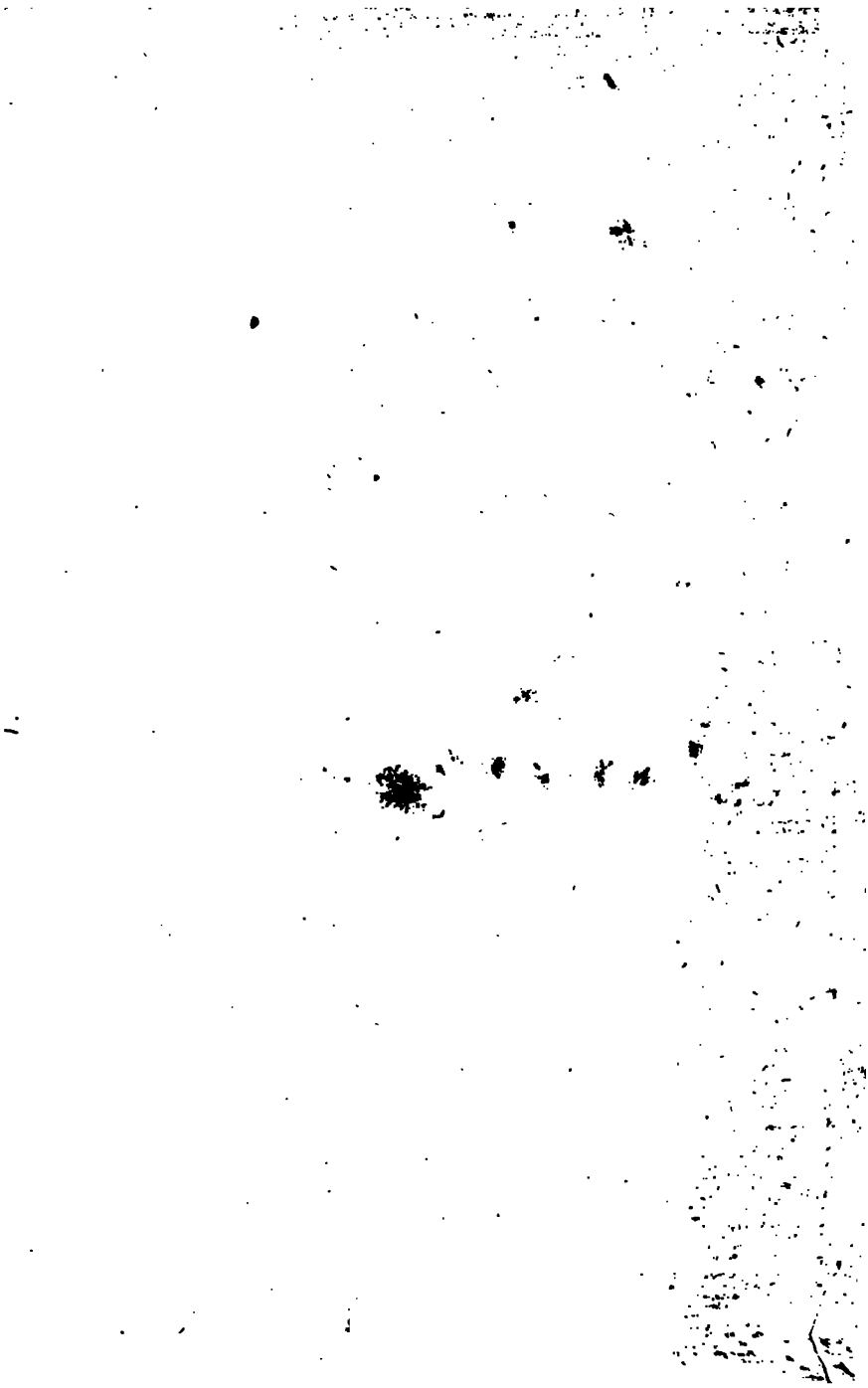
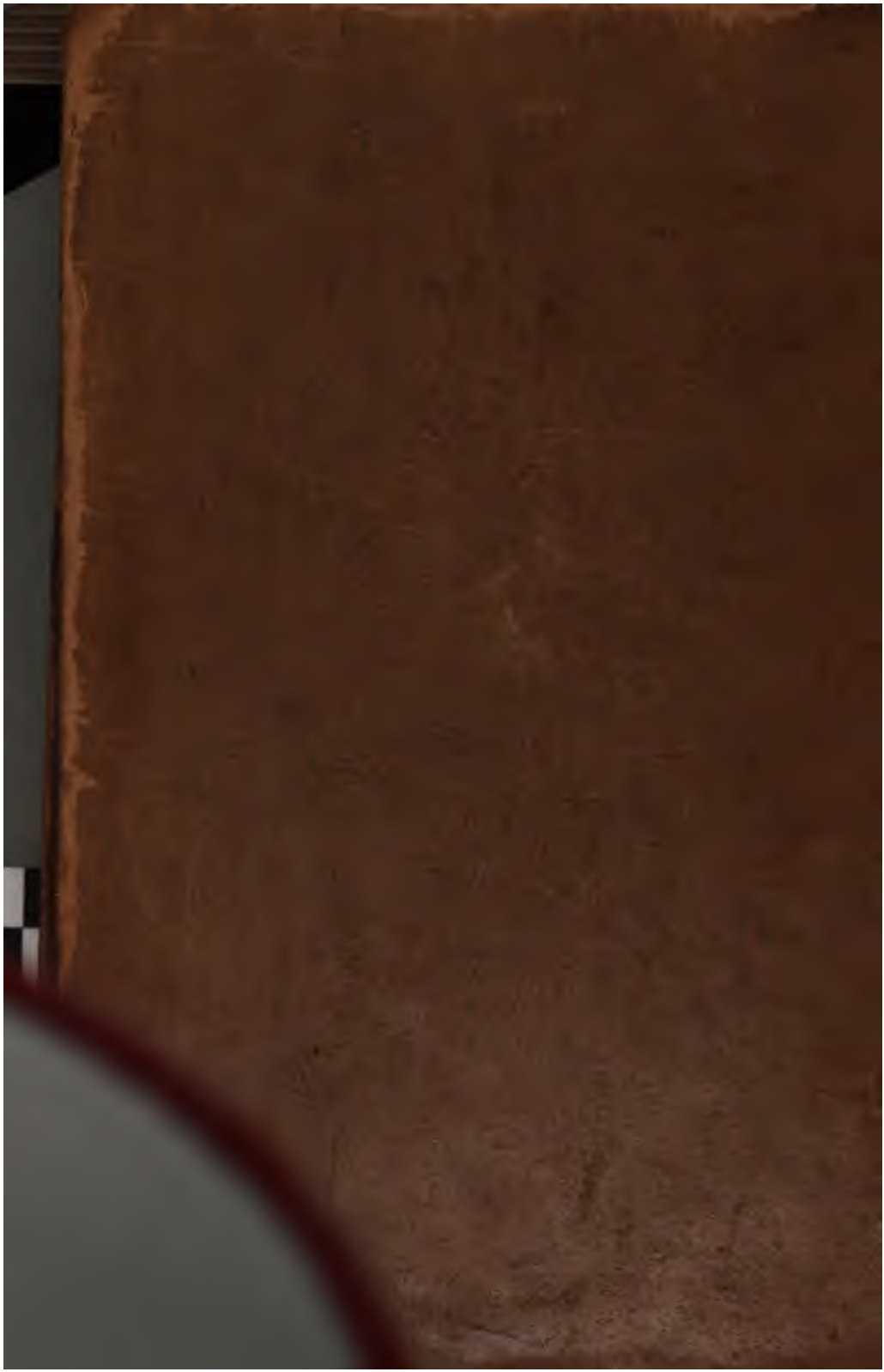
wiſe publiſhed a brief, condemning the New Teſtament which had been printed a few years before by father *Queſnel*, with moral reflections upon each verſe. He did not cenſure any particular propoſition, but condemned the book in general in the moſt ſevere terms: his brief, however, was not received and publiſhed in *France*, the clergy then inſiſting upon the privileges and rights of the *Gallican* church; and this year a refutation of the brief was publiſhed, as was ſuppoſed, by *Queſnel*, under the title of *A Dialogue upon the Decree of* Rome *againſt the New Teſtament of* Chalons, *with moral Reflections*: The pope endeavoured to intereſt the *French* king in the affair, by means of the *Jeſuit Tellier*, confeſſor to his majeſty; but, whatever inclination *Lewis* XIV. had to ſecond the pope's deſires, the time and circumſtances would not then allow him to declare himſelf, as he had already too many enemies to contend with, who had rejected with diſdain the propoſals made by him for peace (F). *Clement* likewiſe omitted nothing to draw the *French* biſhops to his party; nevertheleſs,

(F) *Paſquier Queſnel* was born at *Paris* in 1634. After finiſhing his courſe of divinity in the *Sorbonne*, he entered into the congregation of the oratory, and addicted himſelf wholly to eccleſiaſtical ſtudies. For the uſe of his brethren, he wrote ſome moral reflections upon the four goſpels, which were approved by the biſhop of *Chalons-ſur-Marne*; who, in the year 1671, recommended them to the uſe of his dioceſe. *Queſnel*, about ten years afterwards, having offended *Harlay*, archbiſhop of *Paris*, by his attachment to the general of his order, was commanded to leave the dioceſe of *Paris*. He retired to *Orleans*; but, being ſoon after obliged to leave *France*, he went to *Bruſſels*, where he lived nine years, and finiſhed his moral reflections upon the New Teſtament; which work was publiſhed in the year 1694. After it had gone through ſeveral editions, it was approved by cardinal *Noailles*, who being hated by the *Jeſuits*, they, in the year 1698, publiſhed a libel, under the title of the *Problem*, againſt a work of his, in which they likewiſe cenſured many propoſitions of *Queſnel*'s book. The *Problem* was ordered to be burnt by the parliament of *Paris*, and ſeveral pieces appeared in juſtification of the moral reflections. *Queſnel*, being perſecuted at *Bruſſels*, retired in 1704 into *Holland*; however, after his departure from the *Spaniſh* territories, a ſentence was publiſhed againſt him by the archbiſhop of *Mechlin*, and his enemies printed ſeveral treatiſes againſt him, under the titles of *Father* Queſnel *a heretic*, *Father* Queſnel *a mover of ſedition*. At laſt, in 1708, they obtained a decree of the pope, condemning his book (2).

(2) *Le Grand Diction. Hiſtor. de Moreri.*

leſs, the following year he gave offence to the *Gallican* clergy, by two briefs which he publiſhed againſt their privileges. Theſe decrees condemned a treatiſe *of the origin of the regalia*, and *a mandate of the biſhop of* St. Pons; but they were not written in the uſual form. The parliament of *Paris*, nevertheleſs, ordered them to be ſuppreſſed, and prohibited the printing and ſelling any bulls or briefs of the court of *Rome*, under the penalty of 3000 livres, unleſs they were allowed to be publiſhed by the king's letters patent regiſtered in parliament [u].

As the emperor *Joſeph* died the year after, and his brother the archduke *Charles* ſucceeded him, this revolution occaſioned a great alteration in the ſyſtem of affairs, and gave hopes that a general peace would ſoon be concluded; eſpecially as the queen of *England* had withdrawn her troops from *Spain*, and had agreed to a congreſs at *Utrecht*; and the *Dutch* began to be apprehenſive of the great power of the new emperor, if he ſhould unite the *Spaniſh* dominions to the imperial dignity and the *Auſtrian* hereditary countries. *The archduke Charles elected emperor.*

[u] De Larrey, ut ſup.

The END of the Twenty-sixth Volume.